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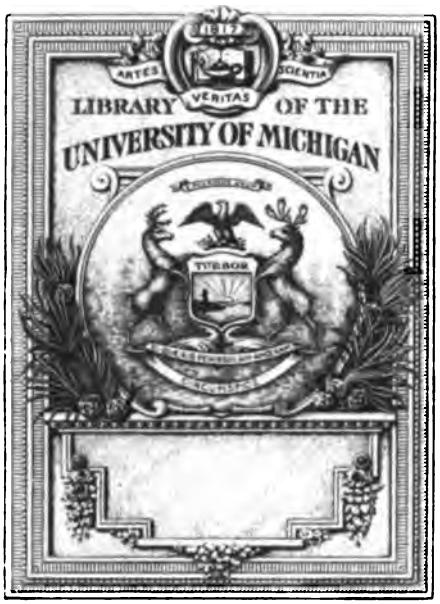

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT UTICA, N. Y.

Founded 1876; Incorporated 1878.

1881.

Horatio Seymour

HORATIO SEYMOUR

UNIV. OF MICH.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT UTICA,

WITH THE

ANNUAL ADDRESSES AND REPORTS FOR 1881, THE PARIS RE-INTERMENT AND PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

UTICA, N. Y.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
ELLIS H. ROBERTS & CO., PRINTERS.
1881.

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The Continental Congress:

SOME OF ITS ACTORS AND THEIR DOINGS, WITH THE RESULTS THEREOF.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING

On the 31st Day of December, 1880.

By William J. Bacon, LL. D.

"JUVAT ACCEDERE FONTES, ATQUE HAURIRE."

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

BY HON. W. J. BACON.

On the 20th day of January, 1775, in the British House of Lords, the illustrious Lord Chatham delivered a very memorable speech. He was the fast friend and the outspoken defender of the struggling Colonists of America in their protracted controversy with the King of Great Britain and his constitutional advisers. He was no longer the great Prime Minister, who had dominated the counsels of the Government with an almost despotic sway. He had descended from power, and had not, as he remarked in his speech "the honor of access to His Majesty." Age also was creeping upon him with its stealthy tread, and a painful malady racked his once stalwart frame with almost unendurable agony.

But neither age nor infirmity could impair the vigor of his intellect, nor quench the bold, and at times, even the defiant spirit with which he uttered his convictions. He vindicated, in the fullest and clearest manner, the right of the Colonists to refuse to be taxed, in the absence of all representation in the National councils, without their consent. "The spirit," said he, "which now resists your taxation in America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences and ship money in England; the same spirit which called all England on its feet, and by its bill of rights vindicated the English Constitution; the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, that *no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.*" On this great principle, and in this cause, the American Colonists, he adds, "are immovably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of Heaven."

The Continental Congress, of whose members, acts, and their consequences I propose to speak, was at this time in session in Philadelphia, and had barely initiated those plans and purposes, which not long afterward, found expression in the great charter of our rights and liberties, the immortal Declaration of Independence. Of this body of patriotic and illustrious men, Lord Chatham, in this speech from which I have quoted, made this memorable declaration. "When your Lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness

and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study, I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master States of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress assembled at Philadelphia."

Condition of Things Prior to the Congress.

This is high eulogy; and in the mouth of an Englishman, justly proud of the name, and familiar as he was with her grand history, and the great men it had given to the world, it is exalted praise. And yet, after a pretty diligent and faithful study of the characters, the acts and the conclusions of that body of men known to us as the Continental Congress, I hardly dare call it an exaggerated estimate. Many circumstances combined to make the assembling together of these men, and the successful outcome of their deliberations quite remarkable. It was, in many respects a propitious moment for such a gathering. The ominous outlook of affairs in the Old World, the upheavings that were beginning to shake the apparently well settled foundations of ancient abuses; above all the almost universal corruption that tainted and infected public and governmental life in England, and which generated and fostered the wrongs under which the American Colonists suffered, all conduced to bring about a unity of sentiment, resulting in a unity of action that contained within itself the promise and the potency of success.

It is difficult for us to conceive, or rather it would be difficult, had we not had the good fortune to have revealed to us, in recent days, something of the inner life of those times, how universally corruption, dishonor and base-born selfishness pervaded the counsels and the Court of England. Thackeray, in his lectures on the reigns of the Four Georges, who successively occupied the throne of Great Britain, let in upon us many gleams of light from those years that inflicted many undeserved stains upon the English name, and finally tore from the third George the brightest jewel in his crown. But a still more recent work, the Life of Charles James Fox, by Trevelyan, who almost rivals Macaulay in the purity and nervousness of his style, and the incisive power of his invective, has given us a more complete and life-like portrait of

those days when patriotism was at a fearful discount, and purity an unknown equation. "Every man in Parliament," in Walpole's significant phrase, "had his price." But not in Parliament alone was venality and greed the rule of public life. Nepotism was unblushing and universal. A single extract from this admirable book will illustrate this point as clearly as many pages of dry narrative.

"At a time when trade was on so small a scale, that a Lancashire manufacturer considered himself well off on the income which his grandson now gives to his cashier, a Cabinet Minister over and above the ample salary of his office, might reckon confidently upon securing for himself, and for all who belonged to him and who came after him, a permanent maintenance, not dependent upon the vicissitudes of party, which would be regarded as handsome, and even splendid, in these days of visible and all pervading opulence. One nobleman had eight thousand a year in sinecures. Another an Auditor of the Exchequer, inside which he never looked, had eight thousand pounds in peace and twenty thousand in war, and still another bowed and whispered himself into four great employments, from which flowed, month by month, fourteen hundred guineas into the lap of his Parisian mistress."

A reversion to an office was reckoned upon as a good investment, sure to come to hand in due time, and as our author sharply and keenly puts it, "a paymaster of the works, or an auditor of the plantations, with plenty of money to buy good liquor, and plenty of time to drink it, did not live forever, and a next appointment to the civil service, in the last century, might be discounted as freely as a next presentation to a living in our own."

With the remarkable fact that the occupant of the throne, unlike some of his immediate predecessors, was pure and faithful in his domestic life, the morals of the Court were fearfully corrupt, and, in some respects, (not indeed quite as open and shameless,) resembled those of the infamous Charles the Second. The Earl of Sandwich, high in office, and trusted by his sovereign with great responsibilities, may serve as a type of many more "who carried undisguised and unabashed libertinism to the verge of a tomb," which did not close upon him until he had spent nearly half a century in office.

The bearing which these things which I have faintly outlined, have upon the condition of affairs in America, is easily seen. To secure and maintain these princely resources, plunder of all sorts and in all available places, was of course practiced. Ireland, unhappy, misgoverned Ireland had been ravaged and plucked until but little was left for avarice to covet, or greed to secure; and thus it

was that attention was turned to America, as to "fresh woods and pastures new," where an ample field was opened for these plunderers of a Nation's wealth, to enhance their own ill-gotten gains. Trevelyan very distinctly leads us to the conclusion that it was England, governed and controlled as she was, by sinecurists, pampered menials in office, and unblushing robbers that lost to Great Britain an empire in America, and with the following passage, I close this page of a history full of instruction in regard to the condition of the Mother Country and the American Colonies, at that special crisis that called the Continental Congress into being.

"When Britain had been drained dry, and there was nothing more to be squeezed from Ireland, Ministers, in an evil hour for themselves, remembered that there were two millions of Englishmen in America, who had struggled through the difficulties and hardships which beset the pioneers of civilization, and who, now that their daily bread was assured to them, could afford the luxury of maintaining an army of sinecurists. The suggestion can not be said to have originated on the other side of the Atlantic. 'It was not,' said Junius, 'Virginia that wanted a Governor, but a court favorite that wanted a salary.' Virginia, however, and her sister colonies, were not supposed to know what was best for their own interests, or, at any rate, for the interests of their masters; and plenty of gentlemen were soon drinking their claret and paying their debts out of the savings of the fishermen of New Hampshire, and the farmers of New Jersey, and talking, with that perversion of sentiment which is the inevitable outgrowth of privilege, about the 'cruelty' of a Secretary of State, who hinted that they would do well to show themselves occasionally among the people whose substance they devoured. And yet, in most cases, it was fortunate for America that her placemen had not enough public spirit to make them ashamed of being absentees. Such was the private character of many among her official staff, that their room was cheaply purchased by the money which they spent outside the country. The best things in the colonies generally fell to bankrupt members of Parliament, who were as poor in political principle as in worldly goods; and the smaller posts were regarded as their special inheritance, by the riffraff of the election committee room, and the bad bargains of the servants' hall."

Nothing need be added to enforce the vividness of this description, except to recall, at this point, one of the counts in that indictment of the King of Great Britain, penned by Jefferson, in the Declaration, and thus forcibly and truly expressed: "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harrass our people, and eat out their substance." Against such exactions, enforced by such a tribe of needy advent-

urers and remorseless harpies, our fathers faithfully remonstrated, and, at length, most justly rebelled.

The Origin of the Proposed Congress.

It would perhaps be a difficult matter to ascertain, as it would be unprofitable to inquire in whose brain originated the conception of the Continental Congress. Such inquiries usually end where the equally unprofitable and unsolved problem has always terminated, that is in entire uncertainty, whether the thunderous appeals of Patrick Henry at the south, or the lightning coruscations of James Otis at the north, did most to fire the national heart, and combine and consolidate the national sentiment.

As a matter of pretty universal acknowledgment, the two Colonies that led in the actual and forcible movement towards resistance, were Virginia and Massachusetts. When the first blood was shed in the conflict of arms on the soil of Lexington, Virginia responded to the call for aid and sympathy, by the clarion voice of Henry and the cordial co-operation of her leading men, and throughout all the subsequent years of struggling hope and despondency, they seem never to have been separated either in harmony of sentiment or unity of action. It may, I think, be fairly claimed that the first suggestion of a Council of the Colonies for consultation in regard to the wrongs they suffered, and what remedies were appropriate to the case, was made in a letter from the patriotic merchants of New York, addressed to the General Court in Massachusetts, and asking that body to take the lead in a movement designed to bring the Colonies together for mutual counsel and concerted action. As a matter of historical record, it is true that the first legislative resolution which suggested and recommended the assembling of and actually appointed delegates to a General Council or Congress for mutual consultation, and combined action by the Colonists, passed the House of Representatives of Massachusetts on the 17th of June, 1774, the very day which just one year thereafter, and ever since has been made memorable by the battle of Bunker Hill. This is the first resolution passed by any of the Colonial Legislative bodies, recommending such a convocation to be held on the 1st day of September, thereafter, at the City of Philadelphia, or such other place as should be deemed most suitable, and appointing delegates to represent that Colony in the proposed Congress, among whom appeared the subsequently greatly distinguished names of John and Samuel Adams.

THE TIME AND PLACE OF ASSEMBLING.

The other Colonies followed in rapid succession, until on the 2d day of August, 1774, by a resolution passed by the House of Assembly of South Carolina, eleven Colonies had taken the necessary action and appointed delegates to meet, as had been recommended by Massachusetts, in Philadelphia. The delegates from these eleven Colonies assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in the City of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774. The delegates from North Carolina appeared on the 14th day of that month, while those from Georgia were not appointed until July of the following year, and soon thereafter appeared, and from that time the representatives of the Thirteen Colonies continued, by changes and renewals until its final dissolution.

At the first roll call on the 5th of September, 1774, forty-three delegates answered to their names. Some of them had already become conspicuous for the part they had taken in the controversies with the mother country, and the provincial authorities, and some afterwards obtained immortal renown. This is not the place, nor will the necessary limitations of this discourse permit an enumeration of these men, nor allow me to rehearse their varied and acknowledged claims to distinction. It must suffice, now, to say that Massachusetts, besides the Adams' already mentioned, was represented also by the not obscure names of Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine. From Connecticut came the sturdy patriot Roger Sherman. New York presented, among others, the illustrious name of John Jay and Gen. William Floyd, a gallant soldier as well as an experienced civilian, and whose name and fame is cherished as one to which our own County of Oneida is fairly entitled. Delaware appeared in the person of Cæzar Rodney, South Carolina in those of Henry Middleton and Edward Rutledge, while Virginia indicated her power and pre-eminence in what were then, and ever will be, the distinguished names of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, and Edmund Pendleton. Many men still more eminent afterwards appeared as members of the Congress. The first act was the election of a President, and the choice fell unanimously upon Peyton Randolph. His was a distinguished Virginia name, and of it he was a worthy representative. He held the position until declining health, followed by his death in May, 1775, compelled his resignation. But for this, his name, instead of the bold signa-

ture of John Hancock would have headed the roll of patriotic men that in the following year signed the immortal Declaration of Independence. This election, and that of a Secretary, with the presentation of credentials terminated the meeting of the first day, and the second was devoted to the preparation and passage of some needful rules of order, and a request that on the following day, the 7th of September, when the serious work of Congress was to begin, the session be opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Duche.

And here, prefacing it with the remark that I heartily dislike the whole tribe of iconoclasts, from Niebuhr down, who seem to take a grim delight in dissipating our faith in all the innocent and cherished traditions of our childhood and manhood as well, from the apple of William Tell to the hatchet of George Washington, the truth of history and regard for the pious memory of our fathers, seems to require me to correct a popular superstition which has obtained great currency, and secured large credence. The tradition tells us that no prayer had ever been heard in Congress, until after many months of anxious debate, when no conclusion having been reached, Dr. Franklin suggested that they should look for Divine guidance, and proposed that prayer should be offered by the reverend man already named. Unfortunately for the truth of this story, Dr. Franklin, when the Congress assembled, was in England, and did not appear as a delegate until the month of May, 1775. And the record, both of the request and of the prayer offered on the morning of the 7th of September, 1774, appear upon the Journal of the Congress, together with the resolution at once offered and passed, that the thanks of Congress be presented to Rev. Mr. Duche, "for the excellent prayer which he composed and delivered on that occasion."

It is meet that this record be reproduced, that we may be reminded of the piety and devotion of our fathers. It can be truthfully said of them that they were a race of earnest and God-fearing men, who believed profoundly that there was a Supreme "Divinity that shaped our ends," an Almighty Sovereign that ruled not only in the armies of Heaven but among the inhabitants of the earth, to whom devout thanksgivings were to be rendered when success crowned our arms, and before whom the people were to humble themselves when disaster came or impended. The Journals of the Congress record not less than ten occasions during their deliberations, when days of fasting alternating with days of thanksgiving were ordered by the Congress. The last

occasion for the latter was when, on the 24th of October, 1781, the glorious news came of the surrender of Cornwallis, when, as the Journal tells us, the whole Congress went in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church "to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success, by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of the Earl Cornwallis." And on the following day they issued a proclamation setting apart the 15th day of December, thereafter, to be observed by all the people as a day of thanksgiving and prayer for this memorable and crowning victory. Our revolutionary fathers did not fail to recognize and adore the "mighty hand and the outstretched arm," that was ever over and around them. May the day never come in all our future history when the sons shall forget their devout gratitude, or fail to imitate their heroic faith.

The Initial Steps.

I do not propose to follow the proceedings of the Congress in its daily or even yearly details. The Journal is in itself but a naked narrative of the resolutions offered and passed, and a record in full of the public documents prepared for and adopted by the Congress. I can only mention, as especially memorable, among the earliest proceedings, the two addresses, one to the people and the other to the King of Great Britain. The first is well known to have been the production of the illustrious New Yorker, John Jay. There are few brighter or purer names than his connected with our Colonial or National history. The family of Jay came from France, and was of Huguenot origin, and better blood than this never perhaps has coursed through mortal veins. And that blood still remains with us in living representatives, with its honor untarnished and its purity unstained. This address was one of remarkable power and shadowed forth some of these grievances, which subsequently were so powerfully presented in the declaration. These were among the documents that called forth the admiration of Lord Chatham, but their weighty and ominous words fell upon ears unwilling to listen, and impatient of disturbance in their schemes of outrage and plunder, and so outrage and plunder went on to their legitimate end, resistance, war and successful revolution.

The Appointment of Washington.

The time had now fully arrived when it was necessary that the army, which had been hastily gathered, should have a systematic organization, and, over and above all, a competent leader, and to this the attention of Congress was anxiously and even painfully directed. Local jealousies and rivalries, had to some extent already been developed, and it was needful, above all things, that the choice should fall upon one who could command the confidence of the country, as well as of the army. It so happened that the Senior Major General, then in the service, was Artemus Ward, of Massachusetts. He had attained some position, and stood fairly, as a patriot and a soldier, and if priority of rank was to be deemed controlling, he had a well founded claim to consideration. A day was assigned by Congress for action on this matter, and on the 15th of June, 1775, they proceeded to execute the order. The record in the journal, is simply this: "The Congress proceeded to the choice of a General, by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected." Only this, and nothing more is recorded. But much more than this, we may be well assured, preceded and accompanied so notable an event.

It is greatly to be regretted that we possess no authentic report of the debates of this assembly of remarkable and memorable men. They would be much better and more profitable reading than "Congressional Records," that now make their annual appearance in voluminous quartos, and occupy, if they do not adorn our shelves. But in those days, there were no stenographers, no reporters, nor any of the tribe of interviewers that are now perpetually dogging the footsteps and extracting the secrets of our great men. What we know outside of the record, is to be gathered from contemporary correspondence, and the private memoranda of the men of that day, and well authenticated tradition. From some, or all of these sources, I am aware that it is claimed that the motion which preceded the action of Congress, was made by a delegate from the State of Maryland. By other authorities, it is asserted that the motion was made by John Adams, of Massachusetts. But whether or not he took the initiative in this matter, it is certain, from descriptions given by men who were present, and heard the debate, that if he did not move, he promptly seconded the motion, and supported it by what was the leading and controlling speech of the occasion. We can imagine the interest with which he was regarded, in rising to address the Congress, and the

eager curiosity with which the members hung upon his words. It might well have been supposed, that as a Massachusetts man, he would naturally have been inclined to name their own Senior Major General, as the man for the position. He proceeded, in well set and carefully considered words, to set forth what he conceived to be the qualifications of the man to whom was to be confided so great and momentous a trust, and ended by saying, that in his opinion, all these qualifications were fully met in the person of George Washington, of Virginia, whom he cordially supported as Commander-in-Chief of the American armies. What a happy surprise, and what a perfect solution of the great problem, this must have seemed to many anxious hearts, and we can almost imagine that even that grave and solemn assembly burst, involuntarily, into a shout of glad acclaim, when the name of Washington was pronounced.

It was, beyond all question, a wise and happy choice. Washington was the man for the hour, as clearly raised up,—by that Providence which equally heeds the falling sparrow and the overthrow of an empire,—for the exigent moment that called for him, as Lincoln was, for the next most momentous and trying crisis in our history. The claim of Washington to be placed high up on the roll of the great men of the world, has been the subject of much discussion, and his precise position may not even yet be clearly defined. Some things may well be received as established beyond controversy. That he was a prudent, sagacious, and with the means he had at command, a skillful General, can not fairly be denied, that he was, in counsel, wise, self-contained and conservative, and in administration, pure, just and fearless, will assuredly be conceded. To talk of him as a soldier, compared with Napoleon, is one of those questions that school-boys may debate, but grown men will not entertain. When we speak of great men, purely in the light of intellect and achievement, we are obliged to acknowledge, that in force of towering intellect, mastery of men, and extent and splendor of accomplishment, Napoleon was "the foremost man of all this world." But on the other hand, we are equally compelled to the admission that with all these claims to supremacy, Napoleon had striking weaknesses developed in those unguarded hours when selfishness, unrestrained passion and unbridled ambition, unchecked by any moral restraints or influences, took full possession and control of his baser nature. Washington had no such weaknesses, and if there was the element of passion in his composition, he held it under wise and dignified control, and

was (antagonizing the aphorism of Napoleon) as much a hero to his valet, as he was when standing in the full blaze of the public eye.

As a general summing up of the character of Washington, we may well accept the testimony of Daniel Webster, as a competent and trustworthy witness. I quote his own well considered words:

"The character of Washington is a fixed star in the firmament of great names, shining without twinkling or obscurity, with clear, steady and beneficent light. If we think of our independence, we think of him whose efforts were so prominent in achieving it. If we think of the Constitution which is over us, we think of him who did so much to establish it, and whose administration of its powers is acknowledged to be a model for his successors. If we think of glory in the field, of wisdom in the Cabinet, of the purest patriotism, of the highest integrity, of religious feeling, without intolerance or bigotry, the august figure of Washington presents itself as the living personation of each and all of these high qualities."

If we supplement this testimony with that of Lord Erskine, who deliberately declared that the character of Washington was the only one in all history that, in its contemplation, "filled him with awful reverence," we may safely conclude with Webster, that the name and character of Washington are indelibly written "in the clear upper sky," and that his, at least, is securely and forever among

"The few, the immortal names
That were not born to die."

The Declaration of Independence.

Washington, upon his appointment immediately vacated his seat in the Congress, and proceeded to the performance of his great and responsible trust. But on the 21st of June, 1775, there appeared in Congress another delegate from Virginia who has exerted an influence and left an impression upon our National history and character second only perhaps to that of Washington—that man was Thomas Jefferson. He had already made his mark as a public man of great promise in his native State, and was now destined to act upon a larger theatre, and become associated with men and events that led directly in the pathway to independence, confederation, and ultimately to the crowning and glorious result of Union and Nationality, and with all these the name and fame of Jefferson are inseparably connected.

The time had now arrived when the question of independence of and separation from the mother country could no longer be de-

ferred. The history of the rise, progress and consummation of this decisive movement is somewhat familiar, and needs not to be dwelt upon minutely. A brief recapitulation however will not be inappropriate in this rapid sketch of the prominent doings of the Continental Congress. To Virginia belongs without doubt or controversy, the honor of the first introduction of the distinct question of Independence. On the 14th day of May, 1776, she instructed her delegates in Congress to propose to that body to make a declaration that the United Colonies were free and independent States, and absolved from all allegiance to the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain. The first appearance of the question in Congress was on the 7th day of June, 1776, when as the Journal States "certain resolutions concerning independency being moved and seconded," the consideration of them was deferred to the following day, accompanied by an injunction that the members be prompt in their attendance. On the 8th the resolutions were taken up, but the further consideration was deferred until the following Monday the 10th of June, and although on that day the consideration of the first resolution was deferred to the 1st day of July thereafter, yet in order, as the Journal expresses it "that no time be lost," a Committee was appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." This resolution was the one originally presented by Richard Henry Lee, one of the most distinguished representatives from Virginia, and is now in existence in his own hand-writing. This motion was seconded by "glorious John Adams" as he was afterwards styled by Lee, and passed the Congress without a dissenting vote on the 2d day of July, 1776.

Thus was broken the last link in the chain of Colonial dependence, and the duty of presenting to the World the reasons which "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" obliged the Congress to offer, in justification of the great and momentous step, was confided to a Committee composed of the illustrious names of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston. To Jefferson was appropriately given the position of Chairman, and as such the duty devolved upon him of preparing the declaration. It could not have been assigned to better hands. In addition to a considerable Legislative experience, he was thoroughly familiar with the whole course of our Colonial history and the grievances under which our fathers suffered, and he

held a most facile as well as a powerful pen. In this respect he had no equal in the Congress, unless it was John Jay. Jay would in all probability have been placed upon the Committee instead of Livingston, but he had just before left his seat in the Congress to serve his own State in the Convention that gave to New York the Constitution of 1777, and although he subsequently returned to the Congress and was its presiding officer, he left it again to discharge in foreign lands great and important service for the Country in the diplomacy which closed the war and gave us final peace and National recognition.

The Time and Incidents of its Final Passage.

The decisive resolution which settled the question of independence was, as I have stated, passed on the 2d day of July and without a dissenting vote. This statement is literally true, and yet it requires a few words of explanation and comment. The resolution in the precise words in which it was finally passed, was introduced on the 7th of June, but its consideration was by the request of certain Colonies who were not fully prepared for action, postponed from time to time until the 1st day of July, when the debate was fully opened, and as Jefferson stated in 1787, the discussion "lasted nine hours and until evening without refreshment and without pause." Of what was uttered in this momentous debate we have in the Journal of course no record, and but little mention elsewhere except that Jefferson in speaking of it says that Adams was the "Colossus of the Congress," and Richard Stockton declared him to be the "Atlas of Independence." We have however what purports to be, on what authority is not stated, an analysis of the speech of Richard Henry Lee on introducing the resolution. The speech attributed to John Adams in the Memorial Address of Webster on the death of Adams and Jefferson, although often declaimed by school-boys as the genuine Adams speech, is the product of Webster's own brain and is merely suggested as one quite characteristic of the man. Such a speech might well have been uttered by one so prompt in action, and so admirably trained in debate as he was, and possessing as described by Jefferson himself "a power of thought and expression which often moved the members from their seats."

This debate continued through the 1st day of July and until the 2d when the final question was taken with no dissent as has been stated, except that the State of New York did not vote, her dele-

gates however expressing their entire acquiescence in the result. The reasons for the New York delegates declining to vote were entirely satisfactory, and consisted in the fact that they were waiting for instructions which they had solicited from their own Provincial Congress which was about dissolving, and therefore postponed action until the meeting of the New Congress, which assembled on the 8th of July, and on the 9th passed a resolution unanimously approving the Declaration of Independence and directing their delegates to sign the instrument, which they accordingly proceeded to do on the 15th day of July, 1776. This roll was subsequently completed as it now stands, and is indeed a most venerable document, but in point of fact it was not signed as it is popularly supposed to have been on the 4th day of July, 1776. Some document of the same import was doubtless signed on that day by the delegates then present, but there was a subsequent engrossment, and a new signing of all the names which now appear upon the parchment preserved with such scrupulous care among the Archives of the State Department at Washington.

Strictly speaking then it is an anachronism to call the 4th as we do "Independence Day." That day was the 2d and it was the day of which Adams spoke in his memorable letter to his wife written at the close of that day, as "the one that would be celebrated by succeeding generations as the *great anniversary festival*," to be solomnized by shows, parades, &c., and concerning which he predicted that through all the gloom that surrounded them he saw "the rays of ravishing light and glory" in which their posterity would bask and participate. The explanation is simply this, that as the Congress sat with closed doors the transactions of the 2d day of July and the absolute passage of the resolution were not publicly known, nor could they be until the report had been acted upon from the Committee on the Declaration which was made and adopted on the 4th, when the whole proceedings with the Declaration were publicly proclaimed from the steps of the State House.*

*I desire as a matter of justice to state that for the main facts connected with the passage of the resolution on Independence and the signing of the Declaration, I am indebted to the painstaking industry of my friend Wm. L. Stone of New York, who has made our Revolutionary history the subject of the most indefatigable research, and who as the result of many years of earnest and unrequited labor possesses in my opinion in a set of more than eighty bound volumes, a more rare and valuable collection of documents, histories, autographs, &c., concerning the campaign of Burgoyne, the battle and surrender at Saratoga and the concomitant incidents, than is contained in any public Institution or the library of any American Scholar living or dead.

It is no part of my purpose to enter upon any eulogy of the Declaration, much less to analyze its doctrines or enforce its lessons. Many of its topics were of temporary interest, and have passed away with the occasion that called them forth. One of the most able and brilliant of our recent scholars and public men, in what I must think was a burst of fancy as well as of rhetoric, once spoke of it as containing little else than "sounding and glittering generalities." If this were true of any portions of a document enshrined in the hearts and memories of all true Americans, it can not be affirmed of two of its cardinal principles, the corner-stones upon which are erected the solid structures of American, as well as of all other true freedom. They are the absolute equality of all men before the law, and in their political and class relations, and that the true source of all governmental institutions rests in the consent of the governed. These were principles before unknown, or at least unapplied, in all the feudal, hereditary and aristocratic dynasties of the earth. They struck a fatal blow not only to what Jefferson called "the right Divine of Kings to govern wrong," but to the "*Jus Divinum*" by which they assumed to govern at all, and elevating the people to the proud distinction of sovereigns, put the reins of government substantially into their hands, to be operated by such means and agencies as they had the power and inclination to create. These principles, personal and political freedom sustained and upheld by law and the enthroned empress "the world's collected will," are those that constitute our charter, as they must be the polar star of all the struggling advocates of true liberty, and when they are denied or disregarded, freedom and law together take from this world their everlasting flight.

Our Foreign Coadjutors.

Among other most encouraging and gratifying incidents connected with our struggle for freedom and independence, was the sympathy and co-operation received from the friends of liberty abroad. I allude not now to the alliance with France, which occurred at a much later period of the contest, and was the result of long-continued and admirable diplomacy conducted by some of our ablest and most sagacious men. From the moment that the spirit of resistance to unjust taxation and remorseless greed in those sent to rule over us, was developed, the interest in our cause was awakened in those strong and brave hearts that in other lands

had been summoned to action either by similar exactions, or who gladly heard the trumpet-call of freedom and the summons to defend the rights of man. It reached them across the roaring waves of the Atlantic, and called to our aid some of the choicest of Europe's best and noblest sons. The mention of these men in connection with the Continental Congress is entirely appropriate, because each of them, unless my memory fails, reported himself on his arrival to the Congress, and was publicly recognized and received with tokens of distinguished consideration, and all were very soon appointed to positions of high rank in the American army.

Did time and space permit, I should delight to dwell on the history of these men, some of whom had not only a distinguished record, but a chivalrous and even romantic story, that fairly makes the most sluggish blood tingle at its recital. As it is, I can do little more than mention the names of some five or six of the most distinguished, leaving to your own memories or the histories of that period to supply the details which my limited time will not permit. These men were not mere soldiers of fortune, the waifs thrown to the surface of the troubled waters by the love of adventure, the Dugald Dalgettys of their day, who fought under any flag and in any cause where emolument was to be secured or reputation won. They were moved to action in most cases by the highest principle, and inspired with the noblest impulses. Some of them had seen and felt the wrongs which were the outcome of the abuse of imperial and unchecked power, and some had in their own persons experienced the sharp edge of the sword that tyrants and despots love to wield over prostrate humanity. They hailed the dawn of a brighter hope for that humanity in the new world beyond the sea, and recognized the maxim that "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

Poland gave to us the earliest of these coadjutors, in the persons of Count Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko. It would require a volume to recount their histories, so closely connected as both are with the history of unhappy Poland, whose story has never yet been adequately told, although it is as the poet Campbell emphasized it, "the bloodiest picture in the book of time." It is a story that stamps ineffaceable disgrace upon the three European despots who partitioned the territory between them, and upon Napoleon, who, when he had the power, in 1808, failed to restore the possessions of which Poland had been robbed, and the autonomy she had lost. Both these men came to us before

the army had been formally organized, but their services were tendered and accepted, and both performed good and valiant deeds—Pulaski yielding his life to our cause, in the attack upon Savannah, in 1779, and America gratefully commemorating the act in a monument there erected to his memory.

Kosciusko came of a noble ancestry, and was a man of princely character and attainments. Soon after Washington's appointment as Commander-in-Chief, Kosciusko became one of his aids, and in this capacity, as well as others, performed important service for our cause. But a longing desire to aid, if possible, in restoring the lost glories of his native land, carried him back to Europe, before the close of our own struggle, where, in 1794, he headed the brave revolt against the oppressive Russian power, and was, literally, "Warsaw's last champion," and, entrusted with supreme authority, he, with only ten thousand men, resisted and repelled the assault of sixty thousand troops. In the words of another, "he displayed the integrity of Washington, with the activity of Cæsar." But the effort, although almost superhuman, was vain. In the last battle, he fought with scarce one-third the force of the enemy, covered with wounds, he fell from his horse, exclaiming, "*Finis Poloniae!*" It was, indeed, the end of the dream of Polish freedom. Kosciusko, although a prisoner, was treated by the Emperor Paul with distinguished consideration. He never again wore sword, and, although besought by Napoléon to enter his service, he declined, without an absolute promise that his country should again receive a free constitution, and be restored to its ancient boundaries. There is no nobler name than his, not excepting that of John Sobieski, in all Polish history. He died quietly, in France, after a life of storm and struggle and vicissitudes, and his body is entombed, by a royal mandate, in the mausoleum of the Kings of Poland, at Cracow, the most honored dust in that sepulchre of departed earthly greatness. The marble column that gleams on the eye of the passing traveler, from the cliffs at West Point, is only a cenotaph erected by a grateful country, to remind its sons, in all the coming generations, of one who gave to our infant liberties, the strength of a brave arm, and the impulse of a generous and noble heart.

Germany sent to us, in 1779, two grand recruits in the persons of the Barons DeKalb and Steuben. They were brave and experienced soldiers, the former having served more than forty years in the armies of France, and the latter in the wars of the great Frederick of Prussia, to whom he became an aid-de-camp. Both

were enthusiasts in the cause of American independence, and received distinguished commands in our army. DeKalb gave his life for us at the battle of Camden, and his memory was honored by a monument erected by Congress, upon the ground where he fell. Steuben rendered most invaluable service in the organization and discipline of our armies; was rewarded by Congress with a grant of 1,600 acres of land in our own county of Oneida, in the soil of which he sleeps beneath a monument which our grateful fellow-citizens recently erected and publicly dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies, to his honored name.

The most distinguished, as he was the most endeared to all Americans, was the Marquis de LaFayette, the most devoted and beloved friend of Washington. Of noble descent, of the most finished manners, the favorite of the Kingly Court of France, at the age of less than twenty he broke away from all the blandishments of that Court and the honors it had in store for him, and gave his means, his whole soul and being to our patriotic Colonists in the critical days of their struggle, and identified himself wholly with our fortunes and our cause. His history I need not repeat. It is familiar to us all as household words, and engraven on the heart of every true American, and wherever freedom finds a home and undeviating consecration to principle an honest worshipper, there will his name be found high up on the roll of the world's good and heroic men.

Articles of Confederation.

The next work of importance engaged in by the Congress was the preparation of, introduction into, and the passage by Congress, with the subsequent ratification by the States, of the Articles of Confederation. The subject was first brought to the notice of the Congress in the month of August, 1776; was debated from time to time, but the Articles did not finally pass the Congress until July, 1778, and were ratified in the following November. They were entered into by the thirteen original Colonies proclaimed States by the Declaration of Independence. They were evidently deemed matters of momentous import, and were expected to be of extended duration, for they were entitled "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union," but in the result it turned out that they were of much less importance than was conceived, and a short experiment demonstrated their practical inutility. They did, indeed, accomplish one object, and in effect that was about all the end they subserved. They brought the States into closer bonds and culti-

vated the spirit of union, and therefore, perhaps, fitly preceded the grand work which the Constitution accomplished. They failed for the very reason that rendered the Constitution a necessity as well as a success. They had no inherent vigor and contained in themselves no power of accomplishing what they attempted. Their requisitions upon the States had no force beyond recommendations, and the States were at liberty to disobey without incurring any penalty, and with seemingly little consciousness of self-reproach.

Ordinance of 1787.

Before proceeding to what was substantially the closing, as it was the crowning act of this Congress, let us spend a moment in refreshing our remembrance of an act followed, perhaps by larger results and more enduring consequences than have attended any single act of legislation before or since the birth of our nation. I allude to the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, embraced in the scheme enacted by Congress for the government of that vast tract of country that went by the name of the Northwestern Territory. It comprehended a mighty space now filled up by millions of our enterprising pioneers, but then mostly an untrodden as it was an unexplored wilderness, so far as the white man had penetrated, stretching away from the west and north of the Ohio river onwards towards the Pacific, with dimensions and capacities equally unknown. It had been acquired, so far as any title could be predicated of it, by loose claims and an occasional random settlement of wandering adventurers from various States, the largest claimants being the States of Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, all of whom ultimately made generous cessions to the confederacy, so that it became the common property of the Union. A scheme was devised for its settlement and regulation forming the organic law which should forever prevail in its government. It was entitled "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio." Into this ordinance was inserted this pregnant provision: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This section was prepared and offered in the Committee by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, was adopted by them and reported to Congress, and to its everlasting honor, passed by the unanimous vote of eight States, five of the eight being at that time slave-holding States. What a beneficent provision, and how far reaching in its results who is competent to tell.

In the memorable words of Webster, "it impressed upon the very soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than a freeman. It laid the interdict against servitude in original compact, not only deeper than any local law, but deeper than all local constitutions." No child has been or ever will be born, throughout all that vast domain, that will not have occasion to bless the memory of Nathan Dane, and honor the good and the thoughtful men that passed that beneficent ordinance, "to the last syllable of recorded time."

The Constitution.

And now came the closing, the supreme, the superlative work of the Congress, without which all its other labors might well have proved vain and fruitless. It did not require unusual wisdom nor a protracted experience for sensible men to perceive that a compact between independent powers each asserting its own sovereignty and perpetually disposed to fly off in its centrifugal orbit, might indeed be a confederacy, but was not a Union such as should weld us together in harmonious relations and constitute us a homogeneous people, an autonomous, a self-sustaining Nation.

It is not within the scope of my present purpose to give a history of the great Convention by which that constitution was formed, nor of the various provisions of that instrument, although I must be pardoned if in closing I say a few words concerning the character and functions of that Government which it organized. The history of the Continental Congress substantially ends with the act by which in the resolution of February 21, 1787, it called a meeting of that Convention which was to assemble in the following May for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and in the words of the resolution "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union." This Constitution, the result of the labors of this Convention, was reported to the Congress on the 28th day of September, 1787, unanimously approved on the same day, and immediately transmitted to the States, and as we all know subsequently ratified by the nine States whose assent was required, returned to the Continental Congress thus ratified, which by a resolution duly adopted, appointed the first Wednesday in March, 1789, as the time for the new Government to commence its organized existence.

And here we may appropriately terminate the history of those several assemblages which altogether constitute the Continental Congress. The delegates met indeed, from time to time, until the 2d day of March, 1789, when, only a single member appearing, it

quietly terminated its existence. The last roll-call was made on the 10th day of October, 1788, when only twenty members answered to their names, and of those only two are especially notable, to wit: Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, whose subsequent history has given to each a record of service of immeasurable worth to the new government, and to them individually an immortal name. Had the Congress survived another month, it would have had an existence of fifteen years. There was no beat of drums, no waving of standards, no noisy proclamation of heralds, when it went out of life; but what a record has it left of patriotic, self-sacrificing service, and what a legacy of priceless worth in the Constitution which, through its agency, is bequeathed to us and to our posterity forevermore.

What Government has the Constitution Created?

And now, let us ask what is this Constitution our fathers have given us, and what the character, the functions, or, in other words, the real import and the actual value of the Government under which we live. Is it a mere compact made by sovereign and independent powers, each one the judge of the extent of the power it has conferred, and the manner and mode of its exercise? A Government terminable at the will and subject to the capricious control of each of the high contracting powers that assented to its form, and gave it leave to be? Are we an assemblage of consenting sovereigns to a compact to which at any moment we may put an end in the exercise of that sovereignty; an aggregate of assenting atoms, agreeing indeed to unite, but capable of resolving ourselves into our original elements, and assuming at our own pleasure our primitive form and substance?

These are pregnant questions, put by some with cautious hesitation, by others with bold assurance; and yet the answer to them all seems to me most easy and satisfactory. Our Constitution is not a compact, it was and is not the creation of independent sovereignties, each competent within the very terms and in the spirit of the Constitution to place upon it their own interpretation, and of their own volition without revolution or violence to withdraw themselves from its jurisdiction. Neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution was the offspring of State Sovereignty. Both instruments on their very face confute this doctrine. The Declaration affirmed that, not by the authority of the States as corporate bodies politic, but "in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies," they declared

themselves free and independent States; and the Constitution with equal explicitness declares that "We the People of these United States do ordain and establish this Constitution."

And it is equally clear, to state the proposition in its briefest and most comprehensive terms, that by the Constitution the people of these United States established a nation supreme over all the lesser sovereignties that constituted the separate States, ordaining a Constitution that operated upon all the States in their corporate capacity not only, but directly upon every individual within the boundaries of the nation, and endowing that Government with legislative, judicial and executive functions, adequate to the enforcement of all its provisions against all resistance, whether that resistance should be by the exertion of individual force, or should arm itself with power attempted to be wielded by instrumentalities derived from any corporate source, be it municipal or State, or assuming to be sovereign under any name whatever. In these respects, if I may use the expression, as I do with the profoundest reverence, the General Government is like Deity itself—

> "Sitting serene upon the floods their fury to restrain,
> And as such Sovereign Lord supreme forevermore shall reign."

This is substantially the conclusion to which the great and unanswerable argument of Daniel Webster conducted the people of these United States when he met and overthrew the doughtiest of the champions of States' rights in the great debate of 1830. It is the doctrine which inspired the heart and aroused the unconquerable courage of that sturdy patriot, Andrew Jackson, who by the favor of a gracious Providence was in the Executive chair when nullification raised its head in 1832, and was by his iron will crushed out, as by his iron heel he would have stamped out its aiders and abettors, had they dared to put in actual practice what they proclaimed to be their abstract faith.

But although the snake was scotched, it was not killed, for it required the final and supreme argument to meet the doctrine of secession on its last field, and in agony and blood subdue and overthrow it forever. War is said to be the "*ultima ratio Regum*;" and so it has often proved, and it is the final argument of Republics as well, when the issue presented is that of continued existence or speedy death. Very dear, indeed, should this our freedom and our Union be to us, for with a great price we purchased that freedom, and with a vast sacrifice we preserved that Union. Would you estimate in part that price and sum up that sacrifice? Go, then, and visit the homes and stand by desolated

hearthstones scattered through the land, and mark the vacant chairs once occupied by those who went forth to engage in that last great argument, and "whose feet departing ne'er returned." Walk through the National Cemeteries and count, if you can, the cenotaphs that lift their white heads above the graves of buried heroes, or visit the quiet rural burial-places and note the green mounds, each distinguished by the modest stars and stripes that loving hands with each returning spring has planted there, and ask who sleep beneath, and constitute a portion of that countless host who

"On fame's eternal camping-ground,
Their silent tents have spread
While honor guards with ceaseless round
The bivouac of the dead."

And then tell us what is the meaning of Union and Nationality, and what the extent and boundless comprehensiveness of the compensations that give to those sacrifices their priceless value, their inestimable worth.

The Portents and the Outlook.

Shall this Government that our fathers gave us, and this Union we have done and suffered so much to maintain, survive and be perpetuated, or shall we follow in the track of many Nations—the wrecks and debris of whose existence are strewn all along the shores of time? There are prophets of evil, as well as of good. They have existed in all ages, and do still. Ravens, very black and very hoarse, as black and hoarse as were those that sat upon the castle of Macbeth, and croaked the fatal entrance of Duncan, under his battlements. And some of them delight to sit upon the battlements of our Constitution, and hoarsely croak of present evil and coming disaster. Believe no such birds of ill-omen, listen to no such Cassandra lamentations of impending woe. Have faith in your institutions, and have faith in the men that enjoy as well as administer them.

Much as I admire Macaulay, I do not accept his philosophy. I remember that his training, as well as that of most of the foreign thinkers that have undertaken to sit in judgment upon us and our institutions, has been under monarchical and aristocratic influences, and my answer to his prediction that our institutions will fail because we have given to the people too much freedom, and that they will ultimately turn and destroy us with the very instrument we have given them for their and our protection, is the answer that, in a memorable debate in the 45th Congress, was given by him whom the people have just called to be their chief magistrate for the

coming four years. That answer is this: Neither Macaulay, nor any of the other thinkers to whom allusion has been made, have given proper weight to two potent influences that enter largely into our civilization, and give tone and character to our institutions. One of these is our educational forces, that reach through and will ultimately permeate all classes in our community, and the other is that we have no privileged social or class distinctions that hold men down in hopeless, abject subjection, but all have liberty by the light of our institutions, to rise to the highest position within the gift of the Republic. To use his own striking illustration, "our society does not resemble the crust of the earth, with its impassable barriers of rock. It resembles rather the waters of the mighty sea, deep, broad and boundless, and yet so free in all its parts, that the drop which mingles with the sand at its bottom, is free to rise through all the mass of the superincumbent waters, until it flashes in the light on the crest of the highest wave." This is our answer. Is it not ample, and is it not enough?

For myself, standing upon the verge of three-fourths of a century of our National history, having partaken in a limited degree of the responsibilities attaching to its Legislative, Judicial and Executive functions, and gazing back through that long vista upon its varied fortunes, I avow myself in all that respects our National glory, stability and perpetuity, an Optimist in as large a sense as John Milton was in regard to England, when in that grand burst of eloquence in his plea for the liberty of unlicensed printing, he exclaimed, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole brood of timorous and flocking birds with those that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of Sects and Schisms."

Such was the vision that broke upon the mental eye, of one of the profoundest thinkers and noblest patriots of England. If the historian of the mother-land can not truthfully record its perfect fulfillment there, may it not be the hope and aspiration of the Nation that broke away from her control, forgetting all our sad past and burying it forever in its grave of blood, and looking cheerfully to the future with its rainbow of promise, to more than surpass the dream of the Poet in the peaceful glories that shall crown the coming history of free, united and happy America.

THE PALATINES AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN THE VALLEY OF THE UPPER MOHAWK.

BY SAMUEL EARL.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY 11, 1880.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is not yet one hundred and sixty years since the first European settlers planted themselves in the valley of the upper Mohawk. Before that time the fertile lands bordering on the river were not cultivated, except after the manner of a rude and uncivilized race. The first settlement in this part of the Mohawk valley made by white people began in 1723, and was commenced under peculiar and somewhat extraordinary circumstances, and I might add by an interesting and somewhat extraordinary people.

The first settlement was on what is known as the German Flatts Patent, or Burnettsfield Patent, as it is also called. The lands embraced within this patent were surveyed into lots, taking in lands on both sides of the river from Little Falls to near the village of Frankfort. But the patent does not embrace all the lands adjoining the river between those points. It takes in, however, quite all of the valuable flat land, and leaves out all of the high and hard lands which come down to the river. The intention on the part of the Colonial Government in giving this patent was to give to each person named therein—ninety-two in number—one hundred acres of land, of which about thirty should be low or meadow land, and the balance wood land, or upland, as it was called—the lots to be assigned in severalty to the persons named in the patent, and to be held in fee. The one hundred acres generally constituted one lot. This was so as to all lots in the patent on the south side of the river; but on account of the broad flats on the north side at Herkimer, the lowland thirty acres could not in all cases be laid out so as to lie contiguous to the upland seventy acres assigned to the same person; and where this was not done, the lowland lot and upland lot, which made up the one hundred acres, were designated in the patent by the same

number. The long and narrow lots in this patent, or at least many of them, can yet be plainly perceived by the line fences running back on the hills; and persons passing on the railroad through Herkimer and east of Herkimer, can plainly distinguish many of these lots as they were originally laid out.

I propose on this occasion to give some account of the people to whom this patent was granted, and who settled upon it in the spring of 1723. I shall narrate the circumstances of their coming to this country, and, as briefly as I can, tell who they were, whence they came, and why they came, and how it happened that their final destination was upon the banks of the upper Mohawk. And unless I find your patience wearied by the length of my narrative, I will make a few observations in reference to some of their leading families and their subsequent history.

It is well known to the student of history that in a former division of the map of Europe, there were in Germany what was then called the Upper and Lower Palatinate. They constituted two circles or territorial divisions of Germany, but were not contiguous. The Lower Palatinate on the Rhine, as it was called, embraced territory on both sides of that river, of which the chief cities were Mannheim and Hiedleburg. This district of country, consisting of several thousand square miles, is among the richest and fairest in Europe, and in the latter part of the seventeenth century it belonged wholly to Germany. On account of the almost incessant wars between France and Germany, and the exposed situation of this rich and populous district of country, it was frequently overrun and often devastated by the armies of both of the contending parties. Its inhabitants had scarcely an interval of repose from the calamities of war. But the hardest trials to which the people of the Palatinate were subjected, occurred in the desolating wars waged during the reign of Louis XIV of France. He invaded the Palatinate in 1689 and in 1692, and several times before that, and each time ravaged it with fire and sword. It had often been devastated before; but it is said nothing occurred in all the previous invasions of that war-stricken country to be compared with what was done by the armies of Louis, and by his orders, in his last campaign in that part of Germany. The French commander received orders from his cruel master to turn this fine district of country into a wilderness, and he did so. He announced to the terror-stricken inhabitants—then consisting of more than a half-million of as cultivated and refined a people as could be found on the continent of Europe—that he

granted them three days of grace, and that within that time they must leave and shift for themselves. It was in the winter time when this summons came, and as we are told, the roads and fields, which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children flying from their homes, and left to wander about the fields without shelter and without food, while they beheld their homes reduced to ashes, their goods seized and their possessions pillaged by a rapacious soldiery. The excesses of the French army let loose upon the inhabitants of this fair country, were frightful in the extreme. Macaulay, in speaking of one of these invasions, says:

"The flames went up from every market place, every hamlet, every parish church, every country seat within the devoted provinces. The fields where the corn had been sown were plowed up. The orchards were hewn down. No promise of a harvest was left on the fertile plains near what had once been Frankenthal. Not a vine, not an almond tree was to be seen on the slopes of the sunny hills around what had once been Hiedleburg. No respect was shown to palaces, to temples, to monasteries, to infirmaries, to beautiful works of art, to monuments of the illustrious dead. The far-famed castle of the Elector Palatine was turned into a heap of ruins. The adjoining hospital was sacked. The provisions, the medicines, the pallets on which the sick lay were destroyed. The very stones of which Mannheim had been built were flung into the Rhine."

Such were the horrors of that war-afflicted people. The destroying Angel could not have done worse towards them.

At last, however, peace came in 1697. The short repose from the strifes and desolations of war which followed, gave to the distressed inhabitants of the Palatinate an opportunity to calmly contemplate their situation. The past to them was full of horrible suffering; the present was full of destitution and misery; and as to the future for these impoverished people, it was simply distressing for them to consider it in connection with their native land.

Under such circumstances and thus situated, it seems natural enough that they should look about for better homes and for greater safety for life and property. These people, thus scourged by cruel war, formed the Palatine emigration to this country, and some of them are the same persons whose names appear in the German Flatts Patent to which I have referred, and in which they are called "distressed Palatines"—distressed most certainly they were by every calamity following in the trail of war; grief was in every family, and bitter poverty was their lot. Under these

circumstances, it is plain to be seen that out of a people thus situated there would be many who would be glad to leave their native Rhine and seek new homes elsewhere. In their poverty-stricken condition, they turned their eyes towards England for help. She was the enemy of France and the ally of Germany in the recent wars; and it was but natural that they should expect aid from that friendly and sympathizing source. And accordingly we find that a small emigration of Palatines came over to England in 1708. These were provided for at the public expense and sent over to America, and given lands at Newburg. The favorable reception they met with while in England and the attractions of this country were doubtless reported back to their war-stricken friends on the Rhine; and the next year witnessed such an extraordinary emigration from the Lower Palatinate to England as to surprise the English people and puzzle the authorities there how to provide for or what to do with them. Their numbers were great and their necessities were great.

By the emigration of that year from the Palatinate, England received an addition of about 13,000 poor and destitute people, and to provide for them private charities were taxed and the public burdens greatly increased. The attention of English statesmen was directed to the subject of their disposal, and various plans were suggested and considered in reference to planting them in different places in her Majesty's dominions. Commissioners were appointed to take charge of them, and also to provide for their settlement. It was their wish that they be sent to some colony and be kept together; but this seemed to be impracticable, and some were sent to Ireland, others to the West Indies, and to further reduce the burden of their support, many of the young men were induced to enlist in the English army, so that at the beginning of the year 1710 there were left undisposed of between 3,000 and 4,000 of these poor Palatines, and they remained in and about the city of London until March following, when they embarked for America. It was the proposition of Colonel Hunter, the newly-appointed Governor of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, to bring them over with him, and to plant them on lands bordering on the Hudson or Mohawk, suitable for the production of naval stores, such as resin, tar and pitch, for the use of the Government, in order that the public treasury might in this way be reimbursed for the expenses incurred on their account. In the reports and statements made to the British Government, the advantages of tar-making by these people were set forth in the

most favorable light, and were made to appear very plausible. Great expectations were indulged in, and the Government was encouraged to continue its expenses for them and provide for their transportation to America.

The poor Palatines were so utterly helpless that they were willing to accept any terms which might be required of them, in order that they might be exempt from the unutterable miseries of war, such as was almost continously waged upon their native soil. Before embarking for this country, they were required to enter into a written agreement that, in consideration of moneys already expended on their account, and to be expended upon them by the Crown for their transportation and settlement here, they would labor on such lands as should be allotted to them in the Province of New York, in the production of naval stores, until such time as they should reimburse the Government. And in this contract it was stipulated that the Queen would transport them to America, and would furnish them with provisions and clothing for two years after their arrival here; and it was agreed, also, on their part, that they would not leave the Province of New York without permission. And it was further provided in the contract that each person should receive forty acres of land free of all taxes for seven years, on condition of performing their contract.

The Palatines who embarked for our shores under this arrangement were upwards of 3,000, and they were probably the last of the emigration of the previous year to England. They set sail in March, 1710, in a fleet of ten ships, which were crowded and poorly supplied with provisions and suitable supplies for the voyage. The ships became separated by rough and stormy weather, and the voyage was a long and tedious one; and it was not until in July that the last ship-load arrived in New York. They suffered terribly on the passage, many died and nearly all were sick, and they arrived in a most deplorable condition. According to the report made by Governor Hunter, July 24, 1710, upon the arrival of the last ship, 470 and upwards of the wretched Palatines died on the way. But according to their own accounts in reporting the sufferings of their passage, 1,700 of their number died on ship board and upon landing in New York. It is hardly possible to realize the amount of suffering and distress there must have been among these poor people upon that passage, when nearly one-half sickened and died on the way. The number of Palatines surviving this terrible voyage, as reported by those who furnished rations for them after their arrival in New York, was 2,227; but

it was supposed in England the number was less and not to exceed 2,000. Certainly, those furnishing the rations for these people upon their landing, had no interest in reporting the number less than they actually were; and assuming the number that survived the voyage to have been as large as reported, and that there were 4,000, as claimed by the Palatines who constituted the ten ship-loads, then the frightful mortality on the passage was as claimed by them; and that is, about 1,700 of their number died.

Death upon the ocean made many orphans to be taken care of. They were taken by the public authorities in New York and apprenticed in families in the city and in the surrounding country. About one hundred orphans were thus provided for, among them John Peter Zenger, who was apprenticed to William Bradford, the first printer in New York, and who afterwards became famous in New York for his great struggle for the freedom of the press, on account of which he has been called the Morning Star of American liberty—a title which justly belongs to him.*

As soon as arrangements could be made, these poor people were sent up the Hudson and placed upon lands selected for them—one parcel was on the east side and the other on the west side of the river, and nearly opposite. The tract on the east side is now embraced in the town of Germantown, in Columbia county; that on the west side is in the present town of Saugerties, in Ulster county. They were placed upon these lands on the Hudson in the fall of 1710 and in the winter and spring of 1711. The contract for furnishing them with provisions was given to Robert Livingston, who was the ancestor of that very distinguished and for a long time prominent and influential family in this State. He was charged with unfair dealing towards the poor Palatines and with the Government. Short weights in flour and poor beef, and often none at all, were frequent subjects of complaint; and connected with furnishing these people with needful supplies, whether of provisions, clothing, or implements of trade or husbandry, there was some overreaching of one kind or another, which caused discontent among them. They were scantily provided with food and clothing, and implements and tools with which to work were slow in coming; and in this way their patience was severely taxed.

* Zenger was indicted, in 1735, for a libel on account of his strictures upon the Colonial Government, which appeared in his paper published in New York. He nobly defended himself and the right of a free press. See his trial, 17 Howel's State Trials, page 675.

They were willing and ready to work, but for a long time no fit tools were provided.

They were principally husbandmen, but among them were mechanics belonging to the different trades, and they also had with them their ministers of religion and schoolmasters. Without anything else to do, and being poorly fed, some 300 of their number volunteered in that fruitless expedition under Colonel Nicholson against Canada in the summer of 1711. Many of the persons who were in that expedition became the pioneer settlers on the German Flatts Patent, and among them appear the names of Edick, Shoemaker, Doxstader, Folts, Orendorf, Bellinger, Weber, Smith, Bell and other names still prominent in this part of the Mohawk valley. And in that expedition was John Jost Petri, who became one of their most prominent men on the Mohawk; and also Nicholas Feller. The name also of George Kerchmer appears in the list of the Palatine volunteers in that expedition; and I am inclined to think the name was intended for Herchmer or Hercheimer, as the name of Herkimer was sometimes written. And I am inclined to think, also, though this is mere conjecture, that George Kerchmer, as the name appears, if it was meant for Herkimer, was the grandfather or uncle of General Herkimer, of Oriskany fame.

During the winter and spring of 1711, these Palatines employed themselves in erecting their humble habitations on the Hudson, and in making clearings to plant as soon as the season would permit. Thus employed, they got through the winter. As under their contract they were to have forty acres of land each, surveyors were sent to mark out their lands; and it was now for the first time, as they claimed, represented to them that they were not to have the title to the lands set off to them until they had, by their labor in producing naval stores, reimbursed the Government for all its expenses on their account. This understanding of the contract was new to them, and they complained that it was misread to them in England. Their eyes were now open to behold their real condition. They saw before them a long and hard service for the Crown, during which time their condition would be no better than serfs bound to the soil. What added to their discouragement was, they found the land poor. They could not see how they could support themselves and their families on forty acres of such unpropitious soil, and at the same time perform their contract with the Government. Discontent followed. They declared they came to America to establish their families; to secure lands for their chil-

dren, on which after their death they would be able to support themselves, which they insisted could not be done there. Some of their number, in considering the subject, thought they had better submit to their hard lot; others argued against it. To those who advised to submit with patience and hope for better fortunes, it was answered, "that patience and hope make fools of those who fill their stomachs with them." But after a great deal of hesitation and some mutinous conduct on their part, they were induced to go to work in girdling trees, preparatory for making tar. Some of them, however, were impatient to get out of this service, and they left the settlement without the consent provided for in their contract; and accordingly we find, in October, 1711, an order issued by the Colonial Secretary directing the constables to cause all the Palatines to go to their own settlements, and to forewarn all of their districts that they do not harbor any Palatines at their peril. Governor Hunter it seems had so much trouble in his management of the Palatines for the year 1711, that he resolved upon a different and more severe course for their management in 1712; and for that purpose he ordered a lieutenant and some soldiers from Albany to stand guard over them, and to enforce, if need be, the regulations adopted by him for their government, and to enforce the orders, also, of the overseers of their work. One regulation was: "That no man upon any pretense whatever should leave his work without the license of the overseer."

By September of this year, fortunately for the Palatines, the money and credit of the Governor for their further support were exhausted. The time had now arrived when it was supposed and contemplated by the contract entered into by them with the Crown, they would be able to support themselves, and at the same time produce naval stores for the Government. But at this time they were as poor as ever, and were not in a self-supporting condition; so the Governor, intending to appeal to the Home Government for further appropriations in their behalf, and as a temporary shift, directed the agent in charge of them, in September, 1712, to call them together and communicate to them the situation, and to tell them to accept any employment they might be able to get from farmers and others here and in the Province of New Jersey, for their own and their families' support, until they should be recalled by his proclamation to resume the work under their contract; and he added 'that the Palatines be informed, also, that the Government did not intend to abandon the

tar work, or to recede from any part of the agreement made with them; and notice was given them that they would be treated as deserters from the Queen's service, if they went elsewhere than in this Province and in the adjoining Province of New Jersey. They were forbidden, also, to depart under pain of immediate arrest without a ticket of leave. Thus situated, and having no means of support, many of them did go out to service, and taking advantage of the ticket of leave given them, some doubtless wandered off and visited other and better lands.

The lands at the Schoharie were visited; and it said the friendly Indians there invited them to come and possess the land, saying they would sustain them in the possession, though they had sold the lands to Queen Anne. These lands were rich and the Indians were friendly; and here the half-famished Palatines wished to settle, and they accordingly petitioned the Governor to be permitted to settle there. But the Governor, not willing to release them from the performance of their contract with the Government, refused to give his consent, and told them they must live and die on the lands where he had placed them. Scarcity of provisions and want of funds, however, left Governor Hunter no other alternative but to let them go and shift for themselves. Availing themselves of this opportunity to escape the bondage in which they had been held, they resolved to abandon the settlements on the Hudson. To remain was impossible; they had no provisions and no funds. They must go or starve, and they resolved to go. Accordingly, in the winter of 1713, a terribly severe winter, without food and almost naked, amidst the cries and lamentations of the women and children, they set out for Schoharie, and went by the way of Albany and Schenectady. They left in a body; and to understand what their condition was, it must be remembered that the snow was deep, that they had but few if any domestic animals, and that they were ill-clad and without provisions. They took all their personal effects with them; what they could not carry on their backs and heads, was placed upon sledges drawn by the hardy and brave men and women who made up the toiling and wailing procession, which moved slowly and tediously up the Hudson. This was a hard journey; but undertaken by a hardy race to escape not only the hard fate of an almost perpetual bondage under their contract, but actual starvation. Their destitution and suffering drew from the charitable inhabitants on the route some needful supplies. Their lot thus far was a hard one—much harder I imagine than we, in these happier times, are fully able to understand.

Many of these poor people were provided for during the winter by the charitable Dutch residents of Albany and Schenectady; otherwise, they must have perished. But some of them, although it was mid-winter and the ground covered three feet with snow, pushed forward to Schoharie from Schenectady, cutting the road through the wilderness. In an account given of this most surprising undertaking, in a statement made in behalf of these Palatines, it is stated that "all hands fell to work, and in two weeks' time cleared the way through the woods fifteen miles in length with the utmost toil and labor, though almost starved and without bread." Those who remained at Albany and Schenectady during the winter, were provided with such assistance as the inhabitants could give them; and they were doubtless provided with some domestic animals, and they went on and joined their companions at the Schoharie in the spring of 1713. They all came there destitute and extremely poor—destitute as to food and clothing, and poor as to every comfort of civilized life. And here came, according to some accounts, 300 families; but there were probably not over 160 families, which appears to be the number more frequently stated in reports of their grievances.

The trials of these poor Palatines did not end here. They found after they had made homes for themselves at Schoharie, and had begun to enjoy some of the comforts of civilized life there, that the lands possessed by them were claimed by other proprietors, with whom they could not make satisfactory terms for their continued occupation. They were bound to be free, and wanted free lands; and finding they could not make terms which would be satisfactory to them with the persons who claimed to be the rightful proprietors of the lands, and finding, also, that no relief could be had from the Colonial Government as against the persons who set up a prior title to the lands at the Schoharie, they resolved to break up their settlement there and seek out new homes upon lands which they could claim as their own, and be free. Accordingly a considerable portion of them struck into the wilderness for Pennsylvania, and took up lands there, where their descendants still remain. Another portion of them came to the Mohawk valley, and under a license granted to them by Governor Burnett to purchase lands of the Indians on the Mohawk, they obtained a deed from the representatives of the Five Nations of the land which is embraced in the German Flatts Patent, of which I have spoken. The grant from the Indians is to John Conrad Wiser, John Jost Petri, Conrad Rickert, Nicholas Feller, and others who are named, and there is added in the deed as follows: "With all other High Dutchmen or

Palatines in this Government for a settlement." This grant, on the petition of John Jost Petri and Conrad Rickert in behalf of themselves and others, the Palatines concerned in the purchasing of lands of the Indians, was confirmed at a Council held in New York, January 17, 1723, and a warrant was at once issued to the Surveyor General to make the survey, and it was ordered that every man, woman and child receive one hundred acres of land; and that the names of all persons concerned be reported to the Surveyor General or his deputy. The names reported, it would seem, were only ninety-two in number, as this is the number of names mentioned in the patent, which is dated April 30, 1725. Not all of the families that left Schoharie came up the Mohawk valley as far as the German Flatts Patent. Some of them remained upon the river in Montgomery county, and settled in the present township of Palatine, which takes its name from them, as do also Palatine Church and Palatine Bridge—names familiar to all of us.

It is proper to state here that of the emigration to this country of that large body of Palatines in 1710, a few remained in the city of New York; and that of the number who were sent up the river to make tar for the Government, some remained at those settlements, who preferred to bear the ills of their present situation than to take the chances of unknown trials in the wilderness beyond the then borders of civilization. And it is true, also, that some remained at Schoharie and accepted the conditions of the proprietors of the land rather than give up their lands; so that to this day there are descendants in each of those places bearing the same names of their ancestors who partook of many of the sorrows and trials to which I have referred.

I have attempted thus far to trace, with as much brevity as I could, the history and the trials of the people who became the pioneer settlers of the valley of the upper Mohawk; and to show whence they came, and why they came to their final destination on the Mohawk.*

*Many of the facts thus far stated in reference to the Palatines may be found in the Documentary History and in the Colonial History of the State of New York; and I am indebted, also, to the valuable paper read by that eminent scholar, Henry A. Homes, LL. D., the present State Librarian, before the Albany Institute in 1871, on the subject of the Palatine Emigration to England in 1709, and to the authorities he cites, for some of the facts I have stated relating to that emigration, and as to what occurred in England in reference to the Palatines after their arrival there. The cruel treatment of these people by the French Monarch filled all Protestant Europe with horror, and nearly all the historians of that time make mention of the barbarous conduct of the French towards them.

But the subsequent history of these people is not without interest; and I will continue my narrative in respect to them for a short time longer.

The location of the Palatines was upon the then distant and exposed frontier of our State. Their relations with the Indians were friendly, and the soil was generous. They set to work and soon made homes for themselves; and without delay built for their use a church and a school-house. This was before the year 1730, and they were built on the south side of the river, where the old stone church now stands. Not long after that a church was built on lands given by John Jost Petri, just where the present brick church stands, near the Court House in the village of Herkimer. A church on this site was burned at the time the Palatine village, as it was called, on the north side of the river, was sacked by the French and Indians, under the command of M. DeBeletre, in November, 1757.

These people, I mean the first generation of settlers, were quite well educated, and were well informed; and some of them became prominent and useful in various employments in the public service, such as furnishing and transporting supplies for the garrisons that were established for the defense of the frontiers; and some of them were usefully employed at the carrying-place at Little Falls. At that early day the Mohawk river was, and for nearly a century afterwards continued to be, the highway of commerce from Schenectady westward, and on it was mainly transported the merchandise used by the inhabitants, and also the military stores and supplies for the garrison at Oswego, and for military use elsewhere. At this carrying-place freights of all kinds had to be carried between the upper and lower end of the falls in the river by land carriage. The road used for this purpose was on the south side of the river.* At that early day, and for many years afterwards, the only road through the valley of the upper Mohawk was on the south side of the river. The situation of the settlers on the German Flatts Patent gave them the monopoly of the important and constantly increasing business at this point in the river. And I find among the papers of John Jost Petri abundant evidence that he and his family were largely inter-

* Smollett, Vol. 2, at page 163, speaks of the land carriage at the Little Falls, and uses language in describing it which to one acquainted with the locality, leaves little room to doubt that the road used for this purpose was on the south side of the river.

ested in this carrying-place, employing men and teams in the business.

As Petri was an undoubted leader among these people, and was a grown-up man when, with the thousands of other Palatines, he left his native land in 1709, I will here give some further account of him, and make a brief reference, also, to a few other leading and prominent Palatine families who belonged to the same emigration, and went through the bitter trials and sufferings of which I have spoken. John Jost Petri was one of the committee who set out from Schoharie to select a new location for the "distressed Palatines." He was one of the number who petitioned Governor Burnett for a license to purchase the lands of the Indians; and he is named in the Indian deed, which is dated July 9, 1722. He was one of two who, in behalf of the Palatines, petitioned the Governor in Council to confirm the deed given by the Indians, and to grant the patent; and he is the first named in the patent. The lot assigned to him is lot No. 8, on the north side of the river. It is the same lot upon which the paper-mill in Herkimer and the water-power connected with it are located. A lot of eighty-six acres, upon which is now the main portion of the village of Herkimer, and which for a long time was called the *Stone Ridge*, was assigned to his wife; and it was upon this lot he lived, and where he and upwards of one hundred others were taken prisoners in November, 1757, and where afterwards was Fort Dayton. The house in which he lived was only about thirty rods northerly from the Court House in Herkimer. There is an old house still standing on the precise spot where he lived, and the old well used by him, and which was in all probability dug over one hundred and fifty years ago, still remains. From this well the people in the fort on this spot were supplied with water during two wars.

When he was taken prisoner in the French and Indian war, and for some time before, he was a contractor for the Crown in furnishing supplies and disbursing moneys in the public service. In consequence of the burning of his house at the time of the destruction of the German Flatts on the north side of the river in November, 1757, he lost all his accounts and valuable papers; and when he returned from his captivity, about a year afterwards, he set to work to get his accounts allowed and paid by the proper authorities. The late Solomon Petrie, of Little Falls, was his great-grandson; and such papers as were left by this old Palatine came down to him, and are now in the possession of the widow of his son, who has kindly shown them to me. From these papers,

many of which are interesting, it appears that John Jost Petri had large transactions with the Colonial authorities, and that at the time he was taken prisoner large sums of money were due him, and his vouchers were lost. He was obliged, as best he could, to make out duplicates of his accounts and satisfy the Commissioners who were to examine and report on them, that they were just and should be paid. He evidently was subjected to a great deal of trouble in getting his accounts in such shape as to be allowed. I found among his papers an account in his favor amounting to 357*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* against his Excellency Governor Shirly. This account commences May, 1755, and ends in October of the same year, and among the items are the following:

May 16.	To ten men making road at the carrying-place, each three days, is thirty days, at 5*s.* a day,.....	£20 00
June 9.	To six horses which I bought for.....	48 10
July 27.	To 96 skipples peas sent to Oswego, with all charges,.....	44 05
October 28.	To 45 skipples flour delivered to Captain Williams, ...	9 00

Another account is headed as follows:

"Account of riding at the carrying-place paid by John Jost Petri, Anno 1755, for his Majesties service."

Then follows a long list of names, with the number of loads drawn by each, and the prices charged and paid by him. This account foots up for riding loads, as it is expressed, at the carrying-place, 1,352*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, and for riding loads at the Canajoharie Falls, 444*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*

Some of the items in the account for the carrying-place are as follows:

George Lodwick Smith,	67	loads, at 9*s.*,.....	£30	03 00
Jacob Nicholas Weber,	44	" "	19	16 00
Thomas Shoemaker,	95½	" "	42	19 06
Frederick Orendorf,	93	" "	41	07 00
Leonard Helmer,	29	" "	13	01 00

The whole number of persons employed in riding loads at the carrying-place appearing in the account is 58, and the number of loads drawn is 2,633.

The number of persons employed at the Canajoharie Falls appearing in the account is 18, and they are credited with draw-

ing 2,186 loads. And in this account he credits himself with paying Philiip Bell for 15 days' work at the fort and storehouse, 5*s.* per day, 3*l.* 15*s.*

This account is endorsed as follows:

"1755. John Jost Petri account for riding at the great carrying-place and Canajoharie Falls, charges in account the 26th April, 1756, 1,352*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, 444*l.* 14*s.*"

I should state here that the Canajoharie Falls carrying-place referred to in this account was at the Little Falls, and that the great carrying-place referred to was between Rome and Wood creek; and that the fort and storehouse mentioned in the account were his own house, which was used as a fort, and was called a fort at that time.

As all his papers and vouchers were lost by the burning of his house, he was obliged to furnish some evidence of his expenditures for the public service, and accordingly he procured certificates from persons to whom he paid money, and the purpose for which he paid the same. And among such certificates I find the following:

"This is to certify that I have received of Mr. John Jost Petri, in the year of our Lord 1755, the sum of six pounds for 30 skipples of wheat at 4*s.* per skipple, which he had of me for his Majesties' use. Received by me.

JOHN JACOB WEBER."

He evidently pressed his claim upon the Government for payment upon such certificates and such other evidences as he could obtain. I find among the old papers relating to these accounts a statement made by the Commissioners whose duty it was to report upon them, in the following language:

"The Commissioners' remarks on Hon. Jost Petri's accounts: Hon. Jost Petri's whole supplies and services amounted to 2,590*l.* 16*s.* 9*d.* Mr. Petri's house was burned and he was carried captive into Canada, so that all his vouchers were destroyed. His age and the distance he lives from New York has prevented us from examining him personally. From the information we can get, and from the knowledge of one of the Commissioners, we learn that he furnished many things and performed many services, probably to higher amount than the money he has received from the agents at New York. It will not be difficult to collect on the spot the true amount of his accounts. We would, therefore, admit the charge of the money paid him by the agents at New York being 2,154*l.* 12*s.*, and advise your Excellency to order the balance of 436*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* to remain in the Deputy Paymaster General's

hands, as a sufficient pledge to indemify the Crown for any overcharge that may appear upon a close examination on the spot."

From this document and others which have come under my notice, I am satisfied that this leading Palatine was actively engaged in various important services for the Government, and was honored with the confidence of the persons in power, and he became rich; and I am satisfied, also, that the entire settlement at the German Flatts prospered greatly by their favorable location on the Mohawk for raising and furnishing supplies for the military posts on the frontiers. Their services likewise were frequently called into requisition to build roads, transport military supplies to Oswego, and do many other things for the public service which brought them money. As to John Jost Petri, he was the natural leader among these people. It is said of him that he was tall—"full six feet and well proportioned," and had a fair business education and capacity for business. He was twice married and had eight children, four sons and four daughters; and it is said that one of his daughters was the wife of Christian Shell, the hero of Shell's Bush. He made his will in 1757, which is still in existence, and died at a very advanced age in 1770. Several of his sons were employed in the public service; one was killed at Oriskany and another at Little Falls during the Revolutionary war. Most of the persons who bear the name of Petrie, as the name is now spelled, still residing in Herkimer county, are descendants of this old Palatine. The late David and Joram Petrie, formerly prominent and well-known business men at Little Falls, were among his descendants, as were, also, the late Solomon Petrie, Esq., and the late Hon. George Petrie, both of Little Falls. The latter was a Member of Congress from the Herkimer and Montgomery District in 1847 and 1848. John M. Petrie, who represented Herkimer county in the Legislature of the State in 1808 and 1809, was a grandson of the old Palatine. One of his sons was Captain Marcus Petrie; and among the old papers of this family is one of some interest as showing their local prominence; and with it I will close what I have to say in respect to the Petrie family on this occasion. It is headed "Instructions for Captain Marcus Petri," and is as follows:

"You are, with the company of which I have this day appointed you Captain, immediately to proceed to the west end of the great carrying-place from the Mohawk river to the Wood creek, and encamp at the place where Captain Douglas was encamped. You are as often as is necessary to keep the company employed in scouting near the said carrying-place and near the

bank of the Wood creek, and to do all in your power with the said company to defend the same and to protect the battoes coming and going between Oswego and the carrying-place from any attempt of the enemy; and if at any time you should discover any parties of French or their Indians in the neighborhood of the carrying-place, you are to give immediate notice thereof to Captain Williams, who is posted at the east end of the same, and to follow his directions if you join him in the attack of them, or in the defense of his or your own camp.

You are to take proper care of what provisions or stores shall be sent you by Captain Williams in their way to Oswego, and to guard them and the storehouse at your encampment. You are to dispatch the battoes with provisions and stores from your end of the carrying-place and down to Canada creek, and to keep the Wood creek cleared from any obstructions of trees or otherwise.

For these services, you as Captain are to be allowed ten shillings per day, and the men under your command four shillings per day, New York currency; you and they providing your own clothing and arms, ammunition and every other necessary.

By order of his Excellency's command.

August 10, 1755. W. SHIRLEY.

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, *Secretary.*"

Another leading Palatine at the beginning of the settlement on the German Flatts Patent was Nicholas Feller. He belonged to the emigration of 1710, and he partook of their hard lot. He was among the number who were settled on the Hudson, and who volunteered in the expedition against Canada in 1711, and he was at Schoharie. He was, also, one of the delegation chosen to seek out the new location on the banks of the Mohawk. His name appears in the Indian deed to which I have referred. The lot assigned to him in the German Flatts Patent is lot No. 7, next easterly to the lot of John Jost Petri. He was an old man in 1734. In that year he made his will, which was witnessed by his neighbor Petri, and he died soon after. He was a leader among the Palatines and prominent in their church. He left a son and several daughters, as appears by his will; one of his daughters was the wife of Nicholas Wollaber, who gave the land upon which the old stone church stands, on the south side of the river, and who is the ancestor of all of that name in the county of Herkimer. Another daughter was the wife of John Cristman, who is the ancestor of all of that name in the county. And another daughter was the wife of George Hilts, and he is the ancestor of all of that name in the county. The old Palatine, Nicholas Feller, gave his lot No. 7 to his daughter, the wife of George Hilts, and it is still in great part owned by his descendants of that name, who are in the fifth line of descent from him.

I will not pursue the subject of individual families among these Palatines further than to say a few words about a family whose name is preserved in the annals of history. I mean the name of Herkimer. John Jost Herkimer is one of the ninety-two persons named in the German Flatts Patent. I am inclined to think that he, too, belonged to the emigration of 1710. The name, however, does not appear in the list of Palatines on the Hudson spelled as we find it in the German Flatts Patent. But none of this family, so far as I have seen their signatures, could write it well. Often some of the letters of the name are left out; sometimes the wrong letters are used; and I have thought it quite probable that the name Kerchmer, as it appears in the list of those who volunteered in the Canada expedition, was intended for Herkimer. If so, it is probable that he came over with the emigration of 1710; otherwise, he came over with the third emigration of Palatines, which was in the autumn of 1722. But whichever way it is, his name was handed in with the others for a share of the land selected on the Mohawk; and lot No. 36, on the south side of the river, was assigned to him. This lot is a little east of the old stone church, which is upon lot No. 30. Here he lived for many years, and until his children had grown up. He then moved upon a lot a little to the west of the stone church, where he built a substantial house of stone, which was afterwards made into a fort, and was called Fort Herkimer, and was used as such for the defense of the settlement during the French and Indian war, and also during the war of the Revolution. Opposite to where this house was built and fort stood, there is a large island in the river, which was owned by him, and which to this day goes by the name of Herkimer Island. It is said that the second son of John Jost Herkimer, whose name was Hendrick, or Henry, was the first white child born on the German Flatts Patent. This son was the grandfather of the venerable Timothy Herkimer, who resides near the foot of Schuyler Lake, on lands which were owned and occupied by his grandfather before the Revolutionary war.

As to this old Palatine, he was no less prominent in the settlement than his neighbor on the north side of the river, John Jost Petri. He was an active man, and was prosperous and accumulated a large estate. He had less education than Petri, and I doubt if he had the address and business qualifications of Petri, but nevertheless he was a leader among these people, and he and his family had great prominence in the settlement. The records of the old stone church show that he was a ruling spirit in it. His

son, the General, lived with him at Fort Herkimer until 1760. At that time the family had special prominence in the Mohawk valley, and was wealthy and influential, outstripping in this respect the Petri family. This old patriarch had a large family. His children numbered five sons and eight daughters. The latter married leading and influential citizens of the valley, among whom were the Rev. Abraham Rosecrantz and Hendrick Frey. The sons took an active part in the stirring events of the Revolution; and the name of Herkimer has been made historical by the patriotic services, bravery and heroic death of General Nicholas Herkimer, who was the eldest son of John Jost. This old Palatine died in 1775, leaving a will which is on file in the office of the Clerk of the Court of Appeals. It is an interesting document. In it he disposes of a large estate, including negro slaves.

There are no descendants of his by the name of Herkimer remaining in Herkimer county; but there are many descendants of his bearing other names, not only in Herkimer, but elsewhere. Among his descendants is Utica's distinguished townsman, the Hon. Roscoe Conkling. Judge John Herkimer, who lived in the present town of Danube, on lands which belonged to General Herkimer, was a grandson of John Jost, and he was a Member of Congress, elected from the Herkimer District in 1822. No other of the family of that name after the struggle of the Revolution ever occupied any public position in the county, so far as I am able to ascertain. But, as I have said, the name is preserved in the annals of history, and it will be handed down to posterity as a name honored and to be honored. This Society has in charge the grateful duty of erecting to the memory of a brave son of this old Palatine an enduring monument on the bloody field of Oriskany where he sacrificed his life for his country. That duty I know will be most faithfully performed.

Sir William Johnson had frequent occasion to call on these Palatines to assist him in matters connected with the public service in the valley of the Mohawk, and on the frontiers. He knew them well; and, deeming it a military necessity to have a road direct to Oswego from their village, on the 22d day of July 1756 he addressed a letter to John Jost Herkimer and John Jost Petri, jointly, at the German Flatts, requesting them to cut out the road to Oswego through the Six Nations, as he expressed it, saying he would like to see them, and arrange for the work and the compensation. The answer to Sir William's request is an interesting document, and as it throws some light on the situation of affairs in this valley at that time, and

gives also some idea of the character of these people, I will give it here—first calling attention to the fact that it purports to be the answer, not only of Petri and Herkimer but of Conrad Frank, who was also one of the leading spirits among the Palatines and a near neighbor of Herkimer. The original of this letter may be found among the unpublished Johnson Papers in the State Library at Albany, and is as follows:

"HON'D SIR: We had the honor of yours of the 22d ultimo, about laying out a road from here to Oswego through the Six Nations: and as for my part, Han. Jost Petri, I am old and lame in one of my hips, and it is not in my power to undertake any such fatigue. And for me, John Jost Herkimer, I dare not leave my house upon account of the military, for they tyrannize over me as they think proper, for the commanders use me as ill as the common soldiers. In short they take a prerogative power in their hands, not only by infesting my house and taking up my rooms at pleasure, but take what they think necessary of my effects for their own use without asking. And if such doings be allowed to go on, not only must I and my family suffer, but also all my neighbors.

And as for my part, Conrad Frank, it is impossible for me to undertake it, upon account of soldiers, bateaux men and sailors, &c., for my house every day is full either of one sort or another; and within this short time has suffered considerable by the soldiers under Captain Harris' command, for they not only used my house as they thought proper, but likewise took whatever of my live cattle they thought proper for their use, without either asking liberty or paying me for their value. And supposing I should undertake such a thing and leave my house as matters stand in at present, I must, I imagine, never to see my wife or children again. And, notwithstanding all the endeavors one and all of us have made, we could not find any one proper person that would undertake such a piece of work. And although one and all of us would be ready and willing to do anything that would tend to his majesty's service or the good of our country, yet, as matters stand, we must be excused.

We remain, with due respect, Hon'd Sir, your Honor's most obedient and humble servants.

JOHN JOST HERCHEIMER,
JOHN CONRAD FRANK."

For what reason John Jost Petri did not sign this letter I will not undertake to express an opinion here. His excuse was that he was old and lame. I will say however that the road was cut out, and that it was done by Captain Marcus Petri, who was the oldest son of John Jost.

I must not pursue this subject any farther at this time.

From what I have said, it can, I think, be easily understood what kind of people these Palatines were, and why they came to the valley of the upper Mohawk, and why they prospered so well after they came. For thirty years after they settled upon

these lands, they were not disturbed by wars or rumors of war. During this long interval of repose, their comforts and stores of wealth increased, and amidst the accumulated blessings by which they were surrounded, the sad memories of their former sufferings were almost forgotten. They had good homes and good lands, and they were a prosperous, a happy and a united people. Common dangers and a common interest kept them together. They had one faith and worshiped at the same altar. This repose and to them most happy exemption from the horrors of war, were not destined to continue. The French and Indian war at last came, and the torch and tomahawk did fearful work, and rendered them again poor and wretched. This was in 1757; and before they could fairly recover from the losses and the griefs occasioned by this war, the tragic scenes of the Revolution were enacted. These wars, on account of the exposed situation of the Palatines in this then distant frontier, brought untold miseries on them again. The valley of the Mohawk was several times scourged with fire and sword, and to the torch were added the tomahawk and scalping-knife, and they were again and again most cruelly scourged by enemies who did not spare even the infant in the cradle.

Passing over the events which occurred in the valley of the Mohawk during two wars, in which these Palatines suffered so much in the defense of their country and their homes, I will simply say that they came out of them poor and almost crushed in spirit. They suffered much; many of them were driven away from their homes never to return, and many were killed. They had again and again lost their all, save their naked lands and their patriotism. Their fertile fields, except in the immediate vicinity of the forts, were turned into a wilderness.

My narrative ends here, and I will only add that soon after the war of the Revolution emigration set in rapidly from the New England States, and the unoccupied lands on the Mohawk, and the high lands north and south of the river, were taken up by an enterprising and a more ambitious class of people; and in the race for supremacy the Palatines were left in the rear, which position they and their descendants still maintain. The public affairs and political control of the valley soon passed into the hands of the Yankees, as they were called, who monopolized the business of trade and politics; and this position they still maintain as against the descendants of that hardy race of people who first broke the soil in the valley of the upper Mohawk.

ISAAC PARIS.

MEMORIAL SERVICES ON HIS REINTERMENT.

At Paris, October 1, 1880.

The old burial ground at Fort Plain, in which were the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris, the benefactor of the early settlers in Oneida county, having been superseded by a new cemetery, the opportunity was presented to the citizens of the town gratefully named after him, of rendering a further tribute to his memory.

The following correspondence authorized the proposed removal:

Fort Plain, September 21, 1880.

J. V. H. Scovill, Esq., Chairman:

My Dear Sir:—Our Board of Trustees of the village of Fort Plain fully consent as far as is in their power to the removal of the remains of the late Colonel Isaac Paris from our old Sand Hill Cemetery to the town of Paris, which will doubtless duly preserve them and ever hold in kind remembrance his name and his generous acts.

But little interest has of late years been manifested in the care and preservation of our old cemetery, as most of the bodies have long since been transferred to our new one. Hence the propriety of this removal; and we also feel assured that an appropriate monument will be erected by your town to the memory of your early friend and benefactor, and to commemorate his virtues and your gratitude for his beneficence. Much regretting that my engagements will prevent my being present at your memorial services, I remain, Respectfully yours,

David G. Hackney,
President of the Village of Fort Plain.

To the Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, Rev. William Cook, Rev. J. B. Wicks and other Members of the Committee of Arrangements:

Gentlemen:—I desire, on behalf of myself and family, to thank you for the respect, nay, tender feeling, shown to the memory of our deceased relative, Isaac Paris, and for the memorial services which you have arranged to take place at Paris on October 1. My friend, the Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, some time since informed me of the ruinous condition of the cemetery at

Fort Plain, and of your generous offer to dedicate a plot in your cemetery for the interment of the remains of Isaac Paris. I communicated this intelligence to the different members of my family, and they all agreed that your kind proposal should be accepted. We are pleased to think that the remains of Colonel Paris will soon rest among those who love and loved his memory so well. Thanking you again, gentlemen, for the time and trouble you have devoted to this matter, and assuring you that I will be present at the services, I remain, Your obedient servant,

IRVING PARIS.

31 Pine street, New York city, September 28, 1880.

The exercises of the day were under the direction of the following committee: Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, Marshall; Rev. William Cook, Rev. J. B. Wicks, Colonel I. L. Addington, D. C. Addington, J. V. H. Scovill, Charles Seymour, F. Simmonds, J. E. Head, O. D. Head, Paris Hill; F. P. Drew, J. M. Porter, S. W. Smith, W. S. Bartlett, Joseph Avery, Prof. Edward North, James Hanchett, Kirkland; George Peck, Amos Osburn, O. B. Gridley, Rev. B. F. Willoughby, Eli Avery, Henry Barnett, William Mould, Marshall.

At 2 P. M. the Old Utica Band played an appropriate air in front of St. Paul's Church, which called the people of the village of Paris together. The services were opened in St. Paul's Church by the rector, Rev. J. B. Wicks, his assistant, Rev. William Cook, Rev. Charles H. Gardner, of Trinity Church, Utica, and Rev. J. H. Lemon, of Clark's Mills, taking part. Rev. Mr. Gardner read the opening service, Rev. J. H. Lemon the creed, and Rev. Mr. Cook the psalter. The music was by the choir of the church. At the close of the services a hymn was sung, and Rev. Mr. Wicks introduced Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, of Utica, Vice President of the Oneida Historical Society.

MR. HUTCHINSON'S ADDRESS.

As a member of the Oneida Historical Society, when requested to present to you an outline of the Paris family, I could not refuse to embody such events in consideration of their honorable historic record, as well as of the generous act of one of them, which is now to be commemorated by the descendants of those early settlers who were the recipients of his bounty. I ask your attention

to the prominent events in which they were active participators. The traditional history of the family of Paris, from which your town derived its name, records the fact that three brothers Paris emigrated from Strasburg in Alsace to America, about the year 1737. One of them settled in Georgia, one in Pennsylvania and the third at Stone Arabia, in the town of Palatine, in the province of New York. Here he engaged in establishing one of the largest and most important stores and trading posts west of Schenectady. It was situated about two miles northeasterly of the Mohawk river at Fort Plain, and was located upon the site now occupied by the farm-house of John Gremps, and was stockaded and known as Fort Paris during the Revolutionary war. By the courtesy of Hon. Samuel Earl, of Herkimer, the Oneida Historical Society has become possessed of one of his original written advertisements, unusually well written, and which is of sufficient interest to present in full:

ADVERTISEMENT.

"Just imported from London and to be sold by the subscriber Isaac Paris, at his house in Stonearabia—A large Assortment of European Goods, viz: Black and Blue Persian; Silk Damascas, Silk Venetian Poplin; Fine Cloth and Blue Sagathy; Chints; Printed Cotton; French Cambric; French Clear Lawn; British Sheeting; Russia Sheeting; German Oznaburg; Black Callimanco; Black Silk fringed Handkerchiefs; Men's and Women's 8, thd white-Thread Stockings; Men's brown ditto; Men's Cotton Stockings; Men's Random Thread Stockings; Black ripp'd Worsted hose; Black and figured Ribbons; Tea Kettles; Men's and Women's Buckles; Pistol Cap'd Knives; Castorbatts; powder; Shot of various sort; Horncombs; Yvory combs; Writing paper—Also, New York Rum; Loaf and Muscovadoe Sugar; and likewise a Large Assortment of pewter work and French Blankets with Sundry Articles too tedious to enumerate, Which he will sell by Wholesale or Retail, on very cheap and the lowest terms, in cash, or (if required) for credit, or any merchantable Country produce."

ISAAC PARIS.

We have reason to believe from records of Capt. John Eisenlord, who was a clerk in the store of Mr. Paris, that this advertisement was written about the year 1770.

Young Eisenlord, at a meeting held on the 26th day of August, 1775, for the election of officers for a company of militia for the precinct of North Germantown, was elected captain, with John Kayser first lieutenant, Adam Bellinger second lieutenant, and John Sorneth ensign. He was afterwards promoted major. We shall have occasion again to speak of him. The paper above copied was formerly in the possession of the late Rev. W. B. Van Ben-

schoten, pastor of the Reformed Churches in Stone Arabia and Ephratah, who was also in possession of a subscription list for the maintenance of the fifth minister of the Stone Arabia Reformed Church, which was in the same handwriting as the advertisement, and is of sufficient interest to present in this connection. It reads as follows:

WHEREAS, this Eighth Day of June in the Twelfth Year of His Majesty's Reign, King George the Third, &c., anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, is unanimously concluded and agreed by US, the subscribed Members of the Congregation of the Reformed Church of Stonearaby, in the County of Tryon and province of N. York, to call a Minister of the Gospel for our said Congregation of Stonearaby, and to keep him for a Yearly Salary and other Convenient and necessary maintainances as hereafter expressed;

We Therefore jointly and each of us in particular to ourselves our heirs, executors and administrators, do hereby in Consideration of such Divine Service, promise and agree to pay, or cause to be paid unto the respective Churchwardens of our Congregation, and their Successors, for a Yearly Salary to our Minister, from the Day of the Date of the Calling of such Minister, Yearly and every Year the Respective sum and sums of Money, N. York Currency. as is hereunto specified and to our Names annexed, to be paid quarterly the proportional share and due of the said Yearly Money hereby granted; AND Concerning the other Maintainances that each of us shall and will Yearly and every Year, during the service of said Minister, cut and carry in due season Two Loads of Firewood before the dwelling house of the Minister, and also cut and split the same to pieces, in fire length in the house yard of said Minister, if desired.

And also that we jointly and severally shall and will make, repair, amend, keep up and hold in good order, all the necessary Fences and Buildings upon our Church Land, and to cut, carry and lay up the fence loggs, and to do wilfully all other needful, accidentall works concerning and upon the said Land and Buildings directly on Request, Directions and Command of our said Churchwardens, without delay, neglect or refusal, &c., &c., &c.

To which among the other fifty-seven subscribers, and at the head of the list, appears the name of Hon. Isaac Paris for five pounds sterling, an amount more than double any other subscription attached thereto.

It may be of interest to state that this church was founded about the year 1729, and that the first missionary pastor was the Rev. Johan Jacob Ehle,* who remained in charge until the

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*This Pastor who signed himself John Jacob Oel, was a "Priest in the English Church," the testimonials of which are still in the possession of the family, written upon parchment in Latin and read as follows:

By these presents, We John, by Divine Permission Bishop of London, make known to all persons, that on this 12th day of August A. D. 1722, at the

year 1742, when he was succeeded by the Rev. Johannes Schuyler, under whose pastorate the church was first regularly organized in the year 1743. He officiated until the year 1751, when he was succeeded by the Rev. John A. Wernig, whose ministry terminated in the year 1758, and his successor was the Rev. Abram Rosenkrantz, whose wife was a sister of General Nicholas Herkimer. He remained in charge until the year 1770. The Rev. Mr. Leppins succeeded him, until 1777. Rev. Mr. Kennipe was pastor from 1784 to 1788. The Rev. D. C. A. Peck from 1788 to 1796, and the Rev. Johan Daniel Gross from 1796 to 1802.

The new church was erected in 1788. The old one was burned by the Indians October 20, 1780, as was also the church of the same denomination on the other side of the river, the German Reformed Church at Fort Plain, commonly known as "The Old Sand Hill Church," and from whose burial ground the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris were removed.

These churches were destroyed by the expedition of Sir John Johnson, of tories and Indians, the latter being led by Captain Joseph Brant and John, the Cornplanter.

In this connection we copy the three sections of the agreement for the erection of the Old Palatine Lutheran Church (at Palatine church.)

1. The bowmasters or managers of this church building till finished conveniently, according to the majority of our votes. Peter Waggoner, Andrew Reeber and Christian Nellis, Jr.

2. The respective sums of money hereafter of each of us promised shall be paid, or cause to be paid, unto the said bowmasters, or either of them, on demand to satisfy the costs and expenses of the said building.

3. If in case the said church building, with the appurtenances could not be finished with the money hereby promised: Then we, and each of us, our

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Chapel within our Palace at Fulham, in the County of Middlesex, We, the aforesaid John, Bishop as aforesaid, representing by the help of Almighty God, the Holy Orders, have admitted, and promoted John Jacob Ehle, beloved by us in Christ Jesus, a scholar, abundantly commended to us, as laudable in life, unblemished in morals and virtue, skilled in the knowledge and study of good letters, and sufficiently entitled, and moreover examined and approved, by our own examiner, to the sacred order of Presbyter, according to the custom and rite wisely appointed and provided for in this part of the English Church, and him we did, then and there, ritually and canonically ordain Presbyter.

In testimony whereof, we have caused to be affixed to these presents, the seal of our Episcopate, according to the day and year aforesaid, and in the ninth year of our translation. Signed,

JOHN, LONDON.

heirs and each of our heirs shall and will direct and pay to the same want and use, further a certain sum and sums of money, as much as the substance of each will allow, at such a time when demanded of the said bowmasters.

Following were thirty signatures. Peter Waggoner for fifty pounds; Andrew Reeber, Christian Nellis, Jr., and Hendrick W. Nellis for twenty-five pounds; John Eisculord, four pounds, and twenty-five other signers, for the total sum of two hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling.

The following is "a copy of the record made of the time and the building of the Lutheran Stone church in Palatine." Erected August 18, 1770. The names of the proprietors and the sums by each paid, are as follows, to wit:

	Paid.		*Paid.*
Peter Waggoner,	£100	Johannis Nellis,	£60
Andrew Reeber,	60	Henry Nellis,	60
William Nellis, Jr.,	60	Christian Nellis,	60
Andrew Nellis,	60	Daniel Nellis,	60
Johannis Hess,	60		

And William Nellis, the father of William, Andrew, Johannis and Henry Nellis, paid for the making of the spire, &c., to the steeple of said church.

I will read a curious copy of a subscription for the compensation of a minister of this church, of a later date:

"Know all men by these presents, that we the subscribers, am hald and firmly bound unto the said Drusteis of the Lutern Church in Palatine for ever third Sontay to pay him twenty-five pounds currency yearly from the First of September in the year of Our lort 1797, and to Find him the third of the Firewood and likewise the Fansing and twenty skippels of Whead Yearly."

Signed, 47 signatures for money and 15 for "skipels whead" and "loads of wood." £24 14 shillings in money and 17 skipels of wheat and 17 loads of wood were subscribed.

The early history of the Reformed and Lutheran churches of the Mohawk valley and the colonial records bring the histories of such men as Hon. Isaac Paris, Hon. John Frey, Colonel Peter Wagner and others into prominence, proving their familiar intercourse and united action in public affairs. And there is also substantially proved by their earnest efforts and liberal contributions, their great interest in providing suitable structures for public religious worship, and the maintenance of their pastors, or dominies, as familiarly called.

The following records, copied from the family record of the Paris family, is curiously quaint and is of historic interest:

I Isaac Paris and Catharine my wife were joined together in the Holy Bands of Matrimony by the Rev Mr Ehl Minz of the Gospel at Cannajoharry in the County of Albany and Province of New York North America March 28 1758.

Sept 26 1759—Was born my son Peter and was baptised by the Rev Mr Lappius. Sponsors Mr John Thrier and his spouse.

Dec 25 1761—Was born my 2d son Isaac and was baptised the succeeding New Years Day by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Mr Ludwig Feil and spouse.

Febry 7 1766—Was born my daughter Margaret and was baptised by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Mr Conrad Lepper and spouse.

Dec 17 1767—Was born my 3d son Francis Lewis and was baptised by the Rev Mr Rosencrantz. Sponsors Peter Sutz and spouse.

February 2, 1773—Was born my fourth son, John Daniel, and was baptisèd by the Rev. Mr. Daniel Gros; sponsors, the said Rev. Mr. Daniel Gros and his spouse.

August 6, 1777—Isaac Paris and Peter Paris, his son, were slain at Oriskany in an action between General Herkimer, commanding the Tryon county militia and Colonel St. Ledger, commanding the British and Indians.

October 5, 1789—Departed this life Margaret Paris.

March 28, 1790—Departed this life Isaac Paris, the younger.

July 14, 1796—Departed this life Francis Paris.

October 1, 1796—John Daniel Paris* was married to Catharine Irving, daughter of William Irving, of the city of New York and have since died.

Upon the time-worn marble slab in the Paris church yard, brought with the remains of Colonel Paris, is plainly inscribed:

"In memory of Isaac, Margaret and Francis Paris. Erected 1806."

The family of John Daniel Paris are the only known lineal descendants of Hon. Isaac Paris.

The high estimation of the character of Hon. Isaac Paris, was fully shown by the many positions of political and honorable trust conferred upon him by his appreciative friends and neighbors, and his whole life was animated by unswerving love and devotion to the interests of his adopted country, during the most critical period of our revolutionary struggle. His property was freely given for patriotic and religious purposes, and although the minor details of his life are yet unwritten, we plainly read a most noble character, worthy of the kindly appreciation and remembrance of the people of the State of New York.

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*John Daniel Paris was the first County Clerk of Montgomery County, in the year A. D. 1800. Was also State Senator years 1810-11-12-13, and was also a member of the Council of Appointment.

The first meeting of the Committee of Safety for Tryon County, was held August 27, 1774, at the house of Adam Loucks, at Stone Arabia. Resolutions were adopted and a Committee of Correspondence was chosen, with Christopher P. Yates, Chairman, and Isaac Paris, Peter Wagner, John Frey, Andrew Fink, Jr., Jacob Klock, Christopher W. Fox, George Ecker, Jr., Andrew Reeber, Daniel McDougle and Anthony Van Fechten.

Hon. Isaac Paris, with his friend and neighbor, Lieutenant Colonel Peter Wagner, of Palatine, attended the first general meeting of the committee, held June 2, 1775, at the house of Werner Tygert, in the Canajoharie District, near the upper Indian Castle, west of the Howadaga, now Indian Castle creek, and which was the former home of King Hendrick, "the Dreamer," the Indian friend of Sir William Johnson, and afterwards was the residence of Captain Joseph Brant, immediately previous to his leaving the Mohawk valley, for his last residence at Brantford, near Montreal, in Canada. It was about two miles east of the residence of General Herkimer.

Mr. Paris was also elected a delegate to the second and third Provincial Congress, held in the City of New York, in the years 1775–6–1776, and also to the fourth Congress and Representative Convention for the years 1776–7.

Ebenezer Cox, Chairman *pro tem.* of the Tryon County Committee, writes November 7, 1775: "That John Moore and Isaac Paris were chosen delegates to the Provincial Congress, Mr. Moore being re-elected and Mr. Paris a new member."

Another letter, dated Fishkill, October 24, 1776, (10 o'clock at night,) from John McKesson, Clerk of the Provincial Congress,) was addressed to General Ten Broeck, James Duane and Isaac Paris and other Esquires. (This was the General Committee of Safety, at Albany.)

And a letter respecting Militia Fines, signed Isaac Paris, Chairman, and addressed to the honorable convention of New York, at Fishkill, was dated "Tryon County Committee, January 22, 1777."

He was also elected a member of the first State Senate, held at Kingston, under the constitution of 1777, representing the western district, or the Counties of Albany, Tryon and Ontario.

The culmination of the sacrifices made by this noble and patriotic man for the country of his adoption, was to leave all his family and worldly interests in the charge and keeping of his second son, Isaac, and without a demand for any official rank or position, with

his clerk, Major John Eisenlord, and his elder son, Peter Paris, join the forces of General Herkimer as volunteers in the march to the relief of Fort Stanwix. The two latter were killed at Oriskany, and the Hon. Isaac Paris was taken a prisoner by the enemy on the retreat to Oneida Lake towards Canada. In the memoir of Moses Younglove, surgeon of General Herkimer's brigade, (copied from his original deposition, which is still preserved in the office of the Secretary of State,) is the following:

> That Isaac Paris, Esquire, was also taken the same road without receiving from them any remarkable insult, except stripping, until some Tories came up who kicked and abused him, after which the savages, thinking him a notable offender, murdered him most barbarously.

Of such noble and patriotic parentage and surrounded by the highest examples of devotion and love of country, was the more particular subject of the event we commemorate, Colonel Isaac Paris, who at the death of his father and brother assumed charge of their large interests in the Mohawk valley. His father had purchased in the year 1738 the lands and stone mansion at Fort Plain, built by Lieutenant Governor George Clarke, which building was subsequently demolished on account of its reputation of being haunted, and of its materials a tannery was constructed by Dr. Joshua Webster and Jonathan Stickney, of that village.

Colonel Paris removed from the former residence of his father in Stone Arabia to his lands at Fort Plain about the year 1787, and erected a large mansion and trading post upon the rising ground at the southerly part of the village. Near this building he erected a grist-mill upon the Otsquago creek. It was located about seventy-five feet westerly from the site of the present mill, near the bridge crossing the creek upon the old road from Fort Plain to Cooperstown. This mansion, or "castle" as it is sometimes called, was situated near the Otsquago creek, about half a mile westerly of the great Central Mohawk Indian castle called Tah-ragh-jo-res, from which the Ko-nosh-i-o-ni, or Five Nations, sallied forth upon their predatory expedition to Canada in the year 1762. It was situated upon the great Indian trail to the Susquehanna and Pennsylvania. Following this trail down the creek about three miles to its junction with the Otstongo creek, is located the ancient fortress of the primitive Indians, upon what is now known as Indian Hill, where most interesting relics of primitive construction have been discovered by antiquarians and archæologists and the position of the entrance to the fortress is still easily

to be observed. It has an historic fame among the ancient monuments of America, and for those interested in pre-historic history is well worthy a visit.

The house of Colonel Paris is said to have received as guests many persons distinguished in the historic public events of those times, and among them we note the Indian chief, Captain Joseph Brant, or Thay-en-dan-egea, and his friend, the famous John The Corn-planter, or Gy-ant-wah-chia, whose father, John Abeel, the Indian trader, lived about half a mile northwesterly, near the old fort and not far from the old Sand Hill (Reformed) Church. Colonel Marinus Willett, it is said, when stationed at this fort, married, for his second wife, a daughter of John Abeel. He was also mentioned as a visitor, and also Baron Steuben. This property of Colonel Paris was afterwards sold to Jost Driesback, who was a trumpeter at the battle of Saratoga under Burgoyne. Jost was the father of Herr Jacob Driesback, the famous lion-tamer, who was born in the Paris mansion. During the latter's "professional" visits to Fort Plain, he always called upon Dr. Webster, his father's family physician, together with others of his early friends and acquaintances. Jost sold the property in the year 1805 to Joseph Wagner, the son of Lieutenant Colonel Peter Wagner, the friend and coadjutor of Colonel Paris, and who had been associated with him in many public trusts, and was also with him at the battle of Oriskany, accompanied by two of his sons.

The old Paris mansion is still standing and in a fair state of preservation; but the grist mill was long since demolished.

The latter was the partial source of the supply so freely and benevolently furnished to the early settlers of this town, by Colonel Isaac Paris. The following extract from the Annals of Oneida County, written by Hon. Pomroy Jones, and published in 1851, is worthy a place in the memory of each resident of the County of Oneida. Although frequently heretofore published, no apology is needed for its reappearance in this connection.

"The summer of 1789 was, in one respect, more trying to the settlers than its predecessors. Famine with all its horrors was upon them. The crops of the previous year were insufficient for their own wants, and those of the daily increasing emigrants. The hoarded little stock of flour, and their last year's crop of potatoes were consumed, and the corn and meal were nearly exhausted, while the forthcoming crop was not matured. At planting time such were their straits and their care to husband their limited supply, that the eyes of the potatoes were cut out for planting, and the remainder carefully preserved for the table.

To slaughter their few cattle would be at once to destroy their future prospects, and nothing but the last extremity could have induced them to do so. Money was almost out of the question, and it is believed that if they had been compelled to contribute their all, not enough could have been found to purchase a barrel of flour, even at present prices.

The forests were searched for ground nuts and leeks, the fishing rod put in requisition, and most fortunate was the hunter who succeeded in securing a bear or her cubs, to aid in their extremity. Notwithstanding, children cried for food, and strong men put themselves on a stinted allowance, that the more helpless might be fed. All this did not suffice; something further must be done.

A small party was sent to Fort Plain, Montgomery County, to see if supplies could not there be obtained. At that place resided a large farmer and miller, named Isaac Paris, and to him imploringly they appealed. He responded most liberally; and with a promptness which did honor to his heart, he loaded a small flat boat with flour and meal, and sent it up the Mohawk to the mouth of the Oriskany. Here it was met by a party of the settlers, transhipped into a log canoe of their own construction, and from thence, with the aid of setting poles, paddles and ropes, this "ark of plenty" was taken up the creek as far as the site of the bridge upon the Lairdsville road, and from this landing it was transported in carts, to the settlement. Language is too feeble to describe the rejoicings upon arrival of this timely supply of breadstuffs. Clinton has never before or since witnessed such an overflow of gratitude.

The settlers did not go to Mr. Paris as beggars. Silver and gold had they none; but they had industry and strong hands and arms, and they agreed to pay for the meal and flour in ginseng, to be delivered the next fall. This root, in the early days of Oneida, was a considerable article in commerce. Although our cattle have almost extirpated it from our forests, it was, at that early day, found in great abundance. It was shipped to those countries afflicted with the plague, where it was for a long time considered the best antidote against that disease. In 1792, a new town, including Clinton, was formed from Whitestown, and in gratitude to their benefactor, the name of Paris was given it. The original town of Paris has since been divided, and the town of Kirkland, including Clinton taken from it.

At this time such is the veneration of the name of Paris, that many of the descendants of those who enjoyed his beneficence, although rightfully proud of the name of Kirkland, regret that the name of Paris had not been retained by that portion of the original town, including Clinton."

Colonel Paris was undoubtedly a young man of recognized force of character and intellectual culture, for we find him sent by his constituents to the Assembly, as a member from Tryon County, when he attained the age of but twenty-three years, in the year 1784, and when that county became obsolete, April 2, 1784, he was returned a member from Montgomery County, at the sessions of 1784–5, and 1788.

As heretofore noted, Colonel Paris was born on Christmas day, in the year 1761, and was baptised on the New Year's day follow-

ing—an auspicious birthday for a man whose benevolent action has endeared his memory to the people of this town and the county in which it is located. His life closed in the year 1790, at the age of but twenty-nine years. He died leaving an honorable name, which will be justly handed down for the veneration and grateful memory of your posterity.

"I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, write, from henceforth blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labors, and their works do follow them."

On leaving the church the assemblage gathered under the shade of the beautiful trees in front of St. Paul's church, where a platform had been erected and seats provided. On the platform were the clergymen, orators, distinguished citizens of the town and invited guests. The assemblage in front of the stage was large and respectable.

Hon. Lorenzo Rouse, president of the day, opened the exercises.

MR. ROUSE'S ADDRESS.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

We are assembled on this occasion, not to participate in any festival, or for the purpose of any jubilee. Neither are we assembled to celebrate the anniversary of any important era in either the political or civil history of the nation, or of our own locality. The occasion on which we are assembled partakes much more strongly of a serious, or indeed, of a solemn, than of a festive character. We are assembled to show our veneration for the memory, and our consequent respect for the remains of one who furnished to the pioneer settlers of the old town of Paris, the most tangible evidence of his exalted character, not only for humanity of feeling, but for genuine christian charity and benevolence, by ministering to their necessities in the time of their sorest need.

Let us, before proceeding further, premise by saying that we disclaim any intention of giving any sectarian or denominational religious aspect to our proceedings on this occasion. On the contrary we have studiously sought to avoid so doing, for we do not understand that Isaac Paris, in his religious preferences, could be claimed as affiliating very closely with any one of the several re-

ligious denominations, originally established, or now having organization within the limits of the old town which adopted his name. Being of German descent, he is understood to have affiliated more directly with a majority of the German emigrants and their descendants living in his vicinity, at Fort Plain. But, judging from his character, we believe that he would have preferred that some sort of religious exercises should be had on any and every occasion connected with his obsequies.

Neither let it for a moment be supposed that we have any political object in view, for in this regard, we only know that Isaac Paris was a true patriot, and of a patriotic race, for his father and elder brother both laid down their lives fighting for the liberties of their country in 1777.

It is not the purpose of your speaker, on this occasion, to aim at any lofty flights of eloquence, nor to attempt any high eulogium upon the character and merits of him whose remains we are met to reinter; nor even to give a sketch of his biography, except incidentally—for one better prepared has already favored us in that regard. But we shall endeavor to narrate to you a brief, plain and simple statement of facts connected with the early history of the old town of Paris, and to show the connection that Colonel Paris had with that early history—a statement of facts, which from their frequent reiteration, may, perchance, be considered by some as having become somewhat hackneyed and stale, but by others as being eminently worthy to be kept in lasting remembrance by frequent repetition.

The Old Town of Paris.

It is a well-established fact, that the first permanent white settlement in Oneida county was commenced at Whitestown in the early summer of 1784, by Judge Hugh White and his five sons, Daniel C., Joseph, Hugh, Ansel and Philo. He had also three daughters—Rachel, Aurelia and Polly. We will not stop to inquire why he, a man fifty-one years of age, at an age when the ardor and restlessness of youth may be supposed to have, in some degree, subsided—why he should decide to emigrate, with his young family, from old Middletown, on the Connecticut river, so immediately after the close of the revolutionary war, and locate in the unbroken wilderness of this far west, so far from any white settlement and in such close proximity to the untutored and dreaded Indians, many of whom had recently been so hostile. It seems to us passing

strange. Suffice it for us to know that he came and that he effected a permanent settlement, and becoming the owner of a tract of 1,500 acres of most valuable land, he gave his name to a town, which in its extent of territory exceeded that of the present entire county of Oneida, including, among the rest, the whole of what subsequently became the old town of Paris and extended almost indefinitely to the west. Indeed all the country now designated as central New York was for many years known at the east as the "Whitestown country," and was supposed to be the "El Dorado" of the west as the "Genesee country" afterwards was deemed the *Ultima Thule*, all west of that being the *Terra Incognita*, or the unknown land. The fame of the "Whitestown country" soon reached the east, and in 1785 the first clearing to the extent of half an acre of land, was made near the foot of what is now Genesee street, Utica, and in 1786 that settlement contained three log houses. In the following year, 1787, Moses Fcot and his three sons, Bronson, Ira and Luther with his son-in-law, Barnabas Pond, and his friends, James Bronson, Luther Blodgett, and Levi Sherman, commenced a settlement near the Oriskany creek, where the village of Clinton, now stands. This was the first settlement made in the territory which originally adopted the name of the town of Paris. A document which was executed soon after this settlement was begun, shows that the place was at first designated as "Coxeborough, in Montgomery county and State of New York." It was, of course, in Whitestown at that time, although the name of the town does not appear in the document. In the following year, 1788, a settlement was commenced in New Hartford, by Jedediah Sanger and others, and during the same season, the settlement at Coxeborough now Clinton, was increased by the addition of about twenty families.

The Present Town.

Early in the spring of 1789 the first settlement of what is now the town of Paris was commenced, about one mile northeasterly from where we are now assembled, by Captain Rice, on the farm now owned by Colonel I. L. Addington. He was followed about the 20th of March of the same season by Benjamin Barnes, Benjamin Barnes, Jr., and John Humaston. This was the commencement of what was known as the South Settlement. In the fall of the same year, Phineas Kellogg came on and built a log house, further to the east, in the vicinity of Sauquoit, or Se-dagh-qua-da, as the Indians then called it. In March, 1790, John Butler,

Sylvester Butler, Asa Shepard and Joseph Plumb came on and located in the same vicinity. Others followed in 1791, and soon after the tide of immigration seemed to turn toward the "Brothertown tract," now in the town of Marshall, and being the southwestern portion of the old town of Paris. The first settler in what was called "Hanover Settlement," now in the town of Marshall, was David Barton, soon followed by Warren Williams, Rev. Hezekiah Eastman, Stephen Barrett, Levi Barker, Captain Simon Hubbard, and the three brothers, Abel, Adam and Aaron Simmons. The first white child born in what is now known as the town of Marshall, was Lester Barker, afterwards known as Colonel Barker, who afterwards removed to Clinton, where he died. The only instance I have been able to find in which a son of one of these original settlers of the old town of Paris has continued to reside on the same premises where his father first located, in the latter part of the last century—thus connecting the past with the present—is that of Marinus Hubbard, living on the road to Waterville, about midway from this place, now at the age of eighty-six, and son of the Captain Simon Hubbard heretofore mentioned as one of our first settlers.

Colonel Paris and Paris.

We have thus reviewed, as succinctly as we were able, the history of the first settlement of the old town of Paris. Let us now explain, as briefly as may be practicable, the connection which Colonel Isaac Paris had with that history, and why we meet, on this occasion, to do honor to his memory. The first pioneers in the town, consisting, as we have seen, of eight families, had enough to do, in the then unbroken wilderness, to provide shelter for their families and the necessary food to sustain life, without accumulating any great surplus for the future. They eked out their subsistence by occasional resorts to the forest and the stream, but added little to any permanent store. The influx of emigration in 1788, as we have seen, quadrupled the population, and their united exertions were insufficient to remove the heavily-timbered forests, clear the land and prepare it in season to cultivate crops sufficient to supply fodder for all. True, an occasional meal of fish assisted, and now and then a rich bearsteak was considered as a God-send. But they found the latter was fully overbalanced by the extreme fondness of the bears for green corn and young pigs, thus too often blasting their anticipations. Although they laid in a good

supply of ground nuts and leeks from the forest, they found their scanty stores rapidly diminishing, so that when planting time came in the spring of 1789, they carefully cut out the eyes of the potatoes for planting, thus reserving the bulk of the tubers for food. For breadstuff they were obliged to resort to the primitive Indian method of using the hominy block, or if fine meal was wanted, to back the grist seven miles through the forest to the nearest mill, which had just been erected at Whitestown. But soon their supply of corn failed them, and they could not wait for their growing crops to mature. The children began to cry for bread, and something must be done to avert starvation. A deputation was accordingly appointed to go, on foot, to the German Flatts, now in Herkimer county, which, although it had been much longer settled, had suffered greatly during the Revolutionary war. The deputation had no money to offer, and could only pledge their credit for the future payment. The cautious German settlers, although sympathizing in their distress, did not deem the security sufficient from those whom they looked upon with suspicion as only a parcel of "treacherous Yankees." Despondent in feeling at their want of success, where they most hoped for it, the deputation passed on to Fort Plain, on the opposite side of the river, where it would seem Providence directed them to a young man, then only twenty-eight years of age, variously termed a farmer, a miller and a merchant, but, as he was a man of means, he probably combined all those branches of business. To him they told their sorrowful tale, and his kind heart at once melted. He answered them that they must have help. But they, recollecting their recent repulse, frankly told him, "Silver and gold have we none, but such as we have we will give unto thee—when we can get it." His prompt answer was, "No matter about the pay. Your women and children must not be permitted to starve. Take what you need to feed them, and if, at any time in the future, you are able to pay for it, it will be well. If you are never able it will also be well, but your families must not be allowed to starve." With the greatest dispatch he proceeded to load a batteau, or flat boat, with flour, meal, and meat, for the needy settlers, and with light hearts and joyous feelings, the deputation eagerly assisted with the use of setting poles, in propelling the boat up the stream to the mouth of the Oriskany creek, where one of their number had already notified the settlers to meet them with canoes of their own construction, and thus they conveyed the provisions up to a point near where the Clinton factory now stands, from whence they were

removed to the settlement with an ox team and distributed among the hungry people. It should be mentioned that it was subsequently agreed and insisted upon by the settlers that the debt for the provisions might and should be paid in the root of the wild ginseng, which at that early day grew abundantly in the forests, and which, from its supposed rare medicinal virtues, was in great demand for exportation to European ports not only, but even to China, where it was considered more valuable than gold. The women and children of the settlement at once set themselves to work to scour the forest and search with avidity for the precious root, and to their credit, be it said, that within a short time a sufficient quantity of it was gathered to liquidate the entire debt.

Within one short year thereafter, the settlers were pained to hear that their kind benefactor had been removed from earth, and called to his last accounting of his stewardship. This was in the year 1790, at his early age of twenty-nine years. But though dead he was not forgotten by those whom he had so kindly befriended. Two years after, in 1792, the settlement had been so much increased, that a separate town organization was applied for and granted, embracing within its limits all of the southern portion of Whitestown.

Named After Its Benefactor.

When the citizens came together to consult and agree on a name for their new township, it was found that they were substantially unanimous in their preference for the name of their deceased benefactor, and Paris became the name of the new organization. Let it be ever perpetuated! I have found that many persons, outside of the place, err greatly as to the origin of the name, supposing it to have been adopted from that of the chief city of France. This mistake is an innocent one for him who has observed how prone are the citizens of our different localities to endeavor to give a sort of factitious importance for these localities, by giving to them either high-sounding, classical names, or the more modern names of foreign cities or places of importance. Thus we have gained a modern Troy, an Ilion, a Utica, a Rome, a Syracuse and an Ithaca. Thus we have also a New England, a New Scotland, a New York, a New London, a New Berlin, a New Brunswick, a New Hamburg and a New Lisbon, besides a multitude of others, which omit the prefix. But the early settlers of the old town of Paris, and their descendants, seem to have acted on a different principle in their selection of names for their several localities, to wit: a laudable

desire to perpetuate the name of some worthy individual. Thus Paris and Kirkland and Marshall gained their names, with Whitestown on the north and Sangerfield on the south. Thus Hamilton College gained its name from the eminent statesman who was among its first trustees and patrons. Thus Clinton gained its name from Governor George Clinton, who, at one time, in company with General Washington, owned real estate in sight of the village and in its vicinity. Thus, while Kirkland has her Clinton and her Franklin, Paris has her Clayville and her Cassville, Marshall has her Deansville and her Dicksville.

It may very naturally be asked, why have the remains of Colonel Isaac Paris been exhumed, and why are they brought hither for reinterment? To these questions we reply, to the first, that at the time of his death, less care and attention and forethought was given to the selection of burial places while the country was new, than there is at present. In consequence, new cemeteries have often been located. In process of time, it seemed necessary to renew the place of burial at Fort Plain, where he and others of his day were buried. It was deemed desirable, therefore, that the remains buried there should be removed to some other place, lest all vestiges of their place of deposit should become obliterated and forgotten. The grave of Isaac Paris was found among the number. The idea occurred to some thoughtful persons that it would be a fitting thing to offer those remains to the citizens of Paris, to be deposited within the limits of the town which bears his name. His only surviving kindred consenting, the offer was accepted, and the act of re-burial is now about to be consummated. But why bury them here? In answer, we say, it seemed desirable that the place of deposit should be at some point as near as practicable to the center of the old town to which his name was originally given. It seemed fitting that his remains should be deposited within the limits of the town which still bears, and in all human probability will continue to bear his name. It seemed fitting that their final resting place should be in the village which aids in perpetuating his memory, not only by its own name, but by the name which its post office has always borne: the suffix Hill being no part of the proper name, but merely a surplusage, added by outsiders, to distinguish between the village and the town. As to why we have selected a particular location, we answer, that it appeared to the committee having the matter in charge, to be the most eligible one obtainable. Had Colonel Paris been the donor of the public green to the public, then, perhaps,

there might have been a sort of propriety in depositing his remains on that ground. But that ground was given to the public by another and for a specific purpose, by the terms of the conveyance, and to appropriate it, or any portion of it, to cemetery purposes, might, perchance, vitiate the title, of the validity of which we do not feel called upon now to speak. From what we can learn of Colonel Paris, we feel assured that his preference would have been that his remains should be deposited in grounds specially set apart and consecrated for burial purposes, where they would be under the constant care of some organized corporation, and not deposited on common or public grounds, under the special charge of nobody in particular, and liable to be again disturbed in the future. With the subject of a monument to the deceased, its fashion or its cost, or the place of its location, the committee claims no special powers, its duties ceasing with the interment. But let us hope that those honored remains will ever hereafter be permitted to rest in peace, until the last great trumpet shall sound, and until the archangel shall appear, and proclaim that Time shall be no more, and until the earth and the sea shall be required to yield up their dead.

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR EDWARD NORTH.

The true American rejoices in whatsoever tends to dethrone the old world's heresy, that republican communities are ungrateful. It satisfies our idea of the fitness of things and our sense of gratitude that the bones of Isaac Paris should finally rest in the soil of Paris Hill. So it satisfied the Greek idea of national gratitude that the bones of Theseus, their hero king, should be welcomed home from Scyros with a grand dramatic festival, and be reburied in the heart of Athens, that

> "Dear city of man without master or lord,
> Fair fortress and fostress of sons born free,
> A wonder enthroned on the hills and the sea."

It is true, as has been already stated, that the timely supplies sent by Isaac Paris ninety-one years ago, were received by pioneers who had built their log-cabins in the valley six miles below, near the banks of the Oriskany. Could the votes of these pioneers of Clinton be taken to-day, with the votes of their descendants—the Benedicts, the Blanchards, the Blodgets, the Brockways, the Bristols, the Bronsons, the Bulleins, the Butlers, the Carpenters, the Casseteys, the Cooks, the Curtises, the Deweys, the Foots, the

Gleasons, the Gridleys, the Hubbards, the Kirklands, the Langfords, the Marshes, the Millards, the Nortons, the Ponds, the Sandfords, the Shermans, the Stebbinses, the Tuttles—could the voices of these numerous living and far-scattered descendants be telephoned to us this afternoon, it need not be doubted they would decide that the bones of Isaac Paris should sleep with those who have loyally and gratefully clung to the name of their early benefactor. Let him sleep, they might say, where his monument can look down upon the valley and the Oriskany, even as

> "The mountains look on Marathon,
> And Marathon looks on the sea."

The town of Kirkland is not grasping and not unreasonable. It had another benefactor in the far-seeing, great-hearted missionary who created a larger local indebtedness and placed his name with those the world will not willingly let die, by planting a college fortress for "the kingdom of the Blessed Redeemer" on the opposite hillside. This child of prayer and faith has proved to be not only a fountain of intelligence and culture, but a magnet for drawing in good families and perennial income from surrounding counties. Whatever of distinction and interest Paris Hill may gain from the historic grave that is covered to-day and the historic monument that ought to attract many pilgrims in future years, the town of Kirkland will make no envious or unfraternal complaint. In fact, Kirkland has taken time by the forelock and achieved its satisfaction in advance, through its inveterate habit of recruiting its population from the best blood of Paris Hill. Like many other rural districts, to which the latest census is a rhymeless elegy, Paris Hill has been a *nutrix leonum*, a prolific nursery of heroes for the battles of business, of enterprise and professional skill.

Not content with seeing the conflicts at a safe distance, after buckling their armor on, the sons of Paris Hill have slipped down into the waiting valleys by a law of gravitation for which the town of Kirkland can not be held accountable. No sooner was Kirkland organized into a separate township, than it began to receive volunteer recruits from its eastern neighborhood. Henry McNiel and Theophilus Steele—both men of the Puritan type and granite integrity—set an example that was afterwards followed by others equally worthy. Other villages and distant cities have had stout reinforcements from the same prolific mother. The good names of Handy and Head and Bartlett have taught the

world how wealth honestly won can be wisely and generously used. Yes, we of the Oriskany valley and the hillside beyond are deeply in debt to Paris Hill. We would return thanks for the morning sunlight, both physical and social, that comes to us from our unselfish neighbor. Were we only Greeks, we might easily coax our Homer into singing of "rosy-fingered Aurora, daughter of Paris Hill." The thousands of jocund daybreaks that have greeted us from our near eastern horizon, the cherished memories that run to and fro along "the old Line of Property," the hallowed graves of our common ancestry, are ties of sympathy "stronger than hooks of steel," and we heartily rejoice in the new bond that henceforth holds us in still closer attachment and fellowship.

We are not here this Friday afternoon to receive Sabbath instruction, but there is a sermon for us, full of tenderest teaching, in the simple act of generosity and trust that makes the bones of Isaac Paris a priceless deposit in the soil ennobled by his name. This sermon, soon to be a century old, repeats the voice of that older, diviner sermon on the mount, "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." The name of Isaac Paris comes to us as that of a square-dealing, kindly farmer and miller, whose father and brother had given their lives to their country on the Oriskany battle-field. To him the Oriskany was another Acheron, "a woeful river." Possibly that cry of distress from dwellers on the banks of the Oriskany, so soon after his father's and brother's death, came to him like a voice from eternity, with a pathos even deeper than that one touch of nature that makes the whole world kin. Call it a shrewd business transaction if you will, an exchange of meal for ginseng, it was the shrewdness of one who lends to the Lord, by lending without any earthly security to distant suffering strangers.

Isaac Paris was not an ambitious man, yet he is laureled to-day with spontaneous homage which thousands have selfishly toiled for and died without winning. It is not true that the good men do "is oft interred with their bones." God never permits that a good deed or a kind word should be wasted. On this golden afternoon in October, when the "valleys are covered over with corn and the paths drop fatness," we are all conscious of having larger, warmer hearts to-day, because we feel the sweet, soft sunshine of a remembered charity that brought joy to our starving pioneers ninety-one years ago.

When the time comes to erect a monument over the grave of Isaac Paris—whether it be this year, or next year, or in 1889—there will be cheerful contributions from hill-top and valley. And when the monument is ready for its inscription, what better can be found, outside of Holy Writ, than to copy from England's greatest poet:

> "The quality of mercy is not strained.
> It falleth as the gentle rain from heaven
> Upon the place beneath. It is twice blest,
> It blesseth him that gives and him that takes."

One good deed often gives inspiration for another. After this day's memorial has been completed, an effort should be made to find the lost grave of Rev. Samson Occum, whose fame as a fervid Indian preacher lives in the early history and traditions of Oneida county. It is recorded that in 1786, one year before the first white emigrants settled in Clinton, Samson Occum, like another Moses, led out a colony of Indians from New England and Long Island, and found a new home for them on the banks of the Oriskany, within what is now the town of Marshall. Here they lived for half a century or more, until they were transferred to Green Bay, under the direction of Thomas Dean, of Deansville.

The story of Samson Occum's life has never been fully written. Born near Norwich, Conn., in 1723, educated in Dr. Wheelock's Indian school in New Lebanon, Conn., he was ordained as a preacher by the Presbytery of Suffolk, Long Island, in 1759. He spent eighteen months in England, where he preached over three hundred sermons, and collected £10,000 for the schooling of American Indians. King George III was so delighted with one of the Indian orator's sermons that he gave him a library and a gold-headed cane. He was a poet as well as an orator and a leader. One of his hymns, to be found in Hasting's Church Melodies,

> "Awaked by Sinai's awful sound,"

is often sung by church choirs, without a thought of its Indian origin.

I am indebted to a grandson of one of Clinton's pioneers, Dr. Asabel Norton Brockway, of New York, for a letter which Rev. Samson Occum sent home to his two daughters, while he was in England. It seems to be an Indian father's playful effort to interest a pair of little girls.

"My Dear Mary and Esther:

Perhaps you may query whether I am well. I came from home well, was by the way well, got over well, am received at London well, and am treated extremely well—yea, I am caressed too well. And do you pray that I may be well, and that I may do well, and in time return home well. And I hope you are well, and wish you well, and as I think you began well, so keep on well, that you may end well, and then all will be well. And so farewell.

SAMSON OCCUM."

The style of this letter ought not to be severely criticised. It was not written for publication or for a memorial service. It is a noticeable fact that Samson Occum died in 1792, the year in which the township of Paris was taken from Whitestown, and organized under its present name. The place of his burial can not now be told. Rev. A. D. Gridley's history of Kirkland states that Samson Occum died in Stockbridge, in July, 1792, but says nothing of the place of burial. Judge Jones has reasons for thinking that he died and was buried in the Indian orchard, in Vernon, on land formerly owned by Hendrick Smith, a half-civilized Indian, who removed to Green Bay.

Others remembering how closely his life was linked with the Brothertown Indians, suppose that he sleeps in Deansville, in one of those unmarked and neglected Indian graves, which "implore the passing tribute of a sigh." There has been sad neglect somewhere. Other researches remain for ex-Mayor Hutchinson and the Oneida Historical Society. Schenandoa has his monument near to that of his christian teacher, in the college cemetery, and it is to be hoped that the enthusiasm so apparent in this day's exercises, will keep itself alive and at work, until a permanent inscription, in granite or marble, rescues from dumb forgetfulness, not only the last resting-place of Isaac Paris, but also that of his companion in our county's early history, Rev. Samson Occum.

HON. THEODORE W. DWIGHT'S ADDRESS.

Whitestown, Kirkland, Clinton, Hamilton and Paris! These are some of the names that characterize the subduing and civilizing influence of man, in one of the finest agricultural regions in the world. The early settlers in this region had the judgment and good sense permanently to stamp these picturesque hills and smiling valleys with the names of the most eminent citizens of their own locality and State. They did not go to Africa, searching in its broad morasses for a buried Utica; they did not look to Italy,

to borrow, ludicrously, the names of its Rome and Verona, nor delve in Sicily, for an extinct Syracuse. Instead of all this, they chose their representative men, each showing forth in his own special way, the vigor and beauty of the highest type of their life; Kirkland symbolizing their aggressive faith and civilizing zeal, Clinton and Hamilton their assured hope for the stability of their political institutions and their coming glory, White their force as leading the great army of pioneers still moving in endless procession, and Paris representing their christian charity. Thus are we championed; there still abideth among us, faith, hope and charity. Kirkland was indeed a wonderful man, and made a great impression on his contemporaries. Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, said of him, in a public letter in 1768, while Kirkland was yet a young man, "that for three years past, with indefatigable industry and sometimes at the peril of his life, he has been propagating the christian faith among the tribes of the Six Nations." We all know how, in later life, his views widened so as to embrace the education and culture of our entire population. Of Paris, I know but little. I imagine him to have been an earlier Peter Cooper, with flowing locks and benevolent countenance and guileless disposition, successful as a merchant, and at the same time with open hand distributing his gains for the public good. His act of kindness that we celebrate to-day, though like a farthing light in the great blaze of charity that now illuminates the world, is of a warm and penetrating beam.

"How far this little candle throws his beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

But good Mr. Paris did not intend to pauperize the objects of his benevolence. He knew that a dependence by them on the gifts of the charitable would be the ruin of all manly and honest endeavor. Accordingly, he made them stipulate that they should pay him the next year in ginseng root, and I presume he received his compensation in overflowing measure.

A lesson can be learned from the traffic in this root, and from its influence on the Indians and the early settlers. Jonathan Edwards, the elder, the great theologian, who essayed to unravel the mysteries of the human will and to analyze and combine the persons of the divine Trinity, had another and more lovable side to his character. He was a zealous missionary to the Indian tribes, and though laboring among the Stockbridge Indians in Massachusetts, he knew well what affected them all and their

interests in this part of the country. He particularly deprecated the effect of the search for "ginseng," upon the Six Nations. Writing in 1752, he says: "Some things have happened which have much prejudiced the cause of religion among the Indians, and among other things, the discovery of the famous tartarian root called 'ginseng,' which was found in our woods last summer, and is since found in the woods in many of these western parts of New England and in the country of the Six Nations. The traders in Albany have been eager to purchase all that they could of this root to send to England, where they make great profit by it. This has occasioned our Indians of all sorts, young and old, to spend abundance of time in wandering about the woods and sometimes to a great distance, in the neglect of public worship *and of their husbandry*, and also in going much to Albany to sell their roots, (*which proves worse to them than their going into the woods,*) where they are always much in the way of temptation and drunkenness, especially when they have money in their pockets." It is a relief to know that the early Albanians allowed no penniless Indians to get drunk. Edwards adds: "The consequence has been that many of them have laid out their money which they have got for their roots of ginseng for rum, wherewith they have intoxicated themselves." Other sources of information disclose that the Brothertown Indians united with the Oneidas in the search for ginseng, collecting 1,000 bushels annually, at $2 per bushel, and that the harvest was commonly followed by quarreling and sometimes by murder, particularly among the Oneidas. All of these results could not have happened to the Indians without affecting the white men. May not the "neglect of husbandry," to which Edwards alludes, in 1752, have been to a certain extent the cause of the famine which Mr. Paris relieved? The search for ginseng clearly produced a powerful effect on the habits of the people, an effect which long lingered in these valleys. I can well remember, as a boy in Kirkland, that this root was pointed out to me, and its great commercial value extolled. Though purchased by English traders, it was solely used by the Chinese, who make some seventy useless and probably pernicious preparations from it. The ginseng in these valleys is now forgotten, being displaced by the hop, the grape vine and the corn. The American people, for the most part, have lost all taste for irregular industry, and only tolerate such work as mining, when its operations are guided by the hand of science. In the early days of our history, the missionaries steadily set their faces against intermittent labor. They also did not allow their parishioners to mix rum with their religion,

but required them to accept it free from every sort of adulteration. The good effects of these principles are still visible throughout our society.

The people who founded our local institutions were from the beginning friends of order and desired to lay the social foundations in a strong and lasting manner. These qualities were exhibited in a marked way in the first settlement of a minister, Rev. Dan Bradley, in 1792, in Whitestown, once embracing this town of Paris. This clergyman was settled over the Whitestown church by proxy or representation, a committee having proceeded to Hampden, Conn., to act for the congregation and to listen to an excellent installation sermon from Jonathan Edwards, the younger, subsequently president of Union College, but then the pastor of a church at New Haven. He compliments them as the first of all in that new country who have formed themselves into a regular church and society. With prophetic vision he cries out that very few ministers in the United States are placed in a sphere of so great usefulness as their pastor,—few called to such strenuous exertions. He exhorts them to liberality, strict discipline and to an intense interest in a sound education for their children. It would be interesting to know who composed the committee to take this long and tiresome journey, simply to comply with an accustomed form and for due observance of seemly church order. After all, it matters not, for a like spirit has pervaded the whole region from the beginning until now. A careful observer wrote about seventy years ago of the inhabitants of the town of Paris in this wise: "The inhabitants are industrious, sober, orderly and prosperous." On this love of order they have built all their institutions, civil and religious. There is a marked steadiness in this our civilization, only one change being visible, that of onward movement and regular progress.

Citizens of Paris: You have done well to institute this celebration in honor of the man who set so fruitful an example to us all. True, it is not likely that any one will need to be stimulated by his conduct to save his immediate neighbors from famine; our resources being so varied and manifold. But neighborhood is now very large, and our fellow-men, if not our fellow-citizens need succor in a variety of forms. The little boat drawn painfully up the scantily flowing Oriskany by willing hands is the forerunner of mighty ships freighted with grain and other articles of food, while the Oriskany itself has expanded into the Shannon, the Danube and the Ganges, with famishing men within their shores stretching out their hands to receive gratuitously our life-sustaining products. Charity has been dignified by becoming a national act. Differences

in religious creeds have faded out in the mellow and uniform glow of an all-pervading philanthrophy. We can not credit all this to Mr. Paris. Still he performed his part well in the beneficent work of life and we may safely imitate him. We can not all follow closely after great men, but we can all walk abreast with charitable men. Each of us can join the white-robed procession though he have at command only the two mites that make a farthing. You have therefore done well in recalling Mr. Paris to the memory of the busy men of our time, in getting the seal of your approbation upon his act, in placing him high on the list of your local worthies and in making a beautiful and simple charitable deed a matter of public commemoration. The citizens of Oneida county are to be congratulated on their growing interest in their local history. They are also fortunate in the fact that so many noble and eminent men have lived and worked among them who have performed acts and possessed characters worthy to be kept in perpetual remembrance.

It was the policy of the earlier nations to build sepulchral monuments along frequented avenues. The dead thronged the streets almost as when alive. The living could not depart from home without looking into the marble faces of the dead and recalling their virtues.

We in the United States have pursued a widely different course. Our sepulchral memorials are scattered far apart on hills, in valleys, and sequestered nooks, awaiting the visit of the admirer, the antiquarian or the passing traveler. Thus it happens that Kirkland is at rest upon one of these hills, Paris upon another, while White sleeps in the valley, which he was the first to explore. Will we not at some future day combine these thoughts by erecting in the principal city of our county fit statues as memorials of the men to whom we owe so much, each exemplifying the special trait of character or mode of action which made him useful to his generation and makes him famous with posterity ?

HON. SAMUEL EARL'S REMARKS.

Ladies and Gentlemen and Citizens of the Town :

I can not imagine why I am called upon to address you. I came to be a spectator of what was to be done and to hear what was said. I am glad that I have been permitted to listen to the remarks, and shall remember them with pleasure. I have heard much I never knew before of the history of Isaac Paris, the noble bene-

factor of the people of this town. I do not know why I am called upon, unless it is that I belong to Herkimer county to which this county once belonged. You have heard what has been said in reference to Isaac Paris. You have been told that the people of this section had to go to Fort Plain, to get sustenance there. In doing so they were obliged to pass the German settlements around Fort Herkimer. I will tell you why it was necessary that they should pass the Germans. They were an industrious and charitable class, and had lived there since 1723. They were prosperous down to the time of the French war, but by the French and English invasion they lost their all and became poor. They remained on the frontier as a barrier against the Canadians and Indians. At the close of the war they were very poor. In addition to that, you must remember that at the close of the revolutionary war, in consequence of their exposed position, many of them were killed, and others driven away. They had many widows and orphans to provide for, and it was all they could do to provide for their own poor. The war ended in 1783, and the Indian depredations continued for several years after, so that the sturdy Germans could not cultivate enough to have a surplus. In 1789 they were poor, so it was not surprising they had nothing to spare for the people of this section. But the committee did not have to go far. They found a generous friend in Isaac Paris, who opened his garners to them freely. For that noble act his name is perpetuated in this town, and his dust will be honored and protected till the final trump. At that day everything west of Herkimer was almost a trackless wilderness. When the hardy pioneers settled in this town, they were surrounded by Indians. They came here poor, and their crops failing, they were obliged to go elsewhere for supplies. They were well calculated to go on the border, being a hardy people. They cleared up those lands, made homes for themselves, and fortunes for their posterity.

REV. DR. ISAAC S. HARTLEY'S REMARKS.

I suppose I have been called upon to speak because I am a representative of the church of which the deceased was a member. This is a remarkable occasion, and one which I hope will go down to posterity clothed in the language it so justly merits. We have come here and under the shadow of the sanctuary, to pay tribute to one whose name is already a proverb in the homes in

this valley, and one I trust coming generations will render still more bright and radiant. If heaven looks down and smiles on kind deeds, I know none more bright and good than that presented at this hour; of men, women and children, speaking different tongues, holding to different creeds and pursuing different walks in life, forgetting their special preferences and comimg here to pay their tribute of honor and respect to one animated with true patriotism and genuine christianity. History often repeats itself. Of the innumerable monuments that to-day dot this globe, how many were erected decades, and even centuries, after the bodies beneath them were deposited? After all, we can not forget the good, generous and brave. Time may corrode and consume the lesser virtues; but though sharp may be its tooth, it never can consume genuine patriotism and charity.

The speaker compared the exercises of the day to the burial of Jacob of old, and continued: Another scene comes to my mind and one wondrously different. A man may be a soldier and a patriot and yet not have much religion in his heart; but he who is a soldier and patriot and in whose heart religion dwells, that is the man the nations love and whom mankind honor. A few years ago, in Westchester county, a few gentlemen opened a grave and gathered together the remnants of a form that once lived. They were sent to Lord Lovelace, son-in-law of Lord Byron. Except his servant, no one knows to-day where those bones are interred. As of the grave of Moses, no man can to-day say: "There lie the remains of Thomas Paine." There is a difference in this respect between the man whose acts are prompted by christianity and those who are not. The distinguished man whom we to-day honor, contributed largely by his means as well as his influence for the establishment of the christian religion. We can not estimate our indebtedness to the many gone before us, for dotting these hills with spires pointing upward. We know that this valley has a wondrous history in efforts made to bring the redskins to a knowledge of the truth. To the same extent that these institutions of religion are kept in a community, to that extent does a country make progress. When you blot them out, you blot out the powers that have made us what we are. I hope the services of this hour will make us more loyal to ourselves, and more anxious to know our history.

HON. WILLIAM J. BACON'S REMARKS.

We have had more than enough of commemorations of those whose office it is to *destroy* life. Let us do some homage to those who do what they can, even although it be in an humble way, to *save* life, to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and relieve the suffering of the great human household. This was the business, as it was a good part of the mission of Christ; and they are Christ-like who like Him seek to save and not to destroy life. Thus doing, we in the most practical and emphatic manner answer His question, "Is it lawful to do good or to do evil, to save life or to kill?" Thus, in imitation of Him, did Colonel Isaac Paris in his day, and we do well to perpetuate the remembrance of such a timely and beneficent relief, and inculcate upon our children the simple but important and ever-recurring lesson that it teaches.

After the exercises the procession formed in the following order:

Marshal I. L. Addington.
Old Utica Band.
Utica Citizens' Corps.
Soldiers of the Late War.
Marshal A. R. Eastman and Members of Sauquoit Lodge 150, Sanger Lodge 129, Clinton Lodge 169, and Amicable Lodge of Washington Mills, F. & A. M.
Clergy.
Remains of Isaac Paris, borne by Hon. Josiah Shull, Ilion; O. B. Gridley, Waterville; Morgan Butler, New Hartford; G. H. Ives, Kirkland; Charles Peck, Marshall; Colonel George Young, Utica. Assistants—Stephen Savage, Sauquoit; Adelbert Rhodes, Clayville; Theodore F. Butterfield, Utica; Frank Corbin, Marshall; Dr. A. R. Simmons, New Hartford; F. Ward, Kirkland.
Irving Paris, of New York, only surviving descendant of Isaac Paris.
Speakers of the Day.
Members of the Historical Society.
Citizens.

The procession marched from the church around the green, and returned to the burying ground in rear of the church, where a hollow square was formed about the grave, the members of the

Corps standing at present arms. Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley said the burial service and offered prayer. The remains were then lowered, the band playing a dirge.

Irving Paris of New York, spoke briefly, thanking those present for the respect shown to the deceased and for the beautiful tribute paid to his memory. The family was pleased to have the remains sent here among his friends. He congratulated the people of Paris on the prosperity of their town.

Rev. Dr. Hartley pronounced the benediction, and a deputation of the Citizens' Corps fired three volleys over the grave. The procession then formed again and marched to the village green, where the corps formed in line. Lieutenant McQuade, acting as adjutant, read the following general order:

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 1:

1. The Marshal Commanding desires to express to the Utica Citizens' Corps the thanks of the citizens of the towns of Paris, Kirkland and Marshall for their attendance and the kind and noble part taken by them in the memorial services of the day. And the Marshal especially desires to express to the officers and privates alike his appreciation of their courtesy and soldierly conduct and bearing throughout the day.

PARIS HILL, October 1, 1880. I. L. ADDINGTON, *Marshal.*

The following letter was subsequently received:

Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, Vice President of the Oneida Historical Society:

My Dear Sir:—On behalf of myself and the various members of my family, I wish to take this opportunity of expressing to your Society our pleasure and gratification at the memorial services which took place at Paris, in October last. We were particularly struck with their beauty and impressiveness, and have read with the greatest interest the speeches made by the several members of your Society. Aside from the appropriateness of the remarks, which it might appear indelicate for us to praise too highly, we desire to thank you and your Society most sincerely for the assistance which you have given to the people of Paris, in preparing the ceremonies which took place on that occasion; and we also desire to convey to the citizens of that town our heartfelt gratitude for the beautiful tribute paid to the memory of Colonel Isaac Paris. I am informed that it is proposed to publish an account of the Paris Memorial, under the auspices of your Society, and I take the liberty of enclosing a check towards the expenses of such publication. I remain, my dear sir, Yours, very respectfully,

31 Pine street, New York. IRVING PARIS.

January 5th, 1881.

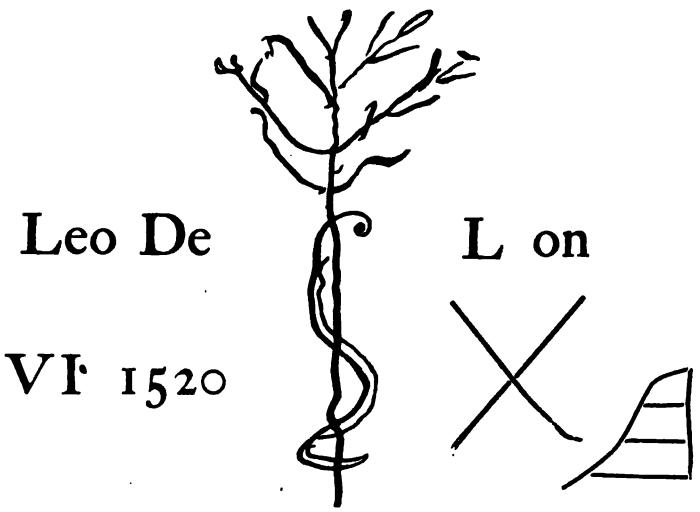
THE POMPEY, (N. Y.,) STONE,

WITH AN INSCRIPTION AND DATE OF A. D. 1520.

BY HENRY A. HOMES, LL. D.,
Librarian of the State Library.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 11, 1879.

It is now nearly sixty years since there was found at Watervale, in the township of Pompey, Onondaga county, three miles northeast of Pompey Center and four miles south of Manlius, on the side of a hill looking to the northeast, a small boulder of gneiss rock, about fourteen inches long by twelve inches wide and ten inches thick, which bore a most remarkable inscription and figures.



If genuine and correctly interpreted, it is a relic furnishing the earliest evidence of the presence of the European in North America.* The appearance of the inscription on the stone resembles

* General John S. Clark, of Auburn, a thorough student of the topography of the region, in a letter dated January, 1880, gives me a farther description of the locality, which I take the liberty to subjoin: "The great Onondaga town visited by Le Moyne in 1654, was directly north on what is now

very nearly the drawing which I offer for your inspection. This stone is the property of the Albany Institute, though for the present deposited in the State Museum. The date is earlier than that of the discovery of New England, New York or Virginia, and one hundred years earlier than the founding of the colony at Plymouth. The fullest account of the discovery of the stone may be found in J. V. H. Clark's History of Onondaga county. It is also described in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, and in his Notes on the Iroquois, and in Squier's Antiquities of New York; and there are drawings of the inscription in the works of the three writers.

The township of Pompey has yielded up more relics of the Aborigines than any other place in this State. Upon its territory there must have existed three large villages, defended with strong forts, and the same number of cemeteries. Among the articles found there have been corn, arrows, flints, stone pestles, gun-barrels, swords, cannon-balls, hatchets, sacred medals of French and Dutch origin, a gold cross, numerous brass kettles, etc. These articles in nowise indicate an early and unknown European colony, or a European town or fort, to have been established near the spot. Governor DeWitt Clinton finds no evidence for European relics of an earlier date than of French colonists from 1654 to 1669, who finally abandoned the region.* The objects found simply prove that the Indians were living there in villages so early as 1620 at least, to judge by the age of some of the trees. The early colonists found a profit in digging up the graves in the township for the sake of valuable objects buried with the dead; and especially for the sake of the brass kettles, which they afterwards used for domestic purposes. The French mission, at the village now called Jonesville, in Pompey, must be the source of such articles as the sacred medals and a piece of an anvil. The source of others must be from the Indian trade with the colonists, or from their marauding excursions. In the early times it had been the custom of the French and the Dutch to sell or give to them carbines and muskets; so that in 1642 the Mohawks alone had 300 men who were

known as Indian Hill, the main village, about two miles from the stone. This was a very large town, and extended south probably a mile, and not unlikely quite to the locality of the stone. Directly southwest about a mile was another important town occupied about the same time by some one of the subjugated nations. South two miles, in the same valley, was still another of like character."

*Clinton's Memoir on the Antiquities of the Western Parts of New York, 1817.

armed with guns.* The French colonists at Onondaga Lake brought five cannon with them, which they must have buried somewhere previous to their stealthy flight in 1658. Sir William Johnson, in 1756, supplied the Tuscaroras with swivels for their own and the colonists' protection against the French. These facts alone are sufficient to account for the cannon-balls found in Pompey. The region of Pompey was so famous for certain battles among the Indians themselves at some period of their history, that it obtained the name among them of the Bloody Ground.† Mr. Schoolcraft's remark on the subject of these relics is, that "it is most probable that there are no remains of European art, or have ever been disclosed in this part of the country, one only excepted, which are not due to the attempts of the Dutch and French to establish fur trade."‡

There were found on the rocks in one place grooves resembling five Roman figures for I and I and X, in size three-quarters of an inch broad, three-quarters of an inch deep and nine inches long, contiguous to each other. Another rock with similar marks has been lately found, and both are now in the possession of Mr. Ledyard, of Cazenovia. Careful observation has shown that these marks have no significance, and that they are simply indentations produced by the Indians in sharpening their stone tools.

The stone which is the subject of our present remarks bears a date nearly one hundred years earlier than French intercourse with the Indians at this point, a date within twenty-three years of the first discovery of the new continent by Cabot. The genuineness of the inscriptions upon it have never been questioned by any of those who have written regarding them, down to Mr. Haven, of the American Antiquarian Society, who very lately has declared them to be well authenticated.§ These writers have merely failed to give explanations or conjectures regarding its origin and meaning that have harmonized with all the facts. Mr. J. V. H. Clark, the historian of Onondaga county, who published in 1849, comes nearer to a correct, though incomplete, view of it than others. Mr. Clark says: "It was probably designed as a sepulchral monument. * * * It may not appear incredible that a party of Spaniards, either stimulated by the spirit of adventure or allured by the love of gold, or driven by some rude blast of misfortune, may have visited this region, lost one of their number by death,

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* Parkman; p. 214, 230.

† Schoolcraft's Notes on the Iroquois, p. 470, 446.

‡ Notes, p. 189.

§ Am. Ant. Soc. Proc., 1863; Ap., p. 33.

and erected this rude stone with its simple inscription as a tribute to his memory."*

Mr. Schoolcraft assumes that the serpent climbing a tree refers to a well-known passage in the Pentateuch. He thinks that the date (VI 1520) means the sixth year after Pope Leo Tenth took the Papal chair; and that, also, some straggler from Ponce de Leon, who discovered Florida in 1513, reached the Iroquois.† His contradictory conclusions only create dilemma and bewilderment.

Mr. Squier expresses no opinion of his own as to its origin, but says that it is the conjecture of some that Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, or some other Spanish commander, penetrated thus far to the northward during the period of Spanish adventure in Florida.

Thomas Buckingham Smith, who is the last person who has speculated upon the topic, as late as 1863, had advanced no farther than to surmise that the inscription was derived from Spanish missionaries, who early penetrated the country, and to say that the inscription in full would be, "*Leo decimus Pontifex maximus.*" "Leo the Tenth, grand high priest."‡ This he inferred from the fact that in the year of Christ 1520, Giovanni de Medici sat upon the Papal throne, and therefore, these might possibly have been the words.

Regarding some of the solutions offered of these mysterious carvings, they seem to be either improbable or impossible. It is even now surmised that the stone might refer to Leo X, Pope, and only for the reason that he was Pope from 1513 to 1521. But he was not from the town or kingdom of Leon, a part of Spain: and there is nothing but the date to connect the stone with him. Leo or Leon is a very common name among all the Latin nations. It is surmised that the name may have referred to Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida. The answer is, that in this case there is no coincidence of a name of person, but only of a name of place. Surmises which have been made connecting the stone with persons in various other expeditions, fail to apply, because we find that the dates of those expeditions were at too late a period, that this stone could be a memorial of any incident connected with them.

In my present contribution to the study of the origin of this stone, I do not pretend to have solved every problem connected with it, but I hope that by bringing into new relations some facts from the history of the progress of discovery in the New World,

* Clark's History of Onondaga County. Syracuse: 1849. 2 v., 8vo.

† Notes on the Iroquois, p. 323.

‡ Am. Antiq. Soc. Proc., Ap., 1863; p. 33.

and some facts from the customs of the Indians, I may succeed in limiting the range of investigation, and that while the stone itself will always remain a most interesting object, it may seem less of a mystery.

The conclusion to which I have come, is one so simple, that if true, it must in a measure dispel curiosity to seek to reach farther into the darkness; and after it is presented, it may seem so obvious, as hardly to deserve so much form in setting it forth.

My position in a single proposition, is the following: The Pompey Stone is a memorial stone of a European, probably of a Spaniard, who previous to 1520, with one or more companions had been made a captive by the Indians in some part of North America, and both had been adopted as members of the tribe with which they were living, and one of them had become a Sachem. At the death of Leo a surviving companion carved on the stone his name with the month and year of his death, and emblems of his hope of an immortal life.

Upon this proposition, the first question which one asks is, in what way could any Spaniard have reached Onondaga county as early as the year 1520. The answer to this is, that from the discovery of Hispaniola or San Domingo in 1492, and its settlement, occasions when Europeans landed upon the continent must have been much more numerous than the voyages from Hispaniola which have been specifically reported and recorded. But we will go back only to the voyage of the first discoverer of the continent, that of John Cabot, father of Sebastian Cabot in 1497. No one who considers how persons of every nation of Europe were mingled among these early adventurers, will have any difficulty in believing that a portion of those that sailed from Bristol with Cabot in 1497, may have been Spainards. Cabot himself, born in Genoa, and a naturalized Venetian, it has been shown was at Seville in Spain in 1496.*

Dr. O'Callaghan has lately found in the roll of the discovery-ship, the Pinta of Columbus, that one of the crew was an Irishman of Galway.† It is evident that Cabot landed upon the coast of North America, and he brought home some natives of the country to London.‡ In his next voyage in 1498, he is reported to have sailed with five ships, and with hundreds of persons on board,

*H. Stevens, Memoir on Cabot. London: 1870.—Also, Historical and Geographical Notes, 1869, 8vo., by the same.

†From a newspaper of August, 1879.

‡Stow's Annals of London, of 1502, quoted by Biddle, p. 225.

doubtless for purposes of colonization, and only one or two of these ships ever returned to England.*

Following after Cabot, we have the Portuguese Navigator, G. Cortereal, who in 1501, on his second voyage with three ships, landed in Labrador, and two of the ships carried back seventy persons as laborers, whence the name of Labrador to that region, from the Portuguese word for laborers. Cortereal was lost with one of the ships. He had commenced his discoveries at the south of the river St. Lawrence.† A third voyage of a brother, Miguel, is reported, but the ship never returned in which he sailed.

We come next to the voyage of Ponce de Leon in 1513 to Florida. He landed twice or thrice on the coast, and had a battle in which two of his men were wounded; at another time, he was attacked by eighty canoes. His first place of landing was a little below St. Augustine. In 1515, on another voyage, he again landed, coming from Seville, with three ships. The Indians, says Gomara, came against him to prevent his halting in their town, and fought so bravely, that they defeated him, slew a great many of the Spaniards, and wounded him with an arrow; from which wound he afterwards died.

In 1517, three ships from Hispaniola, discovered Yucatan, landed and brought back some of the natives.

In 1518 and 1519, Pineda in the service of Garay, went to Florida, and fought with the natives at several points.‡

Besides these voyages, and those of Denis in 1504, of Pinzon and Solis in 1507, of Nunez de Balboa in 1513, of Hernandez in 1517, Cortes in 1519, all before 1520, there are other voyages mentioned by the historians of those early days, by Galvanos, Oviedo, Herrera and others.§ I do not refer to Columbus's voyage to South America in 1503, nor to the voyages to Central America. But besides all these voyages, how many unreported voyages must have occured where the adventurer never returned to Europe, to Spain or to Hispaniola? And last, and perhaps as much to our purpose, were the early voyages to the fishing banks, reported as discovered as early as 1463, and by some, even thirty years earlier. One navigator reports that ships of various nations, catching cod or Bakalaos in that quarter, were seen by him in the year 1519, to the number

* Biddle's Cabot, pp. 87, 88, 239.

† Biddle's Cabot, p. 241.

‡ Galvanos, Hakluyt Soc., p. 133, 134, 141. Kohl, p. 142. Gomara, lib. 2 cap 48, French edition.

§ Galvanos, p. 130, 134.

of fifty. Either driven by storms, or landing on the coasts to salt and dry their fish, some persons of their crews could hardly fail to have been left on land and captured.*

It must be left to your imagination to reckon up the total number of the consequent landings and contacts with the natives, from all these enumerated and unenumerated voyages, when you at the same time have recalled the secrecy, and the suppression of facts practiced, regarding new discoveries, not only by Spain, but by all the nations interested in adding to their dominions, by asserting claims to sovereignty by right of discovery. It is an evidence of the extent to which this principle of preserving secrecy was carried, that Spain published no official geographical charts of these new countries, with the admitted jurisdiction over them, previous to the year 1790.†

This rapid review of the voyages to America from 1492 to 1497, and down to the date of the Pompey stone is sufficient to give us the conviction, that the Spaniards very frequently during that period of time came in close contact with the Aborigines.

This may have seemed to you so clear, that it would have been sufficient that I should have affirmed it in a single sentence.

But the next consideration refers to facts which are not so well known; that it can be shown that from a very early period after the discovery, there are recorded a number of cases of Europeans living among the Indians long after their captivity, and becoming honored members of the tribe with which they happened to be thrown. Facts of a similar nature have been repeating themselves to the present time. In the majority of cases, the Indians did not massacre or devour their captives. At first they were ready to receive them with hospitality and respect.‡ In some cases they reverenced them as more than human. From what ships their captives came, in many cases we have no information; for the buccaneers and corsairs of those days, whether preying upon the Indians or upon the commerce of European nations, most frequently have left us but the most insignificant reports of their adventures.

We will illustrate this intercourse of the Spaniards with the Indians, and allude to the long residence of some among them, by a few examples. When Ponce de Leon discovered Florida, in 1513, he found on the coast, in latitude 28°, an Indian who was liv-

* Gomara in Kohl, p. 404; Brevoort on Verazzano's voyage; Major's P. Henry, p. 374.

† Brevoort on Verrazano (Am. Geog. Soc. Jour., v. 4).

‡ Heckewelder, p. 59.

ing with his tribe, who served him as an interpreter, having learned Spanish at Hispaniola, showing that there had been previous intercourse. D'Ayllon actually commenced, in 1526, a settlement at Coosakatchie, in South Carolina, near the mouth of the Combachee, having five hundred persons with him from Hispaniola. The Indians revenged themselves for the treatment they had received five years before from him, on his first voyage, when he had carried off a cargo of the natives and sold them as slaves, and they destroyed the colony, so that not one-quarter of them escaped back to Hispaniola. Of course of those that did not escape, many may have remained alive only to become captive to the natives.*

When Martin Affonso, in 1532, landed in Brazil, he was unexpectedly saluted by Ramalho, a Portuguese refugee, who had married the daughter of the chief of a tribe, and was held in much honor. The story of the captivity of Hans Stade in the same country, Brazil, fills one of the last volumes of the Hakluyt Society. He lived with wild tribes from 1547 to 1555.

Biedma, who was with De Soto in 1539, in his great journey from Florida to the Mississippi, obtained information regarding D'Ayllon's settlement, made twelve years before, from one of his soldiers, who had been permitted to live with the Indians. The destruction of this colony has been celebrated in a poem of two thousand lines, by W. J. Grayson, of South Carolina.

Let us next recall the expedition of Nunez Cabeça de Vaca, who started, in 1528, with Narvaez, with 300 men, to cross the country westward from Florida. After two years of wandering and six years of captivity, traveling three thousand and five hundred miles, he succeeded in reaching Sonora, on the Gulf of California, and finally, with only three companions, joined the Spaniards in Mexico.

When he reached the Province of Sinaloa, on the Pacific, the whole community of the Nevome Indians united in acts of hospitality, built them a house and a fort, till there should be a favorable moment for their departure for Mexico.

The case of John Ortiz is a very interesting one. Soon after De Soto landed in Florida, in 1539, he learned that a soldier from Narvaez's party was living with the Indians. He wished to secure him, and sent a captain and eighty men for the purpose. The soldiers seeing a band of Indians of equal number, galloped fiercely towards them, and they all fled but one—who turned out to be this captive from Narvaez's army. His story was, that after

*Galvanos, p. 160; Schoolcraft, vi; 39.

he had been captured, his life had been spared through the intercessions of a chief's daughter. This genuine story was already in print when Captain John Smith was preparing a final edition of his works, and, to still farther excite the wonder of the English regarding Virginia, led him to invent the story of his having been saved in a similar manner by Pocahontas, sixteen years before. De Soto himself left the coast of West Florida with 1,300 men, crossed the Mississippi and the Arkansas, and reached Mexico after four years, with only one-half of the number.

The story of the campaign of Coronado, in 1540–41–42, from Mexico, with 400 horsemen, up through Arizona and Colorado, to the cities of Cibola and Quivira, is a marvelous one. In numerous skirmishes with the Indians, many of his men were slain or disappeared, and on his return to Mexico, he had with him but 100 men. Within a few years, coats of armor, supposed to have belonged to some of his party, have been found by our soldiers in mountain caverns of that region.* We can not doubt but that some of all these warriors became members of Indian tribes.

Fontaneda, a Spaniard who was shipwrecked on the coast of Florida when he was thirteen years of age, narrates that he lived with the Indians seventeen years from the year 1551, and that he spoke four of their languages. He mentions by name, incidentally in the course of his narrative, seven of his countrymen whom he met among them. He mentions one ship which was wrecked with 1,000 souls on board, of whom 300 reached the land in safety. He describes the people as poor in gold and silver, except the millions which they had obtained from wrecked European vessels. "It was a consolation," he says, "for those who were lost after us, to find on shore christian companions who could help them to understand the brutes. Many Spaniards have saved their lives by finding before them their countrymen."† So prominent a feature were shipwrecks, resulting from the treacherous currents around the coast of Florida, that Oviedo devotes one hundred and thirty folio pages of his work to an account of those shipwrecks that had come within his knowledge, there and in the Gulf of Mexico, previous to 1545.‡

Champlain, Governor of Canada, in his account of his attack on the Iroquois in 1615, at Fenner in Madison county, in this State, observes that they had with them three Flemish (Dutch) men aid-

* General Simpson's paper, Am. Geog. Soc. Jour., vol. V, p. 194.

† Smith's De Soto and Fontaneda, p. 20, 21, 22, 32, &c.—Ramusio.

‡ Oviedo, Hist. de las Indias, Jour. IV, l. L.

ing them at that early period of a Dutch trading settlement, in their war against the Algonquins, whom they afterwards gave up to the French. In 1642 and 1643 the reverse of this occurred, that the Iroquois having captured Fathers Bressani and Jogues from the French, gave them up to the Dutch.*

It would unnecessarily protract this paper to embody all the evidence I have collected of the residence of Spaniards and Europeans among the Indians of North America within the first one hundred years from the discovery of the continent. The original narratives and the compilations of the historians show that there were many, either as captives or as adopted members of the tribes, living with them, and occasionally acting as interpreters to vessels that touched the coast for commerce. Our libraries are full of narrations of what are called Indian captivities. DeWitt Clinton says: "The Indians made free all the captives whom they spared in battle."† The Mohawks had *Englishmen* included in their tribe at an early date.‡ The Five Nations in 1684 had added so largely to their numbers from Indian captives as to have increased the number of their warriors by more than 600 men. And this year of centennial celebrations of Sullivan's campaign of 1779, makes it appropriate to state that when he came to Newton he found fifteen captives from the settlers among the Senecas.§

The whole evidence, therefore, goes to show that from the considerable number of voyages previous to 1520, when the navigators came into actual contact with the Indians on land, and from the frequency of captives living with them at that time and in years following, that this Pompey stone was probably inscribed by a Spaniard domiciled with the Indians; and if this stone was found in the place where it was first deposited, then it was among the *Onondaga* or the *Oneida* Indians, and near the line of the great Indian trail from the Hudson and the south to Lake Erie.‖

We next, therefore, come to the explanation of the *marks on the stone*; and we proceed to account for them in accordance with the

*Champlain's Ed. of 1619. Trans. in Mag. of Am. Hist., I, p. 563.—Geddes, Mag. of Hist., p. 527.

† DeWitt Clinton.

‡ Parkman, lxvi p.—Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 340, 341.

§ In my statement as first delivered, I mentioned thirty as the whole number of captives. Not being able to refer to my authority for that number, I accept the correction which the Rev. David Craft has kindly made to me in a letter since an extract from this paper was published.

‖ L. H. Morgan, League of the Iroquois, p. 421.

assumption we have made. As a grave-stone memorial, the inscription would mean that in the year of our Lord 1520, in the sixth month, (which according to old style would be September or October,) Leo, a Spaniard of the city of Leon in Spain, died here. The carving of the tree and the serpent we infer was done contemporaneously with the inscription of the name of the deceased, and that the whole was cut by a surviving companion. The tree entwined by a serpent we must believe was placed there by a man who had recollections of the christian teachings of earlier days, and of the pictures he had seen in the churches and in his books of devotion, of the tree of knowledge, of good and evil, which is at the same time the tree of immortal life, thus entwined. The same symbol he might have seen employed in the vignette of early printed books, as a printer's mark, perhaps surmounted with an owl, as the bird of wisdom. Our captive, having obtained the respect of the Indians and become familiar with their beliefs, does not carve any object emblematic of christianity, but adopts one which conformed much nearer to the beliefs of the Indians, than the learned world was generally aware of fifty years since. The religious reverence for trees and serpents, which may be called worship, as it existed in East India, is now seen to have been almost universal, certainly very prevalent in the whole New World. J. G. Mueller, a German writer, in 1855, finds traces of tree-worship combined with serpent-worship all over the American continent. Ferguson in England, in 1873, devotes a large quarto volume, with one hundred plates, under the title of "Tree and Serpent Worship," to a history of that mythology, not only in India, but "in all parts of the world." And besides the chapters on the subject in Schoolcraft's "Indian Tribes of the United States," we have the volume of Squier, published in 1851, on the "Serpent Symbol in America." I will make no quotation from either of these, but content myself with a single sentence from the latest authority, that of J. G. Henderson, in a paper read by him at the meeting of the American Scientific Association at Saratoga, September, 1879, on this topic. He says: "The serpent was at one time worshiped as a divine being by all the tribes from Cape Horn to Hudson's Bay, and from ocean to ocean." I will only add one or two illustrations specifically from the traits of our own northern Indians. The Indian mounds of the mound-builders are frequently constructed in the form of a serpent. Lawson, a land surveyor among the Tuscaroras in North Carolina, in the years 1710 to 1712, writes that they have a superstition which forbids

them to step across a tree, and that they will never kill a snake.* Cusick, an Indian preacher, (a Tuscaroran of New York,) fills the pages of his "History of the Six Nations" with stories of snakes and serpents exercising divine power over the destinies of the tribes in their legendary period. Sir William Johnson, in his account of the Oneidas, tells us that this tribe used a tree as a symbol of stability.†

The chief object of worship among the Onondagas was a being whom they called, Hotarho, who was always pictured with the hair of his head composed of writhing snakes.

Without farther illustrations, we must conclude therefore, that this emblem was placed here as being one which would commend the stone to the respect and reverence of the Indians, and would at the same time express hopes of an immortal life for the one buried near it.

In coming to the remaining marks upon the stone, those at the right hand corner, at the bottom, we think that they represent two pipes or calumets crossed, with perhaps a tobacco pouch below them. As the calumet of peace, it would be an emblem that he who was there entombed was at peace and amity with the survivors. Says DeWitt Clinton, "For an infringement of the rights of the calumet, the confederate Five Nations carried on a war of thirty years against the Choctaws."‡ Hennepin says, "I had certainly perished in my travels had it not been for this calumet of peace."§ Charlevoix says, "To smoke in the same pipe therefore in token of alliance, is the same thing as to drink in the same cup, as has been practiced at all times by many nations."‖ Whether pipes, arrows or war-clubs, these marks on this stone are plainly Indian emblems: and if they are a token of ownership by a chief, it might be that they were carved in after years, as marks of an Indian family—family arms, or *totem*. Fontaneda states that memorials set up by the Spaniards were treated with religious respect by the Indians. In this sense Longfellow makes Hiawatha address his "wondering people":

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*Lawson's Travels in North Carolina; 1709, p. 202, 210.

†Doc. Hist., vol. iv, p. 271.

‡Clinton. Address, 1811, from Smith's N. Y., p. 52.

§Hennepin's voyages. Chap. 24, p. 94. London, 1698.

‖Charlevoix. Dublin, T. 1., p. 180, 181.

* * * "Behold, your grave-posts
Have no mark, no sign, nor symbol.
Go and paint them all with figures;
Each one with its household symbol,
With its own, ancestral totem;
So that those who follow after,
May distinguish them and know them."

Many of the incidents and facts which I have mentioned, I have touched upon in the most brief manner possible, so as not to weary your patience. And I will not enlarge farther regarding the meaning and import of this stone, but will just repeat in an abbreviated form my general proposition as my conclusion. The stone is the grave-stone of a European and probably a Spaniard, who with a companion was once a captive, but at the date of 1520 were adopted members of some tribe of Indians. The inscription was made by the survivor. The marks in the right hand lower corner indicate tribal relationship.

In view of all the considerations which I have presented, I think we are authorized to regard the Pompey inscribed stone with its genuineness and authenticity, as the earliest monument either in the State of New York or in the United States, attesting the discovery of the New World and the presence here of the European.

Gentlemen of the Society! I thank you for the indulgence with which you have listened to my utterances on this very minute historical theme. I regret that I have not been able to offer to you topics of a wider scope: but I have been glad of an opportunity to offer something even though it be but a trifling gift, as an acknowledgment of your kindness. To have been able to carry back your thoughts to the noble and heroic nation that once flourished here, is all that in the circumstance of a daily very busy life, it has been possible for me to accomplish.

JOHANNIS RUEFF,

A PIONEER OF ONEIDA COUNTY.

BY DR. F. H. ROOF, OF RHINEBECK, N. Y.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1879.

In Jones' "Annals of Oneida County," page 326, we find that in the year 1760 John Roof and —— Brodock resided at Fort Stanwix, N. Y. Beyond this fact, the author states his inability to obtain further information concerning them, other than a brief notice of John Roof contained in an obituary of his son, John Roof, Jr., published in the *Rome Sentinel* in October, 1847.

Johannis Rueff (Anglicized Roof) was born in the city of Durlach, Suabia, Germany, on the 9th of January, 1730. His ancestor removed from the Tyrol into Suabia at a period of civil war. He married Annie Mari Leonhardo, of Heidelberg, Germany, January 13, 1759. In October, 1759, they landed at Philadelphia, Penn. Early in 1760 he made his way westward as far as Fort Stanwix, N. Y., where he established himself as a trader with the Indians. As shown by bills of sale in the writer's possession, his business transactions extended as far east as Stone Arabia and Caughnawaga. He purchased from the Indians in the year 1762, in connection with Philip Livingston, Oliver DeLancey and Peter Dubois, a tract of land containing twenty thousand acres. It appears from a petition of Johannis Rueff on file at the Secretary of State's office, Albany, dated January 31, 1789, that the share of John Roof, in this tract (four thousand acres,) together with the share of others, was conveyed by the State as bounty land at the close of the Revolution. Oliver DeLancey and other shareholders having been attainted of treason, all of the patentees excepting Philip Livingston (several of whom, including John Roof, were Whigs,) were deprived of their property, for which they never received an equivalent. From 1760 until the outbreak of the Revolution, Mr. Roof continued with great pecuniary advantage his traffic with the Indians, exchanging provisions, &c., for furs, often furnishing

supplies to the garrison, and cultivating a farm near the fort. In 1777, previous to the siege proper of Fort Stanwix, while yet the settlers could scarcely leave their quarters with safety, John Roof was warned by an Oneida Indian of an impending attack upon the fort by the Indians and British troops. Deciding to remove his family and effects to a place of safety, he so informed Colonel Gansevoort, in command of Fort Stanwix. Colonel Gansevoort, however, appropriated the supplies for the use of the garrison, and later ordered Mr. Roof's buildings burned, which were strongly constructed and furnished protection to the enemy, then in possession. Colonel Gansevoort gave Mr. Roof a certificate in the name of the Government, promising to make good his loss. An ungranted petition of John Roof's, on file at the Secretary of State's office, Albany, asks redress for the above. During the years 1796 and 1797 a final effort was made, through his friend, Judge William Cooper, then Member of Congress, to obtain satisfaction from the Government for his losses, which was also unsuccessful.* In 1844 a further attempt to obtain reparation from the State was made by John Roof, Jr., which met a fate no better than those which preceded it. (See Assembly Journal for 1844, 1845 and 1846.) In advancing the claims at this late day, as Colonel Gansevoort's certificate and other vouchers were missing, evidence of some kind became necessary. Henry Sitts, a Revolutionary soldier, formerly in the employ of John Roof, accordingly made his affidavit, which contains much that is irrelevant to this sketch, yet, as a whole, gives the best account we have of the circumstances under which Mr. Roof was compelled to leave Fort Stanwix. A copy follows:

STATE OF N. Y., HERKIMER COUNTY.

This 24th day of July, 1844, Henry Sitts, of the town of Stark, in the County of Herkimer, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says: That he was born the 29th of August, 1754, in the town of Canajoharie, south of the Mohawk river, and that in the month of April, 1777, he went to Fort Stanwix, now the village of Rome, to work for Captain Johannis Roof, who then resided at the fort commanded by Colonel Gansevoort; That he sowed his spring grain and helped plant his corn and potatoes, and that he occupied a well stocked farm lying southerly and westerly of the fort, containing commodious buildings. The house was as well-built a residence as any along the Mohawk river at that time.

* House Journal, Fourth Congress.

And that John Roof was an Indian trader and store keeper to the garrison at the fort, and had a storehouse, &c., near his dwelling, also large barns filled with hay from meadows on the flats.

About the last of May, 1777, he, Sitts, left Fort Stanwix and returned home. In July he went under General Herkimer to Oriskany, and that on the 6th of August, they met the troops under St. Leger, were defeated and a great many of their men killed. Fort Stanwix was then besieged by the British and Indians. And that he was at the fort in the fall of 1778, and then all the buildings of Captain John Roof were destroyed by burning; that they were burned by order of Colonel Gansevoort, that the buildings were near the fort, and at the time of the attack by St. Leger the Indians got into his buildings and fired upon the fort, which was the cause of Gansevoort's ordering them burned. The effects of Captain Roof were appropriated for the use of the garrison, and that had it not been for his cattle, swine, provisions, &c., the troops at that station could not have held the fort until the arrival of supplies from the government, [which came to hand on the day the siege opened,] as they would have been destitute for some weeks preceding the siege. That before the battle of Oriskany took place Captain John Roof removed his family to the residence of General Herkimer, and the following year, located at Canajoharie where he resided until his death. And that he was well acquainted with John Roof, Jr., who lived with his father at Fort Stanwix. That he has lived at Roof's Village now Canajoharie since that time. And since the Revolutionary war, John Roof the 2d commanded the regiment to which he belonged for several years. He is not now able to state the full value of the property taken for the use and benefit of the troops under Colonel Gansevoort, but from his best recollection of the cattle and other stock, flour, hay, corn, potatoes, and many other articles in his possession, considering their scarcity at that point, particularly at so great a distance west of the settled portions of the Mohawk valley, should say they were of great value.

Herkimer County, Town of Stark. HENRY SITTS.

John Roof, Jr., born August 28th, 1762, was the first child not of Indian parentage born, in what is now Oneida county. The christening which occurred soon after, was therefore quite an event. Among the guests present was Sir William Johnson; Captain Nicholas Herkimer also present, acted as godfather to the child. Susanna a daughter, was born August 9th, 1766. Martyn a son

born February 2d, 1770, was baptized February 12th, 1770, by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, a record of which appears in his diary.*

Barbara Roof, born October 30, 1771.
Adam, born May 16th, 1773.
Annie M., born April 5th, 1777.
Martyn died in infancy.

At Canajoharie three sons were subsequently born: Daniel, Martyn 2d and Andrew. Mr. Roof was mainly instrumental in rebuilding the village of Canajoharie, after its destruction by the Indians, under Brant in 1780. To those calling upon him with a view of settling there, he offered every inducement, usually entertaining them at his own house. He met his death under the following circumstances: Towards the close of the year 1798, a stranger from New York, called upon Mr. Roof, with a view of negotiating for a farm and building site, and while the guest of Mr. Roof he was taken ill, with what proved a malignant fever. Although warned by the medical attendant of the contagious nature of the malady, Mr. Roof insisted upon personally superintending the nursing of the invalid, who soon succumbed to the violence of the disease. A few days later he was stricken with the fever.

Notwithstanding all that medical skill could do in his behalf, he died November 15th, 1798. He made his will April 18th, 1798, probated December 26th, 1798. Three of his grandsons are still living: Philip Roof, the father of the writer, a resident of New York city. Judge Adam Roof of Ionia, Michigan, and Gerret L. Roof, D. D., late of Lowville, N. Y., at present a resident of Troy, N. Y. He is I believe an honorary member of the Oneida County Historical Society.

* Extract from the Diary of Rev. Samuel Kirkland.

(1770) February 12, Monday. Set out for the German Flats to get some provisions and intend to proceed to Col. Butler's for some money I hear Dr. Wheelock has sent there for my present necessities. Rose at 4, set off at sunrise: came to Fort Stanwix P. M., and preached a lecture. Baptized two children—Martin, son of John Ruff, and Martha Christian, daughter of William Cline—lodged at Mr. Ruff's.

NICHOLAS HERKIMER

UNIV. OF

The order, rendered in better English, reads as follows:

SIR: You will order your battalion to march immediately to Fort Edward with four days' provisions and ammunition fit for one battle.

This you will disobey (at) your peril.

From (your) Friend,

NICHOLAS HERKIMER.

To Colonel PETER BELLINGER, at The Flats.

October 18, 1776.

In the roster of the four Tryon county battalions of militia, as furnished by (General) Nicholas Herkimer, Chairman of the Tryon County Committee, August 26, 1775, Peter Bellinger is named as Lieutenant Colonel of the Fourth Battalion: that of the German Flats and Kingsland District. Colonel Bellinger commanded a battalion at the battle of Oriskany.

Copy of a receipt given by Hans Jost Herkimer, the father of General Herkimer, to James Stevenson, for £100, for necessaries furnished by Herkimer for the expedition against Niagara, dated at Albany, 3 September, 1755; and, on same sheet, copy of order on P. V. B. Livingston, Esq., given by said Herkimer for refunding the same sum, dated 29 March, 1756. The necessaries referred to consisted in carrying provisions and stores over the Oneida carrying-place. This expedition against Niagara, under the command of Governor Shirley, was abandoned on the 24th of October, 1755, after having passed beyond Oswego. Hans Jost Herkimer was one of the very first persons practically to demonstrate the great value of the central route along the valley of the upper Mohawk in the transportation and carrying trade, and may be esteemed as the true precursor of the Jason Parkers and Cornelius Vanderbilts of later eras. He resided at Fort Herkimer, fifteen miles east of Utica, where his son, General Nicholas Herkimer, was born one hundred and fifty years ago.

An unsigned receipt for £224 8s. 6d. paid by said Hans Jost Herkimer, the father of General Herkimer, dated 14 December, 1767.

Autograph order of J. Wolff, written in German, dated Petersbourg, 25 February, 1768, for 25 skipples of corn, payable to Peter Moulder and George Cronhard. Petersbourg, or New Peterboro, known also as Germantown, is the same place now called East Schuyler, and is in Herkimer county. Mr. Wolff, whose christian name was Johannes, came from Saar Brock in Germany, under the

auspices of Peter Hasenclever, and was the merchant and trader for the company formed by Hasenclever, and established at East Schuyler. A cavalry sword brought by him from Germany is now in possession of E. Remington & Sons, at Ilion. Mr. Hasenclever is mentioned in this receipt as Herrn. Peter Hasenclever. From him the place received its name of New Peterboro. In the year 1766, Hasenclever had erected here a pot and pearlash factory, two frame houses and thirty-four log houses, and had a settlement begun for the cultivation of hemp, flax and madder. Sir William Johnson was his partner in the potash manufacture. Hasenclever had also a patent for 18,000 acres of land near his settlement, called Hasenclever's Patent, and bought, in addition, from General Oliver DeLancey, 6,755 acres in Cosby's Manor for his agricultural operations. The range of hills along the north side of the Mohawk from West Canada creek to Nine Mile creek, was formerly called from him or his patent the Hasenclever Hills; but that name seems now to be restricted to the lands of the patent a short distance north of the village of Herkimer.

Hasenclever was a man of extraordinary energy and enterprise. He was one of the first persons in the colonies to enter upon the manufacture of iron, and in this same year had in operation four furnaces and seven forges in New York and New Jersey. He was known in some places as Baron Hasenclever, and in at least one locality, where his name was in use one hundred years since, it has been corrupted into Baron Hass. But his operations were too extended, and in 1766 he became embarrassed, and in 1770 was declared a bankrupt. He returned to Germany and died in 1792. He was born at Remscheid, in the Rhenish provinces, in 1716.

But the settlement on the Mohawk, where Hasenclever had introduced many Germans, was continued as an agricultural establishment. It was during the war of Independence, the frontier settlement, at least after that at Deerfield Corners, was temporarily abandoned in 1776. The settlers found it necessary to make fortifications against the inroads of the Indians, and erected for their protection, a small fort, called Little Stone Arabia. This was found sufficient for their security, although more than once threatened. On one of these occasions, it is said, the fort was saved during the absence of the men, by the women, who put on men's coats and hats, displayed themselves upon the ramparts, and succeeded in impressing the Indians with the belief that the fort was well guarded. But in September, 1778, when the German Flats were burned by Brant and his murderous myrmidons, Ger-

mantown did not escape, and was also destroyed. On this occasion, Mrs. Wolff, the wife of Johannes (or John) Wolff, was killed while attempting to take refuge in the fort. Before the end of the war, the settlers were compelled to seek safety at Fort Dayton, at the village of Herkimer. Mr. Wolff, however, survived the war, and was, in 1790, one of the first to sign a remonstrance against the erection of the County of Herkimer. His descendants now hold high positions. The settlement of New Peterboro or Germantown, was important and ambitious enough to claim the location of the court house and jail for the new County of Herkimer, at its organization, in 1791.

Hasenclever also built a dam and saw-mill on the stream now called Sterling's creek, by the early settlers named Staring's creek, by the Indians Rasceloth and by the French Rassëdot.

The following is a rendering of this document in English:

Mr. George Dacheteter, give, on the presentation of this, to Peter Moulder and George Cronhard, one whole freight of corn, for the account of Mr. Peter Hasenclever, of New York, for which Mr. George Herckheimer will guarantee the payment of 5s. per skipple, to the amount of £6 5s.

Dated Petersburgh, the 25th February, 1768.

(Signed,) J. WOLFF.

[Good for 25 Skipples of Corn, at £6 5s.]

Autograph memorandum signed by Cornelius Glen, of goods left at General Herkimer's, near Little Falls, 17 February, 1763.

Autograph order of George Herkimer, for four skipples of corn, dated Burnetsfield, 20 July, 1768, written in German. A skipple was a dry measure for three pecks, in general use on the Mohawk. The name of the signer is here spelled Georg Herchkeimer. This name is said to be derived from the town of Herchkeim, in the Rhenish Palatinate, and not far from Manheim. Malte Brun's Geography gives the orthography Herscheim. It is a place of about 2,500 inhabitants.

Autograph order written in German, of John R. Quackenboss, in favor of Hans Jost Herkimer, dated at Albany, 7 February, 1770. Hans Jost was a family name, and belonged both to the father and brother of the General. It may be rendered in English, John Joseph.

Memorandum of several tracts of land in German Flats District, allotted to General Herkimer. S. D.

Autograph letter from Jacob Cuyler, dated Albany, 21 May, 1773, addressed to General Herkimer, at Canajohara. It acknowledges the receipt of three bundles of beaver, and advises of forwarding a box of glass. From this it may be inferred that the General was, like his father, engaged in the Indian trade.

Account of John Vaughan against General Herkimer, for £5 5s., for merchandise, dated ——— 1774.

Unsigned letter dated Conjadaraga, 14 December, 1774. Relates to private matters. The place may be Canaderago Lake, at one time called Schuyler's Lake, near Richfield Springs, where some of the family were settled.

Unsigned order for drafting eighteen men from Colonel Herkimer's battalion, for the expedition against Canada in June, 1775.

Autograph letter of Charles Gordon, dated Canajoharie, 12 September, 1777, relating to the settlement of Gen. Herkimer's estate. This man having some pecuniary transactions in which the general was also interested, complains that Peter S. Dygert is arrogating to himself the management of the estate, and craves the interference of George Herkimer, surviving brother of the general. The general had not been dead a month. The writer says, that he always found the general to be a true man. The general's will dated 7 February, 1777, was not admitted to probate until 1783. Peter S. Dygert was the father of the general's widow.

Autograph letter of Christopher P. Yates, dated Palatine, 15 March, 1779, addressed to the magistrates residing in Canajoharie District. Mr. Yates was the chairman of the Tryon County Committee of Safety. Canajoharie District extended on the south side of the river, from Mohawk District to Fallberg or Fall Hill, near Little Falls. Mr. Yates was the first lawyer in the county, took an active part in favor of the cause of the colonies, was frequently in the assembly and held other offices of honor and trust. His chirography is neat and elegant.

Autograph letter of John Lansing, Jr., dated Albany, 10 June, 1780, addressed to George Herkimer, Esq., at Canajoharie. Relates to some legal proceedings. After serving in the war of Independence Mr. Lansing held several important offices, and was a member of the convention which framed the Constitution. Being opposed to the principles of government adopted by the convention he seceded from that body. He was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Chancellor of the State. He died 12 December, 1829, not without suspicion of violence.

Depositions of Martin Van Sleyck and Peter P. Schuyler, 26 January, 1781, concerning a charge of perjury taken before George

Herkimer, Esq., justice, with autographs of two of the persons named.

Autograph letter of Abraham Van Horn, High Sheriff of Montgomery county, dated 26 March, 1785. Relates to private matters.

Autograph letter of Hendrick Frey, dated at Freyburgh, 26 November, 1785. This place is not now well known, but from the Frey family was derived the name of Frey's Bush. The latter word was the common designation in early times in New York for a settlement in the woods, and is still commonly used in that sense in Canada and Australia. It has been unfortunately superseded since the war of Independence by such terminations of local names as "corners" and "ville." This place has been recently called by a person well acquainted with it simply "The Frey Farm." It is near Fort Plain. Hendrick Frey was a prominent loyalist before and during the war, and remained afterwards in the valley. His brother Bernard is said to have been actually present in the camp of St. Leger (or Silinger as he was popularly called) before Fort Stanwix. Another brother was the patriot Major John Frey who was the first Sheriff of Tryon county elected in 1775 by a popular vote; and the first in the State so chosen and the last for forty years afterwards. Hendrick Frey married Elizabeth the sister of General Herkimer. The Frey family emigrated from Zurich in Switzerland, in 1688, to the valley of the Mohawk.

Autograph letter of Christopher P. Yates to George Herkimer, dated Frey's Bush, 9 April, 1788, recommending certain candidates for the Assembly, Senate and Convention that had been authorized to act upon the subject of the proposed Constitution of the United States. The names of the candidates which were originally contained in the letter, probably on a separate piece of paper, are not now there; but those intended for the Convention were undoubtedly the ones who were actually chosen at the ensuing election. They were, for Montgomery county, John Frey, William Harper, Henry Staring, Volkert Veeder, John Winn and Christopher P. Yates, the last named being the writer of this letter. They were opposed to the ratification of the Constitution, and were chosen as anti-Federalists. It is even now, at least sentimentally, to be regretted that these patriotic gentlemen should have taken so narrow a view of the comprehensive scope, well-guarded provisions, symmetrical character and beneficent design of the Federal Constitution. For by their success the vote of

Montgomery county, which included all the inhabited parts of the State west of Albany county, was, nominally at least, recorded in opposition to the measure. But the good name of the State was destined to be redeemed by the watchful energy, the matchless eloquence, the ready argument, the lofty courage and profound knowledge of the gallant Creole, Alexander Hamilton, who was also a member of the Convention, and of whom it has been said, that the people of the United States owe it to him that they have a Constitution. His exertions snatched a victory from the jaws of defeat. Perhaps, however, Mr. Yates and his associates were biased by the controlling influence of Chief Justice Robert Yates and Chancellor Lansing, of Albany, both of whom had been members of the Convention which shaped the Constitution, and had taken the decisive step of withdrawing from its deliberations, and who were at this time exerting their energies for its rejection. They both, it is believed, had an extensive influence in the valley.

It has been intimated that some of the anti-Federalists withdrew from the Poughkeepsie Convention in order to allow of the adoption of the Constitution. But, according to Elliot's debates, the votes of all the Montgomery county members are recorded in the negative upon the decisive questions, except that Mr. Yates was absent on the final vote.

Mr. Yates in this letter says that the adoption of the Constitution would be attended with such bad consequences that it was an indispensable duty to oppose it, and adds that Colonel Frey has entered heartily into this business. Ninety years of trial have sufficiently refuted this opinion.

Autograph letter of Peter D. Schuyler to Mrs. Alida Herkimer, dated 13 February, 1789. Recommends that she should not let her negro Pit be married by the minister, as he would then be free: states that General Herkimer once had a law suit as to a similar matter. Schuyler was not a lawyer. He married Elizabeth Barbara, the eldest sister of General Herkimer, and was the father of Hans Jost Schuyler, who acted a prominent part in the relief of Fort Stanwix. Mrs. Alida Herkimer was the wife of General Herkimer.

Autograph order of Harmanus Peek, January, 1823.

MEMORIAL.

At a special meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, January 12, 1881, the following communication from the President of the Society was read:

Messrs. Alexander Seward, Erastus Clark, Edward S. Brayton and John F. Seymour, of the Oneida Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN:—In common with all our citizens I feel a deep regret at the loss which our Society has suffered in the death of Matthew D. Bagg, Esq. He was not only a valuable member of community, held in high regard by all, but his loss will be very much felt by the Oneida Historical Society of which he was a member. Beyond most men he was familiar with the early history of this part of the State, and he ever felt a lively interest in all things relating to it. As President of your Society I request that you prepare a paper expressive of the loss which it has suffered in his death.

Very truly yours,

Utica, January 6, 1881. HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Whereupon, the special committee so appointed reported the following memorial, which was adopted and ordered to be entered in the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to the family of the deceased:

In the recent death of Matthew D. Bagg this Society has lost one of its early and most valuable members: one whose tastes and acquirements peculiarly qualified him for the work in which we are engaged, and who, during the few years of our organization, evinced deep interest in our transactions and rendered us valuable services and contributions. To a very observant mind and strong desire for information was added a remarkably retentive memory, so that few excelled him in the accuracy and extent of his knowledge, not only on historical, but on scientific, political and legal subjects. In demeanor modest, in disposition amiable, in friendship unfailing, his was a character such as is not often encountered, and it is proper that we who witnessed these qualities, associated with rare abilities and acquirements, should record our appreciation of them and our profound regret for the loss we have suffered.

THE GENEALOGY OF A UTICA NEWSPAPER.

BY ALEXANDER SEWARD.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY OCTOBER 29, 1878.

THE WHITESTOWN GAZETTE, 1793.

The first Newspaper printed west of Albany in this State was the *Whitestown Gazette*, at the village of New Hartford. Thus says Elisha Harrington in his Utica Directory of 1828, fifty years nearer the event than we are. It was commenced July 10, 1793. Such is the testimony of a copy of this paper in the possession of the Society, No. 7 of Vol. I., dated August 22, 1793. The proprietors were Jedediah Sanger, Samuel Wells and Elijah Risley; the printer, Richard Vanderburgh. It was discontinued the following winter, says Mr. Harrington, for want of patronage and a suitable person to conduct its operations, but was re-established in May, 1796: Samuel Wells, proprietor; William McLean, printer. The latter within a few months became the proprietor and in July, 1798, removed to Utica and issued the paper under the name of *Whitestown Gazette and Cato's Patrol*, which was continued until February, 1803, when McLean disposed of it to John H. Lothrop, who changed the name to *The Patriot*, Merrell & Seward, printers.

The second newspaper printed in this county was the *Western Centinel*, at Whitesboro; James Swords of New York, proprietor; Oliver C. Easton, printer. It was begun in January, 1794,—six months later than the Whitestown Gazette,—as appears from a copy of the Centinel, presented to the Society, dated July 17, 1798, No. 237, Vol. 5. After changing proprietors several times in a few years, the Centinel was discontinued.

In 1804, the title of The Patriot was changed to *Utica Patriot*, under which name it continued until 1816, being printed "for the editor," after 1808 by Ira Merrell, and after 1813 by Merrell & Camp. William H. Maynard succeeded Mr. Lothrop as editor in 1811.

The Patrol was commenced by Seward & Williams at Utica, January 1, 1815, and was united January 2, 1816, with the Utica

Patriot, under the style of *Utica Patriot and Patrol.* It was printed for the proprietors by Ira Merrell, and was issued semi-weekly, Tuesday and Friday, for about one year, then weekly, on Tuesdays, till 1821. The proprietors, according to its prospectus, were Asahel Seward, William H. Maynard and William Williams. The name of the editor did not appear, in those days, on the paper itself. Examination of these old newspapers shows that the part of the editor then was very different from what it is now. What is now called editorial matter seldom appears. The paper was chiefly made up of news selected from other newspapers, with the briefest editorial headings, communications and advertisements. In fact, the editor fulfilled the dictionary definition of the word—one who arranges, prepares, and superintends the publication of the work of others—a much humbler part than that of the newspaper editor of the present time.

The *Utica Sentinel* appeared in the place of the Patriot and Patrol March 13, 1821. The cause of this change of name was somewhat peculiar. The Patriot and Patrol was Clintonian in its politics; representing the sentiments of the large majority of voters in this district. The politics of the editor changed and the tone of the paper also. An alarming loss of patronage naturally followed. No arrangement being practicable between the parties in interest, the Patriot and Patrol was dropped by its publisher, under the advice of prominent Clintonian lawyers, and the Utica Sentinel, "printed by Ira Merrill for William Williams, editor and proprietor," appeared in its stead.

The Utica Sentinel was sold to Samuel D. Dakin and William J. Bacon, and by them united with the *Columbian Gazette*, and issued May 6, 1825, under the name of *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*, "printed by Northway & Bennett," till April 1, 1828, then by Northway & Porter. Messrs. Dakin & Bacon were joint editors and proprietors from 1825 till 1828, when S. D. Dakin became sole editor and owner, and in 1829 he sold it to its printers, Northway & Porter. It was published semi-weekly, till January, 1829. In 1831, Rufus Northway became the sole proprietor. Theodore S. Gold became editor after Mr. Dakin, and continued so till the establishment of the daily paper, in 1842, though Mr. Northway himself did much editorial work.

The Columbian Gazette, which was united with the Utica Sentinel, was first published at Rome, August 17, 1799, by Thomas Walker and Ebenezer Eaton, by the name of the *Columbian Patriotic Gazette*, and was removed to Utica and issued March 21,

1803, as the Columbian Gazette, by T. Walker, and continued to be so published until its union with the Sentinel, in 1825. Elisaph Dorchester was associated with Mr. Walker in its publication in 1815 and 1816.

In January, 1831, the *American Citizen*, and August 7, 1832, the *Utica Intelligencer* were united with the Sentinel and Gazette.

The Utica Intelligencer was commenced February 2, 1826, by William Tracy as editor and proprietor, and was printed by Ira Merrell for one year, and afterwards by Joseph Colwell, till its termination. E. S. Ely succeeded Mr. Tracy as editor, May 9, 1828, for two years, and was followed by Joseph H. Buckingham, from January 1 to October 5, 1830.

The first number of the American Citizen appeared June 8, 1830. George S. Wilson was the editor and proprietor. The paper was continued about half a year.

The *Elucidator*, the organ of the anti-Masonic party, was commenced January 1, 1829, by Beriah B. Hotchkin, as editor and proprietor, and was published from January 1, 1830 to May, 1834, by William Williams as proprietor. Samuel P. Lyman became the editor after the retirement of Mr. Hotchkin, January 1, 1833. It was united with the Sentinel and Gazette, and the combined paper issued May 20, 1834, under the name of the

Oneida Whig,

"R. Northway, Printer and Publisher." This paper, in which so many previous ones were merged, continued to be published weekly by R. Northway and his associates, for nearly twenty years, till October 12, 1853, when it was sold to Lyon & Arthur, and the name changed to the *Weekly Gazette*, J. M. Lyon, editor; and July 25, 1856, it was transferred to N. D. Jewell, C. J. Radford, editor, and the name became *Weekly Gazette and Courier*, by whom it was continued to January 29, 1857, when its subscription list passed into the hands of Ellis H. Roberts, the purchaser of the Utica Daily Gazette, with which it had been associated from 1842.

The Utica Daily Gazette.

This was the first daily paper published in Utica, with the exception of the *Morning News*, published for one month immediately preceding and two subsequently, by Lyon & Arthur, and edited by Jarvis M. Hatch and C. Edwards Lester. The Daily

Gazette was commenced by Rufus Northway, the publisher and proprietor of the Oneida Whig, February 1, 1842. Richard U. Sherman was its editor, and Erastus Clark and William Allen associates in the first year. Ezekiel Bacon was editor for two months following. Alexander Seward became the editor and joint proprietor May 1, 1843, and under the firm name of R. Northway & Co., it was published till the fall of 1853. Dr. H. C. Potter was associate editor from November 1, 1847, and the sole editor from May 1 to September 23, 1850, when he became part proprietor with Northway & Seward. Erastus Clark was Dr. Potter's associate editor till November 1, 1851, when Mr. Seward resumed the editorship with Dr. Potter. The establishment was sold to Lyon & Arthur, October 12, 1853, and J. M. Lyon became editor. It was bought by N. D. Jewell, July 25, 1856, who published the paper till January 29, 1857, C. J. Radford being editor, when the name and good will were purchased by Ellis H. Roberts, and united with the *Morning Herald.*

The pecuniary value of these newspapers appears to have fluctuated widely. When the Sentinel was substituted for the Patriot and Patrol, by William Williams, in 1821, he was adjudged, by arbitrators, to pay William H. Maynard $7,500 for the latter's interest in the old paper, a weekly, in a village of 3,000 inhabitants.

The Sentinel, thus dearly paid for, was sold to Dakin & Bacon four years later, 1825, for $3,500, which included $500 for the printing materials. Of this sum, $3,000 was subsequently recovered of the seller, for printing a specimen number of the American Citizen, a paper projected and subsequently published a short time by G. S. Wilson.*

In 1843, when the population of Utica had become 18,000, R. Northway sold to A. Seward one-half of the Daily Gazette and the Oneida Whig and of the printing office, for $2,250. The Gazette was then the only daily paper in Utica, and had one hundred and twenty subscribers, not one of whom lived outside of the city.

In 1853, R. Northway & Co. sold their paper and office to Lyon & Arthur, for $12,000, the circulation of the daily paper being then about 1,200, notwithstanding the existence of three other dailies—the *Observer*, *Herald* and *Telegraph.*

* See 11 Wendell's Rep., 67; 17 Id., 447; and 22 Id., 201.

THE EARLIEST FACTORIES OF ONEIDA,

AND THEIR PROJECTORS.

BY DR. M. M. BAGG.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY JULY 29, 1879.

It is generally understood in this vicinity that the first mills for the manufacture of cotton goods, and also the first mills for the manufacture of woolens, which were built in the State of New York, were erected in the town of Whitestown. This, I say, is generally known and believed. The time of erection of these first mills and the agencies that were at work in their establishment, are not so well known; and with reference to these particulars, there is in fact some discrepancy of statement among those who ought to be considered as authorities. The object of this paper is to compare certain recently published communications relating to these matters, and by the aid of further inquiry to endeavor to arrive at the truth. For if early residents of Whitestown were the first of any in New York to embark in enterprises that have since become common, and productive of much of the wealth and prosperity of the State, it is worth the while to learn when these projects were begun, and who were their projectors. And if we, their successors, pride ourselves on the fact that Oneida county was the place where the first cotton and woolen mills of New York had their beginning, it is fit that we should know the grounds of our self-gratulation.

It is admitted that the earliest of these mills was the cotton factory commonly known as the Oneida, or the one which was owned and controlled by the Oneida Manufacturing Society, and which stood nearly on the site of the present "lower" or "No. One" mill of the New York Mills, a few rods south of the canal above Yorkville. Of the time and circumstances relating to its establishment two somewhat different accounts were furnished the compiler of Everts & Ferris' recently published History of Oneida County, and are printed by him on pp. 243 and 623, respectively, of his volume.

One of these accounts is from the pen of General Horace Capron of Washington, son of Dr. Seth Capron formerly of Whitesboro, who, as will be seen, was concerned in the founding of this and two other of the early factories of the county. General Capron gives some particulars of much interest relating to all of them; but while unable to refer to manuscript records, and writing from memory only of occurrences that took place sixty or seventy years since, of some of which he was not personally cognizant, it is natural that he should be sometimes in error, especially with respect to dates. Yet as he tells us that one motive which led him to embrace the privilege accorded him by the compiler of the above work was to "aid in establishing a more correct history of the county, by pointing out several errors in dates that have crept into some of the existing histories," it is reasonable to expect of him in this matter of dates a greater degree of accuracy than he has been able to show. While, therefore, we are grateful to him for his communication, embodying, as it does, personal reminiscences of the pioneers in these enterprises, a sketch of his father, and many incidents of much value, the truth of history requires that his statements should be examined side by side with those made by others, and compared likewise so far as possible with existing manuscript records.

The following is an extract from General Capron's account of the origin of the Oneida Factory.

"The first cotton-mill erected in the State of New York was the Oneida Factory, established in 1807. This was of brick, and stood in the vicinity of the site of the present York Mills. It was intended for the production of cotton-yarn only, and was in operation long before the introduction of the power-loom. The originator of this enterprise was Dr. Seth Capron, the father of the writer of this letter. Associated with him were counsellor Gold, Theodore Sill, Newton Mann and others. About this time Benjamin S. Walcott, then a young man, who afterwards established the York Mills, was induced to emigrate from Rhode Island, because of his knowledge of spinning machinery, which he had acquired under Samuel Slater. He began as superintendent of the spinning department, and in 1809, was appointed agent of the mill, which was then in operation."

On page 623 of the above mentioned history is another account of the beginning of this factory written by Leander S. Wood of New York Mills, who has lived in the village all his life, has worked in the factory since 1825, and is the son of Ezra Wood, who was connected with it from the year 1818. From this we extract also a passage :

"In the winter of 1807–8 a joint stock company was formed in Whitestown of which Hon. Thomas R. Gold, Hon. Theodore Sill, General George Doolittle and Jesse W. Doolittle were prominent members. This company was incorporated by the Legislature under the name of "The Oneida Manufacturing Society," with a nominal capital of $200,000, and chartered with banking privileges. Mr. Walcott* of Rhode Island, as their representative, in 1808, erected a three-and-one-half-story brick building, known as the Oneida Factory. * * * In 1809, Mr. Benjamin S. Walcott† as agent of the company, procured the requisite machinery and began to card and spin cotton, making mostly coarse yarn, which was put out to families to weave."

In a comparison of the two accounts there appears to be a difference of about a year in the alleged time of erection of the building, and a much greater discrepancy in the mention of the agents by whom the work was effected, inasmuch as Mr. Wood says nothing of Dr. Capron by whom as his son tells us, the factory was built. Leaving aside this latter point, except as it will be noticed incidentally, let us first examine a little further the question of the date of building and of starting of the factory.

The book which contains the record of proceedings of the Oneida Manufacturing Society is still extant, and although during the first two years these proceedings are but partially and imperfectly set forth, we are enabled by means of it, aided by deeds on record in the office of the County Clerk, to learn the following items of the earlier history of this factory. The land and water privilege designed for its use were bought of Amos Wetmore, February 2d, 1808, the purchasers being Seth Capron, Newton Mann, Asher Wetmore and William M. Cheever. Of these parties Dr. Seth Capron, the probable prime mover, will be noticed hereafter. Newton Mann, his brother-in-law, was a merchant at Whitesboro, Asher Wetmore was a son, and Wm. M. Cheever a son-in-law, of Amos Wetmore, the former being the manager of the grist and saw mills previously erected by Amos Wetmore, at Yorkville, then known as Wetmore's Mills, and the latter living nearly opposite them. Soon after this purchase Messrs. Thomas R. Gold and Theodore Sill, well known lawyers then practicing at Whitesboro, and Benjamin S. Walcott, Sr., who had just arrived from Rhode Island, obtained an interest in common with the above named parties, and the co-partners assumed the name of

* The writer here intends Benjamin S. Walcott, Senior, father of the late B. S. Walcott.

† Benjamin S. Walcott, Junior.

"Walcott & Co." At their first recorded meeting, held May 30, 1808, Mr. Cheever was appointed agent to build a dam across the Sauquoit, and to procure timbers and contract for the erection of a building for the use of the factory. This was accomplished in the course of the year ensuing, a building having been put up which was 60x35 feet in dimension and three stories high, and also two dwelling houses and a machine shop. Mr. Wetmore contracted to build the floom and Mr. Walcott the building. The latter was a practical manufacturer who had learned the business at the Cumberland Mill in Rhode Island, and was invited hither, as it is said, by the projectors of the work. In the spring of 1809, he was joined by his son B. S. Walcott, Jr., and together they finished the building and mill work, that is the water-wheel and shafting, and put in the machinery. Though this latter statement does not appear on the records, it was so represented by the late B. S. Walcott as well as by several others now deceased who were conversant with the early history of the mill.

From a conveyance recorded in the office of the County Clerk and dated, October 28, 1809, we learn that the shares held by the respective partners were made by said conveyance to be as follows: Seth Capron, William M. Cheever, Asher Wetmore and B. S. Walcott, Sr., each one-tenth, Newton Mann, B. S. Walcott, Jr., each two-tenths, and Gold and Sill, jointly, two-tenths. In November, 1809, the firm bought cotton and other materials and began the spinning of cotton yarn. Their first public advertisement is dated November 13th, and is subscribed by all the co-partners; it sets forth that the mill is now in operation, and invites the public to aid and cherish an institution calculated to support the independence of the country. The name of the elder Walcott now disappears from the records, he having returned to the east, and his son is made superintendent, or agent as it had been termed in the advertisement.

On the 9th of March, 1810, an act was passed by the Legislature of the State, to incorporate the "Oneida Manufacturing Society." This act, having set forth in the preamble that the before mentioned parties had, at great expense, erected a cotton factory at Whitestown, which is now in successful operation, and the desire of its builders to extend their establishment to the manufacture of wool, scythes, axes, &c., proceeds to incorporate them under the above title, with a capital of $200,000, to be managed by trustees elected annually who are to make regulations as to stock and other property. It was also provided that the act was not to impair the

existing contract between Messrs. B. S. Walcott, Sr., Gold, Capron, Mann, Sill, Cheever and Wetmore, of the first part, and B. S. Walcott, Jr. of the second part, respecting agency and superintendence. About this time the firm determined to sell $8,000 of their stock, the purchasers to become interested from the first of April next ensuing, which was to be the date of their first payment. And on the 7th of May, 1810, was held the first meeting of stockholders of the "Oneida Manufacturing Society." Five trustees were elected to manage the concerns of the Society, viz: G. G. Lansing, (President,) Theodore Sill, Thaddeus B. Wakeman, Seth Capron and William M. Cheever. Dr. Capron was president of this Board during the five years included between 1811 and 1815, and Theodore Sill for five years thereafter. Mr. Walcott was superintendent until October, 1812, when he was succeeded by Dr. Capron, who performed the duties until November, 1816, when they were again devolved upon Mr. Walcott. The latter had been engaged during part of the intervening time in building machinery for the company, and in 1817–18, he was their out-of-doors agent.

It will have been observed that during all this period the factory was employed in spinning yarn only. This they sent out to their agents in the villages of Whitesboro, Utica, New Hartford and Rome, as well as more distant places, by whom it was sold. An establishment for weaving by hand-looms, known as the Whitesboro Cloth Factory, and incorporated April 19, 1811, and which was located on Canal street in that village, the company bought. It was reorganized by Dr. Capron, run on their account for about three years, and then leased.

The weaving of cotton cloth by means of the power-loom was not introduced into this country until the fall of 1812, when it was put in operation at Waltham, Mass., and soon after at other mills in that vicinity.* The process was, however, kept secret. To obtain the knowledge of this secret, William B. Copley, a machinist in the employ of the Capron Company, went to Pawtucket, R. I., where these power-looms were in use, and engaged himself to labor as a simple operative. Having thus become possessed of the requisite information, he left the mill, without waiting to take up his wages, and returned to this county. Under a joint contract made with the Oneida and the Capron Companies, he built power-looms for both of these factories. This contract, as appears from the record-book of the latter company, also extant, is dated De-

* Appleton's New Encyclopœdia.

cember 5, 1817. The power-loom presently superseded the old method of weaving by hand, and formed a new era in the history of the factory.

The next manufactory organized in the county was that commonly known as the Oriskany Woolen Factory, which was situated on the bank of the Oriskany creek, in the village of that name. "Its erection," says General Capron, in the letter before referred to, "must have been cotemporaneous, or nearly so, with the Oneida Factory, since, from the best evidence I can command, work upon the former was begun in 1809, two years before the charter for the incorporation of the enterprise could be obtained from the Legislature." This assertion is based upon his recollection of what is contained in two papers upon the subject, written one by S. Newton Dexter and the other by Hon. Mr. Dudley. Neither of these papers, as he has since informed the writer, has he had the opportunity of inspecting for ten years or more, nor can they be now produced.

Turning again to the secretary's book of the Oneida Manufacturing Society, we find therein recorded what are doubtless the first steps that were taken towards the founding of this Oriskany Factory. Under date of May 3, 1810—four days before the first meeting of stockholders of the Oneida Society—it was "resolved that the company purchase of G. G. Lansing a site for water privilege with ten acres of land at and for the price of $1,000, payable in stock at 40 per cent. advance, and that the committee appointed to sell stock negotiate with Colonel Lansing for the same." At the same time a committee was appointed to take into consideration the most eligible way of building a *cotton* factory on the site thus purchased. And on the 26th of the same month they decided to go forward in their undertaking. But on the 11th of July they voted to subscribe five hundred shares in the stock of "the new company," appointed a committee to circulate a subscription paper for stock in this *new* company, and three days later authorized Theodore Sill to subscribe therein five hundred shares in behalf of their society. Here, then, it appears that the society abandoned the intention of building the factory themselves and entrusted the work to another association, formed, in part at least, of the same members. Concurrent with the first mention of this new company, viz., July 10, 1810, is the date of a document in the possession of the Oneida Historical Society, which would seem to be the original subscription thus directed to be put in circulation. It is

entitled a subscription for the purpose of erecting a cotton, woolen and iron factory on the Oriskany creek near the house of Colonel Lansing, and has annexed thereto a plan for its construction. Subscriptions were to be paid to Gerrit G. Lansing, Seth Capron and Samuel S. Breese, who were to be trustees until an incorporation had taken place. On this paper there are in all fifty-nine subscribers, mostly citizens of Whitesboro and of Utica, and among them appears the name of Theodore Sill in behalf of the Oneida Manufacturing Society. The record-book of this new society—the Oriskany Manufacturing Society—is also in existence. From it we learn that the company was organized in accordance with the terms of the above mentioned subscription paper, and held its first meeting of stockholders on the 11th of April, 1811, the act of incorporation having passed the Legislature on the 16th of February previous. The directors then elected were Gerrit G. Lansing, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Samuel S. Breese, William G. Tracy and William Carpender.

The original plan of this society seems to have been "to erect a cotton, iron and woolen factory." In the contract they made with the Oneida Society, July 14, 1810, wherein the latter agreed to convey to them the ten acres of land and the site on the Oriskany creek, which this parent society had previously bought, this parent society agreed, also, to furnish the new factory with all kinds of machinery in their possession. In April of the following year, they were applied to, to take back the machinery they had contracted to build, and, soon after, to furnish the Oriskany with woolen in lieu of the cotton previously ordered. On the 9th of August this Oneida Company entertained a proposition from the one at Oriskany, asking advice as to the course they thought best to be taken by the latter, whether to embark in the manufacture of cotton or of woolen. Their opinion was given in favor of woolen, and about the same time they agreed to assist the company at Oriskany in disposing of their cotton machinery. This was subsequently effected, this machinery having been sold to the company at Newport. Thus it will be seen that six months after the passage of the act incorporating the Oriskany Company, and fifteen months after the conception of the enterprise, the land being in possession and the building nearly completed, the company were but just reaching a conclusion as to the kind of business in which they would engage. In the course of the next three months, they had bought wool, of the Mt. Merino Association and elsewhere, had engaged their operatives and begun the making of woolen goods.

"The next cotton factory," says General Capron, "was the Capron, erected in New Hartford, and which closely followed the Oneida Factory, both of which were established by Dr. S. Capron, and of both of which he was the largest proprietor. Associated with him in this work were Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Seward and others. * * * Dr. Bagg* states that the Capron factory went into operation in 1814, which is, I am sure, an error, as I well remember the building of the factory, and that here was used the first power-loom for weaving cotton erected in the Empire State, which was about 1812; and although the mill was not in full operation, much of the machinery was running, and had been for some time."

That General Capron is at fault in respect to the date of beginning of the Capron factory, I shall presently show, and that this was not the next factory established in the county, there having been two others in existence before it, is proved by the secretary's minutes of the Oneida Society. These were the mill of the New Hartford Manufacturing Society, located in the village of that name, and that of the Whitestown Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Society, known also as Walcott's factory, and likewise as the Buhr-stone—from its having been previously used for preparing mill-stones—which was situated above all of the present structures of the New York Mills Company, and near the New Hartford line. The former of these, the New Hartford Company, was incorporated by a special act, March 30, 1810, and would seem, therefore, to have been but little later in origin than the Oriskany. The latter, the Walcott or Buhr-stone factory, organized, January 23, 1813, under a general manufacturing law that was passed in 1811. The incorporators named in the act which created the former were Frederick Stanley, Richard Sanger, Jacob Sherrill, John Eames, Amos Hull and Joseph Kirkland. Their capital was $200,000, and they were empowered to make cotton and wool. The first mention of the association made in the minutes above referred to is under date of February 15, 1812, when a committee of the older society was appointed to meet one from that of New Hartford, in order "to make such resolutions as shall promote the interests of both establishments." So that it is fair to presume that the New Hartford Society was then organized and had begun its work. And on the 24th of December, 1813, a committee was authorized to concert with the Newport, (Herkimer

* Pioneers of Utica.

county,) New Hartford and Walcott's (Whitestown) Societies on the subject of purchasing cotton at the South. In the year 1812 there were woolen factories in operation at Ballston, at Poughkeepsie, at Hudson and elsewhere in the State.

The Capron was not founded until 1814, as will be seen from the following data: The first reference to this factory is found in the land records of the county, by examination of which it appears, from a deed therein recorded and dated on the 3d day of January, 1814, that Seth Capron and Nathan Seward bought of Arthur Perry eleven acres of land, being a part of lot No. 108 in Freemason's Patent, and that after the disposal by said Capron to said Seward of about one-half an acre of the same, these parties sold the remainder to the trustees of the Capron Cotton Manufacturing Company on the 14th of April, 1814. On the same day, Nathan Seward and wife, Asahel Higby and wife, and Asahel Seward and wife, also sold a part of lot No. 108 in said patent to the directors of the same company, "with the right of water from the pond above and adjoining the paper-mill, and of conveying it in the most easy and convenient manner to and for the use of the cotton factory intended to be erected on the premises hereby granted, so as to operate with sufficient speed 2,000 spindles, with the machine shops and picking machine."*

Nearly cotemporaneous with the date of the above mentioned sale is the certificate of incorporation of the Capron Company, a copy of which, as certified by the Deputy Secretary of State, is in possession of the Oneida Historical Society. It is as follows: "To whom it may concern: This may certify that Seth Capron, Nathan Seward, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Higby, Asahel Seward, Thomas R. Gold and Herbert B. Mann, all of the town of Whitestown in the county of Oneida, have associated, by the name of the Capron Cotton Manufacturing Company, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton yarn and cloth, and that the amount of the capital stock of the said company consists of one thousand

* The paper-mill alluded to as previously existing, stood on the Sauquoit within the limits of the present town of New Hartford, contiguous to what became the site of the Capron, now Utica Cotton Company factory. It was built in 1807 by Leonard Kellogg & Co., a firm consisting of Leonard Kellogg, Nathan Seward, Asahel Higby and Thomas Sayles. The interests of Kellogg and Sayles were bought by Asahel Seward, of Utica, in 1810-11, who, after the death of his father, Colonel Nathan Seward, in 1815, conducted the same till 1824, when it was sold to the cotton company. The Capron factory was burnt October 14, 1822, and on being rebuilt in 1824, the title of the corporation was changed to Utica Cotton Manufacturing Company.

shares, each share consisting of one hundred dollars, and that the number of directors is five, and that the names of the directors who shall manage the concerns of the said association the first year are Seth Capron, Nathan Seward, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, Asahel Higby and Asahel Seward; and we further certify that the manufacturing operations of the said company are to be carried on in the town of Whitestown in the county of Oneida. Dated at Whitestown, this fifth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fourteen."

Thus it appears that at this time the Capron factory was only "intended to be erected," but not yet in being, and that General Capron is again in fault in his attempts to "correct several errors in dates that have crept into some of the existing histories of the county." The only previous historian of Oneida county is Judge Pomroy Jones, who gives correctly the year of incorporation of the Oriskany factory, and does not mention the time of founding of either of the others. "The Pioneers of Utica" treats but incidentally of the county at large, and only of such events as the citizens of Utica took part in. Such dates as it gives of the matters now in question conform to those herein stated.

That General Capron should fail in respect to dates is by no means strange, when we consider that he relies almost wholly on his memory in the narration of events which occurred in his extreme youth. Still he has related particulars of much interest; and for his efforts "to do justice to the memory of the pioneers in the introduction of one of the most important industries ever developed in the Empire State"—a second and the prevailing motive for writing his letter—we are truly grateful. That he has not departed from the truth in crediting his father with the origination of these enterprises, I am quite disposed to believe. From the account I have presented of the recorded proceedings of the Oneida Society and the deeds copied from the official records of the county, from the subscription paper that heralded the establishment of the mill at Oriskany, and from the certificate of incorporation of the Capron mill, it is evident that Dr. Seth Capron was a leading man in all of these undertakings. It is seen that he was one of the first board of directors in three of them, that his name heads the list on two. Of the Oneida he was chairman of the board for five successive years, and likewise four years their superintendent, and in this board no member served on more numerous and important committees. Of the Oriskany, also, he was a trustee from 1811 to 1815.

Dr. Capron came to Whitesboro, in 1806, from Cumberland, Rhode Island, where, in 1798, the hands employed by Samuel Slater had introduced from Pawtucket the Arkwright processes of spinning cotton which Slater first brought from England, in 1790, and established at Providence, and afterwards at Pawtucket.* It was at Cumberland doubtless, that Dr. Capron became impressed with the practicability and importance of this kind of industry. Though trained as a physician, and for some years after his residence still engaged in the practice of it, he soon began to interest his neighbors in the subject which had taken so strong a hold upon his own mind. The preliminaries in the enterprise were not the work of a day; prejudices and obstacles attended every movement. Every thing was to be taught and every thing learned, while capital available for such work was exceedingly limited. He met these prejudices, and overcame these obstacles. He organized the company, furnished a portion of the requisite funds and stimulated others to contribute of theirs, and took a leading part in the purchase of the land and the development of the water power. According to his son, who is sustained in this assertion by the brother of the latter, six years older than himself,—as quoted in a letter to the writer from General Capron,—he built the factory, and when it was partially completed, invited Mr. Walcott to come from Rhode Island and take charge of it. Even if the truth of this declaration should not be fully admitted,—and I think I have shown that there is reason to doubt it,—he certainly seems to have been the projector and prime-mover of the work. He preceded and prepared the way for his townsman of Cumberland, a more practised workman than himself, and if he did not build the factory he was the head of the company that did build it.

His agency in the inception and organization of the Oriskany factory, even without the testimony of his son, can not be questioned. And when we learn of the numerous flocks of costly sheep maintained on his farms in Deerfield by him and his colleagues of the Mt. Merino Association to supply the finer kinds of wool for the factory, and which were sold at his failure, we may well believe that this factory not less than the Oneida absorbed his thoughts, and taxed his energies. "Taking into consideration," remarks his son, "the large price paid for a single sheep—$1,000,—cost of attendance, risk by sea and land, and time required to place the stock in Oneida county, under the then existing circumstances, it will be readily

* Appleton's New Encyclopœdia.

seen that the importation of wool-producing animals was no trifling undertaking." And in a letter to the writer he says further, "I have often, in more matured years, heard my father talk of the trials and tribulations of that early period. The facts that I relate are not the coinage of my own brain; the remembrance of them is implanted in my very existence. I know my father's agency in this work, and the sacrifices that he made."

The result of the sacrifices he incurred in the carrying out of his various projects,—the Capron mill just begun as well as of the two that had preceded it,—is made evident by an examination of our county records. When peace was declared with England and the importation of foreign products, suspended by the war, was again renewed, the manufactured cottons and woolens of Oneida, the blooded sheep of Dr. Capron and his associates, fell so greatly in value, as to curtail, or wholly stop the working of the mills, and to overwhelm their projector with ruin. In the summer of 1816, he signed over to his creditors the whole of his real and personal property, excepting only his dwelling house, including various parcels of land in Deerfield and elsewhere, that amounted in all to nearly 1,000 acres, 500 half-blooded Merinoes, 175 shares of Oneida and 222 of Capron mills stock, his notes, bonds, &c. At this time he retired from the superintendency and trusteeship of the Oneida Company. About two years later he was made superintendent of the mill at Oriskany and removed there to occupy that position until his withdrawal from the county in 1825. The business of manufacturing continued to interest him, and the construction and running of factories formed the occupation of the rest of his life. Going hence to Walden in Orange county, he became the principal agent in establishing a large woolen factory, and also, with his son a cotton mill, and was instrumental in giving life to that now flourishing village. And there he died September 9th, 1835, at the age of seventy-three.

Few men have led more active lives; few, by their ardor, their enterprise, their perseverance and industry, by their conciliation and persuasive honesty of purpose, their patriotism and self-sacrifice, have done more for their generation and their commonwealth. He may have been over sanguine and incautious, too assured of prosperity to refrain from engaging in more numerous and greater ventures than he had the means to carry to perfection. Or he may have been simply the victim of a commercial storm which ordinary prudence could not or would not, have averted. But if wrecked

himself, he was the navigator who planned the voyage and led others along the track; like many another discoverer and inventor, he came short of success in a course wherein he opened up to others the avenue to wealth. I would not derogate from the credit that is due to the other patriotic men who were concerned with him in his earlier projects, still less deny the obligations we owe to the late Benjamin S. Walcott for the practical knowledge and the very efficient aid which marked his superintendency from the outset and characterized it to its close, nor to the ripened skill and the wondrous executive ability which have crowned with prosperity the later labors of himself and his colleagues. Yet I crave for the projector his share of the merit of conceiving and of giving impulse to the enterprise. Assuredly to Dr. Seth Capron is Oneida county indebted for much of that abundance she is now reaping from her splendid factories, and with its history his name equally with that of the Walcotts, Marshal and Campbell should ever be identified.

ANDREW A. BARTOW,

And the Discovery of WATER-LIME in this Country.

BY SAMUEL EARL.

Read before the Society, November 9, 1880.

I have recently become possessed of some old letters and papers which belonged to the late Andrew A. Bartow, who for many years resided in Herkimer county, and was one of the honored and useful citizens of Central New York. These letters and papers were placed at my disposal by his two daughters, now advanced in years, and who at the present time are temporarily residing in Herkimer. I propose to leave these letters and papers with this Society. They are somewhat interesting as coming from persons whose names were prominently before the public more than a half-century ago, and who were connected with the early history of the canals of this State. Mr. Bartow was the intimate associate of those persons, and was in the service of the State on the Erie canal from the time it was commenced until it was completed in 1825. And during the whole progress of this great undertaking he was a most useful and efficient agent of the State in all of the various and important trusts confided to him.

It is probably known to some of the persons here present, that before work was commenced on the Erie canal, the material called Water-Lime was not known to exist in this country, and that it was supposed it would be necessary to import the Tarras, or Roman cement, to be used in the construction of the canal. But just at the proper time, and when the question as to making provision for the importation of water-cement was being considered by the State officials, a limestone theretofore supposed to be a spurious kind of limestone, and of no use for any purpose, was found on the line of the canal in Madison and Onondaga counties, which, by experiments made, was found to form cement which would harden under water. This was a most timely discovery. The material was found right at hand which was indispensable in the construction of the locks and aqueducts on the canal, and which

has since become throughout the country a prime necessity in all kinds of hydraulic masonry.

I claim for Mr. Bartow that he was the original discoverer of Water-Lime in this country, and I propose in this paper to present the proof which, I think, sustains the claim I make.

I am well aware that the discovery of this important article in this country is accorded to Canvass White, a native of this county, who was one of the chief assistant engineers on the Erie canal, and actively and responsibly engaged as such during the whole progress of its construction. I am aware, also, that before the canal was commenced Mr. White was sent by the Erie canal officials to England, to procure mathematical instruments for use in constructing the canal, and while there to make observations in regard to canals. While abroad, it is said, Mr. White paid attention to the use of the article known as Roman cement. It was then thought that kind of cement would have to be imported for the Erie canal. The State officials, as early as 1818, had been advised by Benjamin Wright, the chief engineer upon the canal, that quicklime would not do for the construction of the locks, and that provision ought to be made for the importation of Tarras, or Roman cement, for that purpose.

After Canvass White's return from Europe, and in the year 1818 or 1819, the discovery was made that the limestone on the line of the canal in Madison and Onondaga counties, which had been previously regarded as wholly useless, was suitable for making a water-proof cement. Experiments and tests were made, which resulted in determining the fact that Roman cement could be dispensed with in the construction of the canal, and that ample material for hydraulic cement was near at hand.

The question to which I wish to invite your attention is, who is really entitled to the credit of the first discovery in this country of this indispensable article; whether Canvass White, to whom the honor belongs, if we take as granted what appears in his favor in the public prints and official documents on that subject, or Andrew A. Bartow, whose name, so far as I have been able to discover, has never been publicly or officially connected with its discovery?

From the letters and papers I have the honor of presenting to this Society at this time, I feel warranted in saying that the honor of this discovery belongs to Mr. Bartow, and not to Mr. White. The evidence contained in these letters would, in my opinion, be deemed sufficient before any court or jury to establish the claim of Bartow to this honor.

In behalf of Mr. White it is claimed that he made the discovery of the cement after repeated experiments in 1818; and it is true that in 1820 a patent was issued to him for the discovery. Under this patent White put in a claim to be remunerated by the State for the cement used upon the canal, which had been purchased from other parties. He claimed it was manufactured and put upon the market in violation of his patent; and for this violation he commenced several suits, and recovered judgment in one of them for $1,700 damages against one Timothy Brown. From what I can learn of this case, it appears that Captain Brown, as he was called, had furnished a large amount of Water-Lime for the use of the State on the canal, and that *White* in virtue of his patent claimed a royalty of four cents a bushel, and because it was not paid brought suit, which resulted in the judgment against Brown. In 1825, Brown petitioned the Legislature for relief against this judgment, and in his petition alleged that he furnished the cement for the construction of the canal at its then usual price, without taking into account the four cents per bushel royalty charged by White; and as the State had the benefit of the cement at four cents per bushel less than it would have cost if the charges of *White*, the patentee, had been paid, and as he, Brown, considered himself acting under the countenance of the acting canal commissioners, he thought it just and reasonable to ask of the State an indemnity against the judgment so recovered against him by *White*. The committee of the Legislature to which the petition of Brown was referred, reported in his favor, and to prevent further prosecutions under the patent against those who had furnished cement for the construction of the canal, unanimously recommended that the sum of $10,000 be paid to Mr. White, on condition of his assigning and assuring to the people of this State the full right forever to use the cement, and of his discharging his judgment against Brown, and all claims against him and all and every of the citizens of this State for or on account of any infringement of his patent. This report, which is dated February 11, 1825, concludes as follows: "And as Mr. White agrees to accept said sum upon the conditions aforesaid, the committee ask leave to introduce a bill."

I can not find that the report of the committee was adopted. At all events, no act was passed granting any relief to Mr. Brown. He probably appealed from the judgment, and quite likely defeated the patent. How it is I do not know, and it is not material to my present purpose to inquire.

I mention the foregoing facts because it is undisputed that Canvass White took out the patent for this cement, and was popularly supposed to be entitled to the credit of the discovery.

And now, before producing the proofs which I claim show that Bartow and not White is entitled to this credit, I will briefly state what the daughters of Mr. Bartow say of their father's connection with the discovery of the cement. They say, and their memory extends back to that period, that at the time the locks on the canal at or near Syracuse were about being built, he ranged all over the county of Onondaga for stones suitable for that purpose. That one of the duties with which he was charged was to select and contract for the materials for the locks; and for that purpose he visited the stone quarries and stone ledges in the vicinity and examined the quality of the stone. That on some occasion, when he was on a tour of inspection of stone quarries in Onondaga county, his attention was attracted to a different kind of limestone from what he was familiar with, found in the town of Manlius; and he took a specimen and examined it, and while looking at it some farmers were present, and he asked them what kind of stone it was, and they replied that it was a bastard limestone. That no use could be made of it. That some of the farmers had tried to use it as plaster by grinding it and putting it on their corn, and they found that it was good for nothing and would become hard. It occurred to Mr. Bartow to take a specimen of the stone and place it in his cabinet, as was his custom to do with the different kinds of stone he found. He brought the specimen with him to his lodgings, and among others showed it to two English masons, who were brothers, by the name of Horn, and who were then at work on the canal. These masons had worked on the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, in England, and were familiar with the use of Roman cement, and with the stone from which it was made. After examining the stone, they told Mr. Bartow that it was an inferior kind of limestone, and that it looked very much like the stone from which the Roman cement was made. The curiosity of Bartow was now excited to know the value of the stone, and he resolved upon making experiments with it. To that end he hired the use of a blacksmith shop, and as he could not have the use of it on a week day, he took it to use on Sunday. He shut himself up in the shop, and worked all Sunday in burning the stone and pulverizing it, and in making experiments with it. He was so elated with the results of his Sunday work, that he took some of the stone to Prof. James Hadley, of the Fairfield Medical College, and together

with that learned chemist, he made further experiments, and finally demonstrated the fact that the stone produced a perfect water-proof cement. The daughters of Mr. Bartow distinctly remember the fact of his bringing the stone to Fairfield, for Prof. Hadley to make experiments with, and they were old enough at that time to know their father's employments, and what he then said about the stone and the use to be made of it. And they say that Canvass White knew nothing of the properties of the stone until informed by their father, and that to make use of the discovery and profit out of it he paid their father $2,000, and applied for the patent, agreeing to let him have a quarter interest in the patent, in addition to the money consideration paid. It is certain that Mr. Bartow never applied for a patent, and that White did; and knowing Bartow as I did, I can imagine a satisfactory reason why, as between him and White, the latter was put forward as the discoverer, and to get the patent.

And now, before presenting Mr. White's letters on the subject of the cement and the patent, which he addressed to Mr. Bartow, I will introduce the latter by reading some papers relating to him, not as evidence on the main question which I seek to establish, but as preliminary thereto.

UTICA, 18 July, 1817.

Dear Sir:—The Canal Commissioners have appointed you their agent to procure grants of the land through which the western canal is to pass, and have agreed to allow you three dollars a day and the expenses of yourself and horse, or four dollars a day, including your compensation and all expenses. If you agree to accept the trust, you will repair immediately to Rome and report yourself to Benjamin Wright, the Engineer, who will furnish you with blank deeds and other necessary information. You will commence your operations at Utica and go on westerly. Write to me, directed at Albany, and I will furnish you with other directions if necessary.

I am yours, with esteem,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. DE WITT CLINTON.

I do hereby authorize and empower Andrew A Bartow, Esq., to make and conclude contracts at his discretion for the purchase and delivery of lime, sand, timber and plank at any place where they may be required for the construction of any works connected with the Erie canal on that part of the line which lies between Utica and Salina, hereby engaging to ratify and confirm all such contracts, and when they are executed to make all such payments as by said contracts said Bartow shall bind himself to make in behalf of the Canal Commissioners of the State of New York.

MYRON HOLLEY,

Dated 26 May, 1818. One of said Canal Commissioners.

The bearer hereof, Andrew A. Bartow, esquire, has been in the employ of Canal Commissioners of the State of New York since the first part of the season of 1817 to this time, and has attended to various duties as an agent for making contracts for labor and materials necessary for the work, in all of which, he has, as far as has come to my knowledge, performed the various duties to the entire satisfaction of the Commissioners and their Engineers.

Utica, State of N. York, November 17, 1821.

BENJ. WRIGHT,
Principal Engineer Erie Canal.

UTICA, November 17, 1821.

The bearer of this is Andrew A. Bartow, esquire, who has been appointed by the Board of Canal Commissioners of the State of New York, their agent for procuring cessions of land whereon the canals of this State have been located. This duty he has discharged much to their satisfaction. He has also been intrusted with various other duties in relation to the construction of the Erie canal, particularly in the procuring and selecting Water-Lime, of which he professes to be a competent judge, having had much experience in regard to it, and made more observation in regard to the peculiarities and properties of this important article than any other person of my acquaintance.

HENRY SEYMOUR,
Utica, November 17, 1821. Acting Canal Commissioner.

A. A. BARTOW, AGENT, ACCOUNT WITH CANAL COMMISSIONERS, TO THE 16TH NOVEMBER, 1821.

The Erie Canal Commissioners to A. A. Bartow, Agent. *Dr.*,

To services rendered (as per subjoined statement) from the 29th day of April, 1821, to the 16th day of November, 1821, inclusive, being 201 days, at $4 per day,.... .... $804

STATEMENT.

Engaged to the first of June in obtaining cessions of land through the eastern section of the canal and in inspecting the Water-Lime and lime-kilns to the west to prevent adulteration.

To the first of July, occupied in examining the different stone-quarries on the eastern section, contracting for the quarries and superintending the setting of the locks and aqueducts.

To the first of August, engaged in examining for Water-Lime through the counties of Herkimer, Montgomery, Otsego, Schenectady and Albany, and occasionally in superintending the construction of the locks under Stewart, Doolittle & Butler, between Utica and the Little Falls.

To the first of September, employed as a superintendent on the line of the canal between Utica and Schenectady, examining the setting of the locks, inspecting the Water-Lime made use of, and in examining stone-quarries and the cutting of the stone.

To the first of October, occupied, with Commissioner Bouck, in estimating damages on the Mohawk river and on the Northern canal, and in measuring stone at the different quarries.

To the sixteenth of November, employed on the line of the canal between Utica and the Little Falls, making preparation to let in the water.

KINGSTON, December 9, 1825.

Doct. A. A. Bartow:

Dear Sir:—I am desirous of seeing you here with as little delay as possible, and that you may understand the object I have in view, I will in part state that I wish to have several points examined and experiments made with the Water-Lime found near the line of our canal. You will readily perceive the necessity of our having this matter attended to immediately, on account of the advanced season of the year, and that I should see you here to confer on the subject before you commence operations. I shall expect, if you are willing to engage, to see you to-morrow or Sunday; and if you decline, to hear from you by that time at farthest. With great respect,

Yours, most truly,

MAURICE WURTS,

Agent for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company.

ROME, N. Y., 7th August, 1880.

S. Earl, Esq.:

Dear Sir:—Yours of 2d inst. was duly received. Memory in transactions of over one-half a century is not very reliable. I recollect Doctor Bartow very well. He was a sort of general agent of canal commissioners. From 1818 to 1820 I saw him often. The young scions in the Engineer Department always enjoyed his genial and frank manner. I recollect many pleasant interviews.

In regard to the cement question, I recollect he took great interest in it, when it was generally regarded with doubt, and insisted it would be a success. He discussed the matter freely with the young engineers. I well recollect the strong confidence he expressed in its success. I do not recollect that he claimed to be the original in the discovery. It was supposed Canvass White made the experiments which showed the hydraulic quality of the cement. Doct. Bartow often showed, specimens of cement; he seemed always to have them in his pocket. As to the main question: Who first suggested the thing? I am not able to say.

With pleasant recollection of the genial Doct. Bartow,

I am, very truly, yours,

JOHN B. JERVIS.

Having now shown who Bartow was, and what his occupations were on the Erie canal, I am prepared to give the evidence contained in White's letters, which I think fairly show it was understood between them that Bartow was the actual discoverer of the cement. That this evidence may be fully understood, I have concluded not to extract the letters, nor state their contents, but to give them in full, and with them to give also, in their order of

time, a letter from Benjamin Wright, and the draft of two letters which were written by Bartow to White.

ALBANY, April 12, 1823.

Dear Sir:—I received a note from you by Judge Wright, stating the time you extended to me for closing the negotiation between us respecting the cement. I should have written sooner, but I was in hopes the Commissioners would do something in my behalf that would enable me to comply with your terms. I yesterday got their answer, and they refuse giving or making us any compensation whatever. I also requested J. B. Yates, Esq., to purchase your share, but he thinks you ask too much. I am not able to purchase it. I got a statement of my account respecting the sales of the cement, and that I am now more than $1,600 in debt. This has so far been a bad business for me. Now, my dear friend, what can I do? The Commissioners pay no regard to Judge Skinner's decision. They say it must be decided in Supreme Court of the United States before they will consider the patent valid. I ask of you what must be done next. The sales have been so bad that Peter Remsen & Co. do not talk as favorably as they did in proposing to pay for the part I contracted with them to take. I wish you to write to me at Lebanon, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania. I go on this morning in the steamboat. My health is not very good, but am gaining slowly. I will write you again when I get to New York, and have an understanding with P. Remsen & Co. My respects to your family.

Your affectionate friend,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

NEW YORK, April 16, 1823.

Dear Friend:—I wrote you a few days since from Albany respecting the cement, and requested you to write me at Lebanon. I have been trying to make some arrangement with P. Remsen & Co. and J. B. Yates. I find that they put a very small value on the patent, on account of the number of persons who have been engaged in manufacturing for the Commissioners; also, the number that own land on which the cement is found. These men may combine and make a good deal of trouble. Also, a great number of failures which have attended the use of it in this city and other places. It is so subject to difficulties of this kind that I begin to despair of receiving much benefit from it. The refusal of the Commissioners to make any remuneration was a great disappointment to me. I mentioned that I was considerably in debt. I am now fearful that I shall be worse off than I represented. Messrs. P. Remsen & Co. have about 700 casks on hand, and it is feared that it is all damaged. This lot, with all the charges, has cost me nearly $4 per cask. I have also 200 casks at Albany; in all, 900 now on hand. This is a bad concern for me. I have not been able to accomplish any arrangement on my own account, but have requested Mr. Yates to treat with you for your fourth part of the patent. I should be very glad to dispose of my part; that would save me from a loss. Your friend, Samuel Horn, has told Mr. Bouck that all the knowledge you possess respecting the cement you obtained from him and his brother in an improper manner. He says that you lay behind their shanty and overheard a conversation between them, which developed

their knowledge to you. This is the last part of the story. It was prefaced by a long statement of circumstances relating to the unsuccessful experiments which they made with you, and your fair propositions to reward them. These stories have some influence, however false they may be. You see, from all the circumstances combined, that the prospects are very poor for any remuneration for all the trouble and expense of the cement. My health is yet very delicate. I start for Pennsylvania this morning in low spirits. Please write to me as directed. My respects to your family.

Yours, affectionately,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

LEBANON, Lebanon County, Penn., April 25, 1823.

Dear Friend:—I wrote you a few days since from New York, and mentioned that Mr. Yates would probably make application to you for your fourth part of the patent for the hydraulic cement. As I was not able to purchase it of you, I intend you shall have your proportion of any remuneration that may be obtained from the State. This I neglected to mention in my last letter, which has induced me to write before I received an answer to my letters. I regret very much that it has not been in my power to make a final settlement before I left the State. I expect, however, to return in June, and hope I shall then see you. I found advertised for sale in Philadelphia a water-proof cement from Richmond in Virginia. I can say nothing of its merits, for I had no opportunity of ascertaining its qualities. It is recommended to be a superior article by the agent. I have not yet commenced operations. My health continues to improve. I am not yet as strong as usual; the weather has been unfavorable for me. Remember me to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

SCHENECTADY, May 13, 1823.

My Dear Friend:—I have just received a letter from Mr. White, wherein he says he has written three letters to you on the subject of the Water-Lime, and as I understand received no answer. He wishes me to see you and talk with you on the subject, and as I have understood you are about coming down to Albany, pray when can I see you and how can it be managed. I set out to-morrow to go up the river from this place, and shall be about three days in getting to the Falls, and I should like to see you if possible then, and have some conversation on the above subject.

I wish very much you was on the line now. Your presence between Schoharie creek and this place would be worth to the State ten dollars per day at this time, and tend to accelerate our getting in the water. Such an event would be pleasant, but how to bring it about is the question. When the engineers have no power to employ persons, it becomes difficult to say when the water shall come in. However, patience in this troublesome world is a great and excellent quality in human creatures, and I endeavor to practice as much of it as I can.

I should be glad to see you and enjoy a few hours' chat; and without intending to flatter you, I really think it would do me a great deal of good. If I can not see you, pray write me. Direct to Schenectady. With much affectionate regard,

I am, yours truly,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. B. WRIGHT.

HERKIMER, May 19, 1823.

Dear Sir:—I have received your three communications of April 12th, 17th and 26th, and regret the ill success attending the introduction of our water-cement into common use. The reverses experienced in your attempts, appear to be owing to the want of your personal skill and attention, in the selection and calcination of the lime in grinding, and compounding it for use; and perhaps the greatest utility to the public and profit to us, the proprietors, would be secured by a division and allotment into counties and cities, enabling each to superintend his own immediate interest. I had long been of this opinion; but apprehending some collision almost unavoidable, from the exercise of separate divisions, I felt it my duty to offer to you the sale of my right, at a sum considerably less than I think I might realize from it, after a partition of territory, and I do not yet feel disposed to withdraw that offer and ask immediately for what you have often expressed a willingness, a partition of territory.

I beg leave to assure you that the patent can not be impeached by reason of any information communicated to me, or obtained by me from any person in relation to the discovery. My knowledge on the subject was not derived from others; but of my own seeking and experiment.

Considering the highest offer which Mr. Yates, as you say, is disposed to make for my interest, compared with offers made by others, to which I have not, and do not wish to listen; I think I could do better for all concerned by the sale of the interest of all, than he would do by me. As your engagements make it difficult for you to attend to this concern, would it be agreeable to you, that I should inquire what the proprietors of our western limestone would give for the exclusive privilege secured to us by the patent? I would venture on these inquiries with a delicate hand, and in answer to proposals occasionally made for my interest; but I do not wish to venture even this without the consent of all concerned.

When I shall have procured a proper analysis of the Bald mountain lime, I expect I shall be able to tell you that it is our's precisely, excepting only its coloring matter, which can not take its hydraulic use out of the patent.

If a division be thought best, we shall probably find it best to divide this and some of the neighboring States by counties, and the Atlantic cities by cities, the western and more remote States by large districts. In this way each may attend to his own interest, or procure a special agent to do it for him. And in this way I think no reasonable doubt can be entertained of our success and profits.

In the course of the summer, I propose a variety of new experiments in regard to the best modes of selecting, calcining, grinding and compounding this cement, so as to be able to reduce all these, not only to rules such as those

acquainted with kindred arts *can*, but so plain that even those unacquainted with the use of cements can not mistake the best process.

I would be glad to hear what you can say on the practical use of the newly proposed southern cement. Can you send me its analysis?

As the Canal Commissioners decline paying anything to the patentees of the cement, I suggest the propriety of calling all persons in the State to account for their infringements of the patent. I think this would bring the Commissioners to terms, unless they are willing to see their contractors suffer. The State not liable to suit stands upon its exemption; let the patentees recline on their right secured by the Laws of the Union. In a compromise so far as my interest goes, I am willing to be liberal; but if by the refusal of the Commissioners to do us justice, we are driven to prosecute, I ask the utmost farthing which can be recovered. If the Commissioners tell us they can do nothing till we have maintained our exclusive right by various expensive litigated suits; our answer must be that these suits securing us verdicts we will collect them without permitting the Commissioners to interfere. A compromise is offered to save the expenses of suits; but suit once brought, let those interested in the patent seek and recover damages, and let the Commissioners indemnify those who may suffer.

Such, my dear sir, are my views on the subject. I shall expect an answer from you as soon as may be, respecting a sale of my interest, a division, a sale of the interest of all, and the suits to be brought for infringements, and such information as you can give respecting the newly proposed southern cement. I shall communicate what I can learn respecting that of Bald mountain.

CANVASS WHITE. A. A. BARTOW.

LEBANON, Lebanon County, June 9, 1823.

A. A. Bartow, Esq.:

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 19th May, mailed the 22d, has been received. I should have answered it sooner, but I expected to have seen Judge Wright. He has returned without making me a visit. I have had the contents of your letter under consideration. I expect to be in Troy about the 20th of this month, and have, therefore, concluded to defer giving an answer to your proposition of a division of territory until that time, and must solicit you to meet me and Judge Wright, and make a final settlement on such terms as we may agree on. I will write you again and state the precise time—perhaps it may be a little later—for I feel anxious to get a considerable part of the line under contract before I leave it; and, further, I should like to make it convenient for Mr. Wright and yourself. If you should have any engagements that would make it inconvenient to meet me at that time, or between that and the first of July, you will have the goodness to inform me. I have a sample of the Virginia cement, and have some on trial. It is a compound; the constituent parts I do not know. I will furnish you with a sample. I have a specimen of stone found on Maiden creek, which empties into the Schuylkill above Reading, and is said to make a good cement. I have seen none of it tried, but shall make the experiment soon. It has the appearance of the Bald mountain stone. If it should prove good, our patent would be

contested. I shall be able to understand it before I see you. The people are very anxious to find it in this State, and will go as great lengths as Colonel Y. with a substitute. My respects to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

CANVASS WHITE.

HERKIMER, June 28, 1823.

Dear Sir:—Yours of the 9th and the 21st inst. have come to hand. They contain an invitation to meet yourself and Judge Wright at Troy on the third of July. I should be happy to meet friends and old laborers on the canal, and to hear your several remarks and observations on the contemplated improvements of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland; but the situation of my business and family make it very difficult, say impracticable, and nothing ought to tempt me away at present but urgent business. If, therefore, to the agreeable call of friendship, you had added some definite proposal for a distribution of our common interest in the cement, I should have repaired to Troy, feeling extremely anxious to have my fourth in severalty, that I may make it productive to myself and family. Yet even then I might not have been able to attend at the time you fix, as well from private circumstances as that I do not know where to find the Judge.

Since, then, I can not attend, I may renew the expression of my wish for a distribution of our interests in the hydraulic cement. The basis of the division should be perfectly equitable, territory, population and probable profit duly considered. In procuring the cement or material for it, the right should be common to all in interest in the several places where it is or may be found. In vending and using it, the right should be exclusive in the places distributed to each. It would seem that each should have some of the Atlantic cities, some of the counties in this and the middle and lake States, and in the other States the distribution may be fairly made by larger districts; and I am of opinion that it will be well for us to refer the distribution upon such a basis to some proper person with power to define our respective territories, and to settle our shares in all sales made, and in all infringements practiced and to be practiced hereafter. Among the persons fit to make this distribution and to draw the necessary conveyances, I name Thomas J. Oakley. If you concur in this nomination, or will make one in which I can concur, we will then agree on the things to be submitted and the matters to be determined, so as to effect in the most friendly and equitable manner a distribution.

I will add that considerable has been lately said as to newly-discovered cements. After all reasonable inquiry and due consideration, I am disposed to believe the present one perfectly secure from competition, and therefore, of handsome value; and surely at present I should find no difficulty in making my share very productive if separated from the interests of the concern. Indeed, I have been tempted to bring the cement into use by offering it in market supported by the skill of good workmen, but have declined this, the proper method, lest it might not be agreeable to the wishes of yourself.

Soliciting your speedy answer and a full statement of your views on this subject, I am, dear sir,

Your humble servant,

C. WHITE, Esq. A. A. BARTOW.

NEW YORK, July 12th, 1823.

Dear Sir :—I regret very much that I did not see you while at Troy, so that we could have made some arrangements as to future operations. There is a good deal of interest excited in regard to the results of the suit against Brown, and I think he will appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, because, as it now stands all those persons that have manufactured the cement are liable to prosecution, and the same amount in proportion could be recovered against them ; so that instead of an amicable suit it will probably terminate in an hostile appeal. If it should take this course a considerable expense will necessarily occur in defending our just claims. And from what has been said, by the Commissioners we need not expect a single farthing until it has been decided by the Supreme Court ; as I have already expended a good deal of money in trying to introduce it into general use, and now feel the effects of considerable losses. I have taken this responsibility on myself out of pure friendship towards you, knowing that you had not funds on hand to advance for the manufacturing of the cement, and wait the returns of protracted and uncertain sales. A strong prejudice has arisen against the cement which has been manufactured for some time, it therefore can not be sold except fresh from the manufactory. I have therefore been under the necessity of disposing to Mr. Seymour 600 casks, to be used on the canal; as this must be sent back from this place there will be considerable loss. About 200 more casks will remain of last year's stock. Great exertions are made to introduce it. I hope to hear from you soon at Reading, Pennsylvania.

Yours, respectfully,

CANVASS WHITE.

NEW YORK, September 15, 1823.

Dear Friend :—Since I wrote you last I have obtained Mr. Emmot's opinion respecting the validity of the patent for the water-proof cement. He considers the patent as good as any ever granted. I have written to a friend of Captain Brown, to advise him to appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. That decision will be law; and if it should be favorable, we shall stand a chance to be remunerated by collecting a percentage on all that has been manufactured. I am still of an opinion that it will be difficult for us to sustain the patent against the infringement of other States. I expected to have heard from you before this time and had your opinion as to the best mode to pursue; but as the time is drawing near that something should be done, I have concluded that it would be better to run the risk of an appeal than to be kept in suspense, and probably never receive any benefit from the discovery. I return to Pennsylvania to-morrow morning, and shall be happy to hear from you at Reading. My respects to your family.

Yours, respectfully,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

READING, October 21, 1823.

Dear Friend:—You may think me a troublesome correspondent because I have written several letters without receiving an answer. The reason of my letters being neglected I do not know, but I hope it is not on account of a falling off of friendship. If that is the case on your part, I assure you it is not so on mine. I feel the same interest for your welfare that I ever did. As to the cement business, it remains the same as when I wrote you last, except the prospect of getting a remuneration from the State, which I think is more favorable. I mentioned to you before that I wished Captain Brown to appeal, and have advised him accordingly. I have taken this responsibility on myself, not hearing anything from you. I hope it will meet with your approbation. One reason I had for so doing was, that I was fearful that a hostile appeal would be made, which would place us on different ground from what we now occupy, and I think it would have been more unfavorable. I think much of Mr. Emmot's opinion, which was decidedly in our favor; and if we should be successful on the appeal, we then have it in our power to enforce our claims to the fullest extent. All things considered, I think you will approve of the course I have taken. My greatest anxiety is to get a decision the ensuing winter. I think it advisable to employ Mr. Emmot to argue the case at Washington, as that will be attended with the least expense. I have said nothing to him on that point, but as he will attend the Supreme Court on other business, he can easily attend to ours. I had thought some of Mr. Colden, as he will be there on other business also. I should like to have your opinion on this subject, and hope you will do me the favor to write as soon as you have leisure. The sales of cement have been tolerably good this season, but without profit. I reduced the price last spring, in anticipation of a reduction in the transportation by the opening of the canal to Schenectady, but in that I have been disappointed. There was a considerable quantity on hand, which had been kept through the winter, and it was not considered very good by the purchasers in New York. I, therefore, concluded it would be best to dispose of some to the Canal Commissioners, knowing it to be better than that generally used on the canal. I think there will be a loss on the lot sold them of about one thousand dollars. I was sorry that I did not have the pleasure of seeing you at the grand celebration at Albany. I shall, I hope, have the pleasure of seeing you next winter, for I shall return to Albany with my family. They will remain in the State of New York in future. It is getting too sickly in this part of the country for them to remain another summer. The same sickness which has prevailed on the Schuylkill, has lately made its appearance on the Talpehocken, and more than three-fourths of the inhabitants are now and have been sick. The young men that came with me are all well. The workmen on the canal have not been much affected yet, but I am fearful the sickness will be troublesome another season. I gave Judge Wright a specimen of the cement found in the neighborhood of this place. No more experiments have been made with that particular kind, but some on a larger scale have been made with a quantity which appeared to be the same. The result I do not know. Please give my respects to your family.

Your affectionate friend,

A. A. BARTOW, Esq. CANVASS WHITE.

These letters constitute all that remain in the family of Mr. Bartow, relating to this subject.* There were many more letters, and a mass of papers between Bartow and White, in relation to the cement, but which, within a few years, have been destroyed, as his daughters inform me, because they had no place to keep them. But I think the letters I have read, fairly sustain the claim I make for Mr. Bartow, as the original discoverer of water-proof cement, in this country. It is true, however, that the patent was granted to Canvass White as the discoverer; and so far as this fact goes, it is at most only *prima facie* evidence that he was entitled to the honor of the discovery; and what I claim is, that his letters which I have read fairly overthrow the presumption in his favor, founded upon the patent.

It will be observed that in none of his letters to Bartow, does White use language showing that the discovery was his own. On the contrary; in his letter of April 16, 1823, he talks discouragingly of the value of the patent, and to get off easily with Bartow, who had made him a proposition to sell out his fourth interest to him, he intimates that there is not much value in the patent, because Samuel Horn (who was one of the masons to whom Bartow showed the stone, as I have stated) had started the story that he (Bartow) was not entitled to the credit he claimed, but that all the knowledge he possessed in reference to the cement, he got from Samuel Horn and his brother.

At this time, confessedly, as all the letters show, Bartow had a fourth interest in the patent, and White was the patentee. It seems to me it is impossible to conceive why Mr. White should have used the language he did in this letter, if, as between the two, it was not understood that Bartow was the discoverer. It certainly was of no consequence what Horn said of Bartow, if White was the discoverer, and the value of the patent could not, in such case, be affected by what Horn said of Bartow. I think that it is apparent, from these letters, that *White* took the burden of the patent on his shoulders, under some such arrangement as the daughters of Mr. Bartow say. Such, I think, is the fair inference from all the letters.

Another significant fact appears, which is, that in all these letters which concede to Mr. Bartow a quarter interest in the patent, and mention what he is doing, expending and losing in his efforts to introduce the cement into use, he nowhere calls on

* These letters are all in the possession of the Oneida Historical Society.

him to contribute to the expense or loss, and nowhere intimates his liability to do so. And from this circumstance I infer what his daughters assure me is a fact, that White, under the arrangement with their father, was to take the patent in his name and assume all the risk, trouble and expense of introducing the article into use, and give him one-fourth of all the net profits, and retain the other three-fourths for his compensation and the risk of the outlay on his part.

I have given only some of the inferences which may be drawn from these letters, in support of the claims I make. I think no more are needed to show that Mr. Bartow is fairly entitled to the credit I claim for him.

I should say here, as giving some plausibility at least to what I have said, that Mr. Bartow was a communicative man. He was full of practical and scientific knowledge. His skill on the subject of Water-Lime was vouched for by Hon. Henry Seymour, as early as 1821, as will be seen by his testimonial of him which I have read. And knowing him as I did, if I were to make any guess on the subject, I should say that after making the discovery he freely talked about it, without the thought of any personal benefit to himself, through a patent; and I am inclined to think also that the idea of a patent came from White, and that at his suggestion application was made for the patent, and for reasons satisfactory to Bartow taken in his name. And I have no doubt that as between them, it was thought that the patent could be made the most available in the name of White. At that time he was widely known as a prominent and skillful hydraulic engineer; and at the time these letters were written, he was the chief engineer on the Schuylkill canal in Pennsylvania. He certainly would be supposed from his position and well known character as an engineer, to be just the person to bring into public notice the cement, and make market for it. He failed and his failure was a great disappointment to Bartow.

Here I will state that soon after the Erie canal was completed and in 1825, the Delaware and Hudson canal was commenced. Mr. Bartow in conjunction with Harvey Hackley, who was a brother of the late Hon. Aaron Hackley of the city of Utica, and who also resided in Herkimer, took a contract on that canal on the summit level in Sullivan county. He was at work on his contract at the time Maurice Wurts wrote him the letter, which I have read of December 9, 1825, addressed to him at Warwassing, care of Mr. Lamoree. To the call made in this letter Bartow at once

responded, and using a blacksmith shop as he had done in Onondaga county to burn the stone, and the anvil to pulverize it he made the necessary experiments to demonstrate the fact, that the stone shown him by Mr. Wurts made a very superior article of hydraulic cement.

From that time the projectors of that canal used this stone for cement, which previous to that time they had to transport at great expense from Chittenango. I do not claim for Bartow that he discovered the stone in Ulster county, which proved to be cement; but I claim to him belongs the honor of demonstrating the fact that it was cement. This stone in Ulster county was found on the line of the Delaware and Hudson canal, late in the year 1825, as would seem from the letter of Mr. Wurts. It was found in the towns of Marbletown and Rosendale.

After Mr. Bartow's tests were made, and upon his judgment the manufacture of cement was at once begun there, and it took the name of Rosendale cement, by which name it is still known. And this was the beginning of the immense manufacture of the celebrated Rosendale cement, which has since been carried on in that county, aggregating, in many years, $4,000,000 a year. The manufacture of Water-Lime has become and is an important industry in this State, and its beginning can be traced to the discovery made by Mr. Bartow.

Having said what I have in respect to Mr. Bartow and the claim which I make for him, it will not be out of place here to give some further account of him. He was the son of an Episcopal clergyman, born at New Rochelle in this State, and was of French Huguenot descent. He received a good education, and he was a good thinker and a good talker. After his marriage he settled near New Rochelle, and engaged in the milling business. His wife was a Miss Hunt, of Hunt's Point, which at the time of her marriage, and for nearly a century before belonged to the Hunt family. She was the aunt of the Hon. James B. Hunt, who was a prominent lawyer in Herkimer county, some fifty years ago, and she was the first cousin of the father of Judge Hunt of this city.

In the year 1806, Mr. Bartow sold out his interest in Westchester county and removed with his family to Fairfield, in Herkimer county. He settled upon a farm which either then or soon after included the hill near the village of Fairfield which took his name, and has ever since been called "Bartow Hill." He no sooner had taken up his residence in Fairfield than he took an active interest in the academy there, and he became one of its warmest and most active friends. He was the chief promoter and one of the corpo-

rators of the Medical College at Fairfield. In his efforts to secure the college at that place, and to promote the interests of the academy there he was brought in connection with the Board of Regents at Albany, and often appeared before them. He was much respected by the members of the Board, and he enjoyed also the confidence and friendship of Governor DeWitt Clinton, with whom he was intimately acquainted before he came to Herkimer county. He resided at Fairfield until 1820, when he removed to the village of Herkimer, where he continued to reside until 1837, when he removed to Little Falls, where he resided until 1850, when he removed with his family to West Farms, in Westchester county, at which place he died in 1862, at 88 years of age. He was called Dr. Bartow and he was usually addressed as such; and this was in consequence of a joke perpetrated upon him by Governor Clinton. He had an occasion to appear before the Board of Regents at Albany, at which Governor Clinton was presiding. Some question was under discussion by the Board as to which there was some difference of opinion, and a member of the Board seeing Mr. Bartow present, and not doubting that he was a real doctor from the fact that he had often appeared there as the representative of the Medical College at Fairfield, said to the Regents, "suppose we hear from Dr. Bartow on the subject:" Mr. Bartow responded to the call made upon him, and commenced by saying "he was not a doctor, and was not entitled to so honorable a title, and that he supposed it was intended simply as a complimentary expression or as a joke." Governor Clinton promptly interrupted Mr. Bartow by saying, "Go on, Doctor, the Board of Regents never joke." This turn upon Mr. Bartow brought the laugh upon him, and the story of what Governor Clinton had said passed all along the line of the canal where he was known, and the joke was repeated on him, and from that time he was called Dr. Bartow. His letters after that usually came addressed to him as such, and it will be remembered he was so addressed by Maurice Wurts in his letter of December 9, 1825.

Dr. Bartow as I shall now call him was a staunch supporter of Governor Clinton, and a warm friend of our canal system. He believed in the canals, and was always ready to defend them against the attacks of skeptics and politicians. He never could believe with his fellow townsman, the Hon. Michael Hoffman, that the canals ought to be, or would be superceded by the railroads, and he often had disputes with Mr. Hoffman about the canals. Mr. Hoffman's wife was a cousin of Mr. Bartow and their families were intimate,

but the two seldom met without discussing the canal subject, and always differing.

Dr. Bartow was a good man, and was always genial and talkative, and as Governor Clinton once said of him he was by no means parsimonious in communicating. He was a true patriot and he loved the institutions of his country. In politics he was a Clintonian and a whig. He always took a great interest in current politics, and was well posted. He foresaw the storm arising between the north and south, and when hostilities commenced he was much distressed. He insisted to the last that the daily papers should be read to him, giving him the latest news about the conflict. To him the horrors and the trials of the war were a constant grief, and he was full of anxiety as to the result of the contest.

The brave and gallant Col. Francis S. Bartow, who was killed on the confederate side on the bloody plain at Manassas, was a nephew of his. He had other friends and relations on the confederate side, but his anxiety was not for them, but for the preservation of the Union.

He died in the second year of the war and was buried in the old family burying ground at Hunt's Point.

THE SYRACUSE AND UTICA RAILROAD.

BY HON. D. E. WAGER.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JULY 18, 1880.

The contemplated movement for the construction via Utica, of the New York, West Side and Buffalo railroad, with a view of adding another link in the chain of railroad connections between the Atlantic and the great west, can hardly fail to recall the events of forty and fifty years ago, relative to the efforts then made to construct the first railroads through central New York; and it may also serve as a reminder to old residents of Oneida, Madison, and Onondaga counties of the struggle and sharp contest which took place, regarding the location through Oneida county of the Syracuse and Utica railroad.

Prior to 1826, there was not a railroad in America. In that year a railroad four miles in length, called the "Quincy railroad," was built in Massachusetts, used to transport granite from the quarries. The motive power was horses; the use of steam was an after-thought, and not dreamed of when railroads were first projected.

In April of the year that the Quincy railroad was built the Legislature of New York chartered the "Mohawk and Hudson River Railroad Company" to construct a railroad between Albany and Schenectady. This was the first chartered railroad company in the Union authorized to carry on a general transportation business of freight and passengers. It was the year the Erie canal was brought fully into use, and the public had seen and felt the beneficial results arising from internal improvements of this kind. The capital of the company was $300,000, with liberty to increase it to $500,000. If the road was not completed in six years, the charter was forfeited; no restriction was imposed as to the charges to be made for carrying passengers; nor was the company prohibited from carrying freight, nor required to pay tolls thereon, nor restricted as to the charges to be made for carrying freight, except that such charges were not to exceed the amount of the

tolls and duties, (together with the charges for carrying freight,) which property was then subjected, as the cost of transportation on the Erie canal. The State reserved the right to become the owner of the road at any time within five years after its completion, by providing for the repayment to the railroad company the cost of construction and interest thereon, first deducting the tolls the company had received for carrying passengers and freight.

In the meantime, and before work on this road was begun, railroads in other States were commenced, completed and brought into use, and locomotives propelled by steam placed thereon. In August, 1830, and about twenty months before the six years were up within which the road was to be built, the work of construction was commenced, and it was pushed forward with so much vigor and energy that in October, 1831, it was fully completed and carrying about 400 passengers daily on an average. This was the first railroad built in this State; it was, of course, crude in its plan, imperfect in its construction, and expensive both in its construction and operation. The road-bed was mostly of solid stone, and with such a firm and unyielding foundation, it acted the purpose of an anvil and the rolling stock as hammers, to batter up and wear out in a short time the timbers, cross ties and rails of the track. Its cost was $68,000 per mile, and the inclined plane and stationary engine thereat near Schenectady, (so well remembered by older travelers,) and which skill and railroad experience had not then learned to dispense with or obviate, were an additional expense of $1,000 per month.

But imperfect and expensive as the construction and operation of that railroad were, they had their advantages, for they served as lessons in the construction of subsequent roads; and besides, that mode of carrying passengers and freight was such a vast improvement on all former or other modes of transportation, it very naturally stimulated similar enterprises, and served to whet the appetite of the public for the chartering and construction of more railroads.

Schenectady and Utica.

Each year, for the then next ten years subsequent to the incorporation of that railroad company, the Legislatures of New York granted many charters for the construction of railroads in various parts of the State; but nothing however was done under any of them (except the one granted in 1831, and the road finished in

1833 to construct the road between Schenectady and Saratoga,) until after the charter in 1833, to construct a railroad between Schenectady and Utica; the last named road to run from Schenectady on the north side of Mohawk river to the village of Herkimer, thence to Utica, at a point to be designated by the common council of the last named place; the point so designated was east of and at the foot of Genesee street. The capital stock of the company was $2,000,000, and the work on the road was to be commenced and $100,000 expended within two years, and the road to be completed within ten years after the passage of the act, or the company to forfeit its charter. Property was not allowed to be transported over the road, except the ordinary baggage of passengers, and the company was limited to four cents per mile for transporting passengers; and before commencing to carry persons, the company was required to pay, or tender to the Mohawk Turnpike Company $22.50 on each share of the stock of said Turnpike Company. That turnpike was chartered in 1800 to construct a dirt road between Schenectady and Utica. The State reserved the right to become the owner of the railroad within ten years after its completion, the same as provided in the act incorporating the Mohawk and Hudson River Railroad Company.

The work on this new link of railroads was begun in the fall of 1834, and was fully completed at a cost of $20,000 per mile in the summer of 1836, so that it was in running order and regular trips commenced August 2, of that year. The opening of the road was duly celebrated, and the newspapers all through the State announced the completion of that additional link with a grand flourish, and boasted in a magnificent strain that the company had six locomotives, fifty cars, and fifty emigrant wagons, and that "each car would carry twenty-four passengers!." The next year, after the Utica and Schenectady Railroad Company was chartered, the Auburn and Syracuse Railroad Company was organized, and the construction of the road between those two places was at once put under way, rapidly pushed forward, and completed in the summer of 1837, that it might be the means of attracting by that route other connecting links in the great railroad thoroughfare, which then seemed must be inevitably and soon constructed through the entire State.

The fact that there were to be railroad connections between Albany and Utica, and between Auburn and Syracuse, very naturally stirred up the people along the line, through central New York, to fill up the gaps and supply the needed links that should make a completed railroad chain from the waters of the Hudson

to those of lake Erie. These considerations, and the fact that railroads were not only paying investments, but were of incalculable benefit in developing the resources of the country, made it pretty apparent in the year 1835 that the Legislature to assemble in January, 1836, would be besieged for charters for railroad companies; and in many localities at the fall election in 1835, members of the Legislature were selected in reference to their power, influence and usefulness in procuring charters for such purposes.

In the fall of 1835, David Wager, of Utica, was chosen State Senator from this county. To the Assembly were chosen on a general county ticket, John Stryker, of Rome; Henry Graves, of Boonville; John W. Hale, of Clinton; William Knight, of Paris, and Jared C. Pettibone, of Lee. It will be assumed that these men are sufficiently well known in Oneida county, even by younger residents and new comers, as to need no introduction or further mention. In the Assembly from Madison county were William J. Hough, of Cazenovia; John B. Yates, of Chittenango, and Ephraim Gray, of Lebanon. Mr. Hough was a leading lawyer and prominent citizen of that county, and a few years later was elected to Congress. Mr. Yates was a wealthy and influential citizen, highly respected, and so closely connected with other public enterprises as to make him a power in the State. He had been in Congress in 1814 from Schenectady, and about 1816 was practicing law in Utica, and about 1818 he made Chittenango his home, was in 1835 First Judge of Madison county, and by his liberal endowment of, and munificent donations to "Yates Polytechnic School" of his village, made himself popular and influential. He was brother of Joseph C. Yates, Judge of the Supreme Court of the State in 1814, and Governor in 1823. He will also be remembered as one of the managers of the lotteries in this State sixty years ago. Mr. Gray was an early and an old resident of his county and a farmer of influence. With persons of such position and influence Madison county was ably represented and her interests well protected. Their geographical location would naturally lead them to favor the route of a railroad that would run as far south as the hills of Madison county would permit. In the Assembly from Onondaga county were John Wilkinson, of Syracuse; David Munro, of the town of Camillus; Sanford C. Parker, of Marcellus, and Daniel Dennison, of Manlius. Mr. Wilkinson was a lawyer of tact, and of busy, bustling habits; he was short in stature and small in size, but he made up for these in enterprise and in physical and mental activity. He was the first postmaster of Syracuse, and it was he

who in 1820 gave that place its present name, it having been theretofore known successively as "Bogardus Corners," "Milan," "South Salina," "Cossit's Corners," "Corinth," and lastly Syracuse. Mr. Wilkinson was elected to the Assembly in 1834 and reëlected in 1835. He was among the foremost and strongest advocates of the route on which the road was subsequently located. Mr. Munro was a farmer of large wealth and of considerable influence, and stood shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Wilkinson in the advocacy of the present route; but he did not stand shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Wilkinson in stature nor size, for Mr. Munro was tall in height, and was large in size as well as in wealth, for he weighed between three and four hundred pounds. Mr. Parker was a person of prominence and engaged in the milling business; for some reason or other, he cast his influence in favor of the more southern route. Mr. Dennison favored the present route. He was Member of the Assembly not only in 1836, but again in 1837.

When the Legislature convened in January, 1836, it was besieged with petitions and applications for the granting of charters to construct railroads in almost every part of the State. At that session some fifty-eight railroad charters were granted or old ones renewed, and among the list was one granted to build a railroad from Johnstown to Fonda, one to build a railroad from Herkimer village to Trenton, one to build a railroad from Carthage, Jefferson county, to the river St. Lawrence, one to build from Utica to Oswego, one from Attica to Buffalo, one from Auburn to Rochester, and one from Utica to Syracuse. It is with this last-named road that this article has mainly to do.

At the commencement of the session the friends of the last-named road and of the two routes were on hand in force, and at once began the maneuvering, marching and counter-marching of the two hostile forces. One party insisted that the road should be constructed wholly on the south side of the Erie canal, starting at a point in Utica near the present site of the City Hall, thence through New Hartford, Westmoreland, Vernon and as near Oneida Castle and the Madison county hills as the grades would permit. This was the shorter distance, and brought the road nearer the southern and more cultivated portions of Madison county and the little hamlets or country villages of Cazenovia, Chittenango, "Quality Hill," &c., and hence was strongly favored and strenuously urged by the Assemblymen from that section and by about the whole of Madison county. Most of the Utica influence favored that route, too, for that would insure a break in the railroad chain

in Utica, and make that locality what the site of Rome had been near a hundred years before, a "carrying-place." It was argued by Uticans that if there was no break and there should be a continuous chain of railroads, Utica in due time would become but little better than a way station upon the great thoroughfare, and its growth and business facilities greatly crippled and dwarfed. The other party favored a route that would take the projected railroad along or near the sixty-mile level of the Erie canal, and it was urged that although the distance by this route might be a few miles further, yet it was more than compensated by the more favorable grades, and by the cheapness of construction and the small amount that would have to be paid for land damages. The Romans and the northern portion of Oneida county, of course, favored this route, as did the greater part of Onondaga county, as well as capitalists in other parts of the State, who wished to invest their money in roads that could be constructed and kept in repair the cheapest, and, as a consequence, yield the quickest and largest dividends. A road built strictly on the Erie canal level would make the road eight miles longer than it now is, and might take it westward from Rome via Higginsville, Durhamville, and into Onondaga county through the "Cicero swamp," much farther to the north through Madison county than it now runs; and although the friends of this route promised or conceded to the Madison county people that the road, after it reached Rome going west, should be constructed on or near its present location, yet the friends of the southern route were suspicious and unwilling to yield, except by compulsion.

It must not be forgotten that at that time that, with the exception of about fifteen miles, the whole route between Utica and Syracuse, now traversed by this road, was a swamp, and much of the way a wild and unbroken forest. The site of the present flourishing village of Oneida was a wilderness. There was a saw-mill but then recently built, a log house for the sawyer, and one erected by Mr. Sands Higginbotham, who had previously purchased a large tract of wild land in that locality. The village of Canastota was but a hamlet, brought into existence and notice by the construction of the canal.

In the early history of railroad charters in this State, the Legislature named the commissioners whose duty it was to open the books for subscriptions to stock, and when the stock was subscribed, to distribute it among the subscribers. The owners of the stock elected the directors of the railroad company, and the

latter located the road, unless the location was designated in the charter itself. It was, of course, important that the right railroad commissioners should be named, as upon them might depend the destiny of the road. It seemed to be conceded that there were to be twenty-five railroad commissioners, of which Oneida county was to have seven, Madison county four, Onondaga county seven, and the other seven to be selected from the State at large; and it also seemed to be understood and agreed that the Senator and Assemblymen were to name the commissioners from their county, and each was to name one. Mr. Stryker, from this county, was the principal champion and wire-puller for the Rome route, and Pomroy Jones, of Westmoreland, for the southern location. From this county, David Wager, as Senator, named as his choice for commissioner Julius A. Spencer, of Utica, then a director of and for a long time connected with the Utica and Schenectady railroad. Mr. Stryker named Henry A. Foster; Mr. Graves named David Moulton, of Floyd; Mr. Pettibone named Timothy Jenkins, of Oneida Castle, (Mr. Pettibone had a brother living in Vernon, and hence was half inclined to favor that route;) Mr. Hale named Pomroy Jones; Mr. Knight named Israel S. Parker; the seventh commissioner from this county was Riley Shepard, of Augusta. Five of the above commissioners were positively in favor of the Rome route, and although Mr. Jenkins lived at Oneida Castle and along the southern location, yet he was not hostile to, and in case of a pinch would not act against the Rome location. The commissioners from Madison county were John Knowles, of Chittenango; Ichabod S. Spencer, of Canastota; John Williams, of Cazenovia, and Benjamin Enos, of DeRuyter. From Onondaga county were Vivus W. Smith, Miles W. Bennett, Horace Wheaton, Thomas J. Gilbert, E. L. Phillips, Aaron Burt and James Beardslee—most, if not all, of them friendly to the canal location. The commissioners in the State at large (named by a select committee of the Legislature, to which the charter was referred for amendments and perfection) were Henry Seymour, of Utica, father of Governor Seymour, (Mr. Seymour was among the first Canal Commissioners of the State, one of its warmest and active friends, and formerly State Senator; he warmly favored the Rome route, and having been so long a friend of the canal, his influence was great;) James Hooker, of Poughkeepsie; Hollom Hutchinson, of Livingston county; James M. Allen, Frederick Whittlesey, of Rochester; Rufus H. King, of Albany, and Charles Oakley, of New York city. The Rome route had a decided ma-

jority of the railroad commissioners as thus constituted, and hence the friends of the southern route were obliged to resort to other tactics to carry their measure. John B. Yates was chairman of the railroad committee in the Assembly, and hence in that respect the southern route had an important advantage. That committee reported the fore part of the session a bill chartering the company, but required the road to be constructed wholly on the south side of the Erie canal! This was a death blow to the Rome route, but the friends of the canal line succeeded in having the bill referred to a select committee consisting of Charles A. Floyd, of Suffolk county; C. T. Chamberlain, of Allegany, and G. W. Patterson, of Livingston, to amend and report the bill complete. This move was ominous, and petitions and remonstrances poured into the Legislature from Madison county and portions of the southern part of Oneida county against locating any part of the road on the north side of the canal. On the third of May, 1836, that select committee reported the bill as amended, authorizing the directors of the company to locate the road. This was, of course, just what the Rome friends desired, and was perhaps more than they could reasonably expect, considering the strong influence and persistent effort in favor of the southern location. The bill, as thus reported, was vigorously assailed by Mr. Yates and others. Mr. Yates moved to refer the bill back with instructions to the select committee to report the bill as it had been first reported by the railroad committee, (locating the road on the south side of the canal.) Mr. Wilkinson opposed this motion, claiming that it was impracticable if not impossible to so locate the road, especially in portions of Onondaga county. Mr. Stryker urged that the Rome or canal route was almost a dead level the entire length of the road, and although the distance was a few miles greater, yet the grades were enough better to compensate for the difference in length. The motion of Mr. Yates was defeated. Mr. Parker, of Onondaga, to get rid of the commissioners named in the bill, moved that the Governor appoint them. This was voted down. Orville Robinson, of Oswego, struck the popular feeling in the Assembly when he moved that the majority of the directors should locate the road "on the most direct and eligible route." This was carried, and the contest was ended in the Assembly, and the Rome route practically adopted, for althought it might not be the most "direct," yet it was the most "eligible," and it was supposed that the directors to be selected would so determine. On the 11th of May, 1836, the bill was made a law and the above persons named as rail-

road commissioners. The capital stock of the company was $800,000, and if the road was not commenced in two years, and at least $25,000 expended, and was not finished in four years after the passage of the act, the charter was forfeited. The railroad commissioners organized by the election of Henry A. Foster as president of the board, and I. S. Spencer, of Canastota, (brother of the late Joshua A. Spencer,) as secretary. The president named as committee from this county to prepare and report a plan for receiving subscriptions and distributing stock, David Moulton, Israel S. Parker and Pomroy Jones. Books of subscription were opened July 19, 20 and 21, 1836, at the Syracuse House, in Syracuse; at J. C. Spencer's coffee house, in Canastota; at T. H. Pratt's canal coffee house, in Utica; at the Mansion House, in Albany, and at the Farmer's Loan and Trust Company's office, in New York city. Although the capital stock of the company was but $800,000, yet nearly two and a half millions of dollars were subscribed outside of the city of New York, viz: In Syracuse, $643,000; Canastota, $447,000; Utica, $1,066,000; Albany, $250,000. It was then a delicate task to distribute the stock and give no real ground of complaint; but it was done.

September 22, 1836, the first election of directors of the railroad company was held at the Syracuse House in Syracuse, at which the following were elected directors, viz.: Henry Seymour, David Wager, Henry A. Foster, David Moulton, Samuel French, John Wilkinson, Oliver Teall, James Beardslee, James Hooker, Isaiah Townsend, Miles W. Bennett and Charles Stebbins. Henry Seymour was elected president of the road; H. A. Foster, vice president; Vivus W. Smith, secretary; M. S. Marsh, treasurer, and Aaron Burt, superintendent. John Stryker was selected as attorney for Oneida county to perfect the land titles, John Wilkinson attorney for Onondaga county, and S. T. Fairchild for Madison county. Oliver H. Lee, formerly engineer on the Utica and Schenectady road, was made Chief engineer, with J. P. Munro and C. B. Stuart (the latter of Vernon, and in 1847, State engineer,) as assistants. Surveys of different routes were at once commenced. At the election held in July, 1837, the same officers were re-elected, but as President VanBuren had called an extra session of Congress to convene in September of that year, which necessitated Mr. Foster's absence, (Mr. Foster had been elected to Congress in 1836,) he resigned the vice presidency and directorship, and John Wilkinson was made vice president, and John Stryker director in the places thus vacated. In August, 1837, Mr. Sey-

mour died, and Mr. Wilkinson was made president of the road, which position he held for sixteen years, and until the consolidation of the several links into the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad company in 1853.

Construction of the Road.

In December, 1837, the company advertised for proposals to furnish 7,000,000 feet of timber, board measure, of white and yellow pine, cedar and hemlock for rail, sills and ties; and, March, 1838, proposals were invited to grade 33 miles of the track in sections of one mile each, and to be completed January 1, 1839. The whole contract for grading was made May 1, 1838, and in September of that year, proposals were invited for 255,000 feet of white oak for "ribbon pieces," and to be one and one-half by three inches in size, ten to fifteen feet in length, and to be free from wane, sap and knots, and to be delivered along the line of the road as soon as the canal opened in 1839; also for 50,000 cast iron knees. Within fourteen months after the road was put under contract, it was fully completed—most of the way upon piles, a system then for the first time brought into practical use. The pile system was mainly the invention of E. P. Williams of Utica, who was formerly engaged in the construction of the first railroad in this State, and who subsequently went south and perfected his system. The piles were first thoroughly soaked in salt to add to their preservative qualities, and provision made for resalting as it became necessary; they were driven, by steam power, to a depth of twenty-five or thirty feet in the marshy ground, by splicing. On the top of the piles were placed long timbers of pine, on which rested the "ribbon pieces" of oak, and on these ribbon pieces, were spiked the flat iron rail. The long timbers of the track were kept from spreading by cross ties. Not infrequently the spikes and the flat rail worked loose, and in such cases the latter paid an unwelcome visit to the inside of the coach, by protruding through the floor, to the imminent peril of the lives of the passengers. A passenger coach in those days seated twenty-four persons, they facing each other, after the style of an omnibus or street car, with no stove inside, or other means to warm the travelers in the winter, than those vehicles have, or as provided in meeting houses in olden times.

The road was fully completed the last of June, 1839. Its cost was $700,000—$100,000 less than its capital stock. On Thursday, June 27, the first train of cars reached Rome from Utica, and the

editor of the Rome *Democratic Sentinel* boasted in its issue of July 2, 1839, that on the Thursday previous he had shaken hands in the streets of Rome with persons who had left Utica forty-five minutes before. The arrival of that train in Rome was the occasion of great excitement and of unusual rejoicing; it was welcomed by the firing of cannon and the cheers of assembled thousands. In the afternoon the train proceeded to Syracuse, and among the number was one who went on the first canal boat west. The rest of the week the cars ran free over the road. On Wednesday, July 3, the company commenced taking pay and the average receipts for many successive days were over $600 per day. Thursday, July 4, there was a great excursion over the road, and the day and the scene will not be soon forgotten by those who took part in the celebration. The road most of the way ran through a dense forest, and the road was upon piles, not filled in with earth between, and the train seemingly run in the air. Everything was new and rural. The heavy forest all around, with fresh openings for the track, piles of brush, new stumps, white logs stripped of their bark, the green foliage, the broken earth, the thousands of empty salt barrels scattered along the track, the great, excited and curious crowd, all made the day and the scene of thrilling interest.

In the spring of 1839, the primeval forest was cleared away to make room for the "Railroad House, at Oneida depot." That building yet remains, as does the "Railroad Hotel" at Rome, erected the next year.

On Wednesday, July 10, 1839, the completion of the road was duly celebrated. Two carloads of prominent citizens came July 9, from Albany as far as Utica, where they were welcomed by John Wilkinson, and there they remained over night. Among the number were Solomon Van Rensselaer a soldier of the revolution; Charles E. Dudley, John Townsend and Francis Bloodgood, three ex-mayors of Albany; David Wood, president of the Mohawk and Hudson railroad; Gideon Hawley, Lewis Benedict. At 5 A. M. Wednesday, July 10, 1839, two extra trains left Utica for Syracuse, with two locomotives to each train, and with banners flying, streamers flaunting, bands of music playing, and accompanied by the Utica Citizens' corps, and prominent citizens. All along the route large crowds of people gathered to welcome and cheer on the passing trains. The party reached Syracuse at eight and one-half A. M., and was received at the depot with military honors by a corps of artillery and escorted around the village amid the roaring of guns, the ringing of bells and the huzzas of the multitude. Dinner was

served, at which between 400 and 500 persons sat down. E. W. Leavenworth, president of the village, presided, assisted by ex-Mayor Townsend, of Albany. Toasts and speeches occupied the principal part of the afternoon. At 4 P. M. the party started to return, and the editor of the Albany *Journal*, who accompanied the excursionists, gave a brief but glowing account of the trip and seemed to think the acme of rapid traveling was reached.

The same week the road was completed, its stock was sold at ten per cent advance, and the Utica and Schenectady road declared its sixth semi-annual dividend of $5.00 per share. In that same month this portion of the State was excited and complimented by a visit from the illustrious Henry Clay, who visited Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and thence to Oswego and down the St. Lawrence. He spoke in the Syracuse depot to a large crowd. A few weeks thereafter, President Van Buren went eastward from Buffalo over the whole length of the then completed railroad in the State, staying over Sunday at Geneva, speaking at the depot at Syracuse, and staying at Utica on the night of September 10, 1839.

Such in brief are some of the incidents in the organization, location and construction of the above road. But a few are now living who took an active and prominent part in the matters above referred to, and to some of them am I mainly indebted for the principal facts above narrated. The local newspapers of that day furnish but little from which to gather material.

It is extremely doubtful whether the grades in the southern part of this county could be effectually used now as an argument to induce a railroad to make the curve at Rome the present one does; but that argument, added to the tact, shrewd management and strenuous efforts of ex-Judge Foster and Hon. John Stryker, were the means of preventing Rome being left eight or ten miles out in the cold; and yet, subsequent experience in the history of railroads and of railroad connections, has demonstrated that it would have been an unwise measure and a short-sighted policy, both for Utica and railroads, to have had a break in the link in that city, and thereby necessitated a transhipment of freight and passengers from one depot to the other. Far better and wiser as it is.

THE TELEGRAPH AND ASSOCIATED PRESS.

BY ALEXANDER SEWARD.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DECEMBER 31, 1878.

The "Telegraph in America," an elegant and valuable historical volume by J. D. Reid, just published, suggests the history of the Associated Press. It is claimed that the latter originated here, where the former found its most efficient promoters.

It is the fact that the first completed line of telegraph built by private enterprise in the United States, was that between Albany and Utica. The owners and builders were chiefly citizens of Utica. The only line of telegraph preceding this was the experimental one from Washington to Baltimore, built with an appropriation of $30,000 from Congress and opened early in 1844. Notwithstanding this line had demonstrated the practicability of telegraphic communication and had been operated under the Post Office Department for months, it was regarded by the government as a practical failure, not paying expenses. In this unpromising condition, the telegraph was adopted by private enterprise and brought to its present magnificent success.

More than a year elapsed from the completion of the experimental line when, about June 1, 1845, the following appeared in the N. Y. *Tribune:* "The citizens of Utica have completed arrangements for laying wires for the Magnetic Telegraph between Utica and Albany and the work is to be commenced at once. Negotiations are also in progress for extending the telegraph to Boston, but not completed. Mr. Kendall is now in the city with the arrangements for the Utica and Albany line all complete." The same paper, about July 30th, reported contracts for building the telegraph from Rochester to Buffalo, taken by Messrs. Livingston and Wells, and that the arrangements for lines from New York to Boston and from New York to Philadelphia "are now said to be complete."

On the 27th of August, 1845, the several contractors for telegraph lines from New York to Buffalo, viz: J. Butterfield, T. S. Faxton and H. Greenman of Utica, C. Livingston and H. Wells of

New York, met in this city, and appointed Mr. Faxton, President, and Mr. Livingston, Secretary. The telegraph, however, was then actually building and was nearly complete between Utica and Little Falls and between Lockport and Buffalo. These contractors subsequently consolidated their respective interests and formed a joint stock company under the title of the New York, Albany and Buffalo Electro Magnetic Telegraph Co.

Mr. Reid's book discloses the remarkable apathy of most business men and capitalists in regard to this great invention. It seems incredible that the small amounts* required for constructing the telegraph between the chief cities of the Union,—Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston,—should have been contributed mainly by non-residents of those enlightened centres of business intelligence and wealth.

The telegraph was completed from Albany to Utica, January 31, 1846; from Baltimore to Philadelphia, June 5; from New York to Boston, June 27; and from New York to Buffalo, September 9. The line between Philadelphia and New York was completed as far as Fort Lee—nine miles above New York on the west bank of the Hudson—January 20, 1846; but the river baffled all efforts, and over two years elapsed before complete telegraphic connection with Philadelphia was accomplished.

It is also true that the first State Associated Press originated in this city. It was the necessary sequel to the fact that the first telegraph line was opened to general business here. Nor can those who, from being then connected with the press, were obliged to invent a system for availing themselves of the advantages offered by the telegraph, claim any special merit for a contrivance which would doubtless have suggested itself to others similarly circumstanced. But the brief notice which Mr. Reid has given of the Associated Press, is so very inaccurate that it is, perhaps, a duty of this Historical Society, as a guardian of the truth, to correct his inadvertent errors. He says:

"On the 4th of July, 1846, the line having been completed between Albany and Buffalo, the idea of a State Associated Press was practically born by a call from President Faxton for a meeting of editors, by telegraph, in the various offices at that time open. This started the idea of a federation for the supply of tele-

* $10,000 from Baltimore to Philadelphia, $15,000 from Philadelphia to Ft. Lee.—The Telegraph in America, pp. 115, 124.

graphic news. The first daily reports to the press of the State were sent January 1, 1847."*

There was deposited with this Society, about three months since, a volume containing the correspondence with the proprietors of the *Utica Daily Gazette* relative to the formation of this Associated Press. This collection had passed the ordeal of two fires and escaped the greater peril of the paper-mill. It contains about a hundred letters from those who represented the daily newspaper press of the State from Albany to Buffalo thirty-three years ago, and it may become of some historic value two generations hence, when the memories of Croswell, Ten Eyck, Lacy, Northway, Smith, Oliphant, Dawson, Butts, Jerome, Foote, Jewett, Clapp, Stringham, &c., &c., have been further mellowed by age.

The telegraph was completed between Utica and Albany, as before stated, on Saturday, January 31, 1846. The first news dispatch—not "a few words," but nearly a column—appeared in the *Utica Daily Gazette* of February 3, 1846. The correspondence relative to the Associated Press begins contemporaneously and continues till the association is fully organized and in complete operation from Buffalo to Albany. The cause of the organization is also apparent. Necessity was the mother of this invention, as of many others. News dispatches—chiefly brief summaries of Congressional proceedings—had been telegraphed from Washington to Baltimore long before. But that government telegraph, like most government operations, was not a paying institution. The New York and Buffalo Telegraph was conducted on strictly business principles from the start. It offered great benefits to the local newspapers, but it required a compensation which in their then feeble condition they were unable single-handed to pay.† Hence the idea and the subsequent fact of the Associated Press. The daily newspapers in the State, west of Utica, mostly agreed to contribute to the expense of collecting and telegraphing the news from Albany to Utica, at which latter place it was printed in slips and forwarded by express in advance of the mails. Besides the proceedings of the Legislature, which were telegraphed as they

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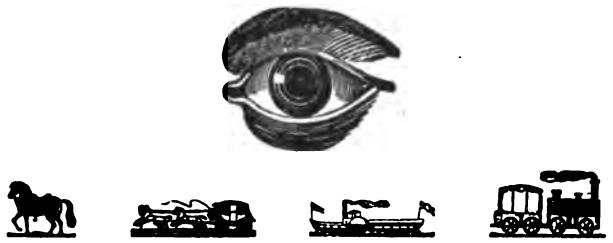
*The Telegraph in America, page 307.

†The profits at the New York office from the line to Philadelphia from January 1 to June 6, (twenty-two weeks,) were reported $293.17.—Telegraph in America, page 125. The New York, Albany and Buffalo Telegraph Company was paid $100 per week for news dispatches alone, on the completion of the line between New York and Buffalo.

occurred, and the Albany market, the dispatches consisted of a summary of news made up from the New York papers as soon as they arrived in Albany. The device of the *Gazette* at the head of the telegraphic dispatch: "the Eye, representing Ubiquity, calmly looking down upon the former swiftest modes of conveyance," the horse, stage, steamboat and locomotive—is probably remembered by some of the elder members of the Society.



When the telegraph was completed to Syracuse, June 1, 1846, the receipt and forwarding of telegraph dispatches was transferred to the papers of that city. A meeting of the editors from Utica to Buffalo was held there, to arrange matters, May 28.

The meeting of July 4, which Mr. Reid mentions, was in pursuance of the following invitation:

"T. S. F.'s compliments to the editors of all the daily papers between Albany and Buffalo: will be happy to meet them and their friends at the different telegraph stations, on the Fourth, between the hours of 4 and 5 P. M., for the purpose of interchange of sentiments."

Thus it appears that this meeting was a social gathering, of President Faxton's happy invention, to celebrate the day and the accomplishment of instantaneous communication, by the electric fluid, between Lake Erie and the Hudson river. Twenty-one years before, the water connection between the two had been magnificently celebrated, and the event telegraphed by cannon from Buffalo to New York. The *Gazette* of July 4, 1846, thus announced the more wonderful fact:

"THE HUDSON TALKING TO LAKE ERIE!

The lightning flashed through from Albany to Buffalo, 325 miles by railroad, this morning at 8½ o'clock. The Telegraph now spans the Empire State! The events transpiring at the Capital, at one end, are made known at the other extremity in 'less than no time'—from twenty minutes to half an hour before they happen.

This is the longest line of telegraph in the world. The swift messengers, upon whose wings messages are sent along the copper track, are bred in a large galvanic battery in the loft of Dudley's Triangle in this city. The fluid there generated makes a circuit of 650 miles. The only object *it* has in view is to get from one end of the battery into the other, like a carrier-dove returning to the spot where it was trained. This fiery steed, whose speed surpasses the imaginings of tales of the Genii; this mighty agent, whose sports are in the volcano and tornado; this weapon of the ancient king of heaven, forged in the infernal regions;—the utilitarian of our day approaches and says: 'I'll trouble you with a line.'"

A two-column account of Mr. Faxton's novel party was given in the next *Gazette*, entitled, "Electro-Magnetic Drama, or a Lightning Sociable," consisting of "a single act without change of scene, as these necessities of the drama do not appertain to electro-magnetic performances." In other words, time and space were annihilated.

On the 5th of August, the editors from Albany to Buffalo met in this city, and extended and perfected their association, preparatory to the opening of the line to New York city, on September 9, 1846.

LETTER OF DR. SAMUEL L. MITCHELL, 1804,

RELATIVE TO THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ITS WRITER.

BY MORVEN M. JONES.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, MARCH 2, 1881.

Samuel Latham Mitchell was born at North Hempstead, Long Island, August 26, 1764, and became distinguished as a physician and scientist, a politician and statesman, a wit and an author. He commenced his studies with his uncle, Dr. Samuel Latham, and Dr. Bard, of New York, and completed the course at the University of Edinburgh, where he graduated as a Doctor of Medicine, in 1786.

Returning to New York the following year, he studied law, but his tastes and studies finally settled him in the medical profession, and he soon arose to distinction. In 1788, he was appointed a Commissioner to treat with the Six Nations of Indians, for the purchase of lands in Western New York. In 1792 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry, Natural History and Philosophy, in Columbia College, and soon became extensively known in the field of the natural sciences, as well as of polite literature. While at Columbia College, he acquired considerable distinction as well as notoriety, in a controversy with Dr. Priestly, as to some of the theories of Lavoisier, the celebrated French scientist, who was guillotined in 1794. It is said that Dr. Mitchell dissented from Lavoisier, who was accused of treating Dr. Priestly unfairly, as to some of his discoveries, and yet this dissent led to a controversy with Priestly, which resulted in a life-long friendship. The Frenchman had succeeded in exploding the notion of phlogiston, which had, among the learned down to that period, served to clog and obscure all new discoveries, because they had accepted the old dogma, that inert fire existed in everything that would burn.

In 1796, Dr. Mitchell made a geological and mineralogical tour of the banks of the Hudson, a report of which he published, and which established his fame in this country and Europe.

Not far from this period, in connection with R. R. Livingston and Simeon DeWitt, he founded the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures and the Useful Arts, a society whose influences have been felt to this date, by its introduction and encouragement of better modes of agriculture, of finer breeds of cattle, horses and sheep, and domestic manufactures in the agricultural portions of the country.

In 1797, in conjunction with Drs. Edward Miller and Elihu H. Smith, Dr. Mitchell founded the Quarterly *Medical Repository*, which he edited for sixteen years. This was the first scientific periodical published in the United States.

In 1808, Dr. Mitchell became Professor of Natural History in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, in New York, and subsequently of Botany and Materia Medica. In 1826 this college gave place to the Rutgers Medical School, of which Dr. Mitchell became Vice President, 1826–30.

In 1815, with Drs. Hosack and Hugh Williamson, he founded the New York Literary and Philosophical Society.

Dr. Mitchell Published, 1787, "Observations on the Absorbent Tubes of Animal Bodies;" 1794, "Nomenclature of the New Chemistry" and "Present State of Learning in the College of New York;" 1795, "Life, Exploits and Precepts of Tammany, the Famous Indian Chief;" a half historical, half fanciful Address before the Tammany Society, of New York; 1801, "History of the Botanical Writers of America."

Dr. Mitchell proposed to change the name of this country to Fredonia, and in 1804 published "An Address to the Fredes or People of the United States." His eccentricities were satirized in the Poems of "Croaker & Co.," by Halleck & Drake. His wit and witticisms, not always discreet, often sharp and personal, made him extensively known and involved him in many bloodless controversies.

In 1791, Dr. Mitchell represented Queens county in the Assembly of this State, and in 1798 and 1810 he represented New York city in the same body. He was elected to the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Congresses of the United States, (1801–7,) but after his election to the latter, was elected United States Senator, which office he held until February 7, 1809. In June, 1810, he was again elected to Congress, to fill a vacancy, and was re-elected to the Twelfth Congress, (1811–13).

While he was distinguished particularly in the line of the natural sciences and polite literature, he was an active worker in the fields of National and State politics, and was no mean antagonist in the bitter partisan contests, which characterized and marred the Jeffersonian era, in our nation's history. He had a remarkable memory, and had stored it with facts and theories from the whole range of books, within the scope of his enterprise and research.

Judge Hammond, in his Political History, Vol. I, p. 215, thus speaks of Dr. Mitchell, and his election to the United States Senate: "The Legislature, after appointing Electors, (of President and Vice President, in November, 1804,) chose Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, as the successor of General (John) Armstrong, (who had been appointed Minister to France, and had resigned his seat in the Senate.) Dr. Mitchell was a learned man, and had read much. He was perfectly honest and sincere, but almost ridiculously vain. He was well acquainted with books, but knew little of men. He supported the republican party because Mr. Jefferson was its leader, and he supported Mr. Jefferson because he was a philosopher."

This was written forty years after Dr. Mitchell had become distinguished as a scientist in this country and Europe, forty years in which greater progress had been made in the inexact sciences, than in the preceding two hundred years.

Dr. Mitchell was succeeded in the United States Senate by General Obadiah German, of Chenango county, who was chosen at the Legislative Session of 1809, and at the general election in April, of that year, Dr. Mitchell was again chosen member of Assembly of this State. To prepare himself for the duties of his office, to learn the progress made in the settlement of Western New York, and the wants of the people of the interior of the State, he spent the summer of 1809 in a tour between Albany and Buffalo. On his return, he varied his route in different directions, that he might see as much as possible. He had previously visited Oswego by way of Oneida Lake and Onondaga River. During the next Session of the Legislature, (1810), various projects for canals and the improvement of the internal navigation of the State were presented. Most of these were crude and impracticable. These were all superceded by the concurrent resolutions of March 13, 1810, appointing Commissions to explore the route and procure surveys in reference to the inland navigation of the State from Hudson River to Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. As a friend of the project, which resulted in the Erie Canal, and from his

familiarity with the country as well as his reputation as a scientist, he was offered a place upon the Commission, which he declined.

At Utica, the Doctor decided to proceed with his wife and company, by boat down the Mohawk to Schenectady. On arriving at the boat station, he found only three batteaux at all fit for his purpose. Asking an explanation, he was informed that the business was so poor, the navigation of the Mohawk so slow and difficult, that most of the boats had been sent to Lake Ontario where business was good. Upon inquiring of the business men of Utica, he was informed that the unavoidable irregularity of the carrying business on the Mohawk, and occasional risk and loss, had terminated in most of the transportation business to and from Albany being done by wagons—that by wagons they could predict almost to an hour, when a load would reach Albany, and with almost equal certainty when the vehicle with its load of merchandise would be back. The Doctor and his party proceeded to Albany by land. The Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, which had constructed locks at Little Falls, and a canal across the carrying place between the Mohawk and Wood Creek had been a failure financially, having expended its entire capital and income, and large sums borrowed, and it was apparent to Dr. Mitchell that some other system, than patching up the natural water courses was, or soon would be, required to answer the wants of our increasing population in Central and Western New York.

Daniel D. Tompkins was now, (1809,) Governor of this State. The dissatisfaction with the Embargo laws of President Madison's administration, or other causes, had given the Federalists a majority of the Assembly. At that day, instead of a message, at the commencement of the session, the Governor opened the session with a speech or address after the pattern of British sovereigns in opening Parliament, and the house made a reply. The reply this year, as reported by the committee, was bitter and severe, attacking the national administration, through Governor Tompkins, and charging that we had more cause for war with France than with Great Britain.

Napoleon had agreed to revoke the "Berlin and Milan decrees" when the British should rescind their "Orders in council," and the British Minister at Washington, had entered into a treaty with our Government, that the Orders in council should be repealed on the 10th of June, but the British Government repudiated the acts of its minister, and refused to repeal or modify its Orders in council. We had then French and British parties, so called, in the

United States. The Berlin and Milan decrees, and the Orders in council were in force still in their greatest vigor at the time of this session of the Legislature in February, 1810.

To the Federal response to the Governor's speech, Dr. Mitchell offered a substitute, approving the action of Mr. Madison's administration in its attempts by the Embargo to retaliate upon the British and French Governments. Many of the strong men of the Assembly, on both sides, made speeches for and against the substitute. A prominent gentleman who heard Dr. Mitchell's argument says,* it "afforded evidence of much reading, considerable ability, and great benevolence of heart," yet he thought "it smelt of the shop." The Doctor, in speaking of preparations for war, and the resources of the country, stated that an abundance of saltpetre could be found among us. Seeming to forget himself, and as though delivering a lecture to a class of college students, the Doctor went off into a minute detail of the history of the discovery of the art of making gunpowder, and the chemical laws which governed the process, thus transforming the house into a chemical laboratory, with the members listening to a scientific discourse on the affinities of matter. The Doctor's substitute was defeated by a strict party vote.

Until the adoption of the Constitution of 1821 by this State, lotteries had been looked upon as a proper mode for raising funds in aid of educational and scientific institutions. For years Union and Hamilton Colleges shared in the funds accruing from the profits of a "Literature Lottery," with a board of managers, under a special act of our Legislature. Who among us now would recommend raising funds for any good object by this mode of gambling? To promote medical science a lottery was organized in 1815, and Dr. Mitchell, from his prominence and extensive reputation, was selected to subscribe the lottery tickets. As a curiosity of the kind, I give a copy of such a ticket:

FIRST LOTTERY.

"STATE OF NEW YORK No. 17,746.
MEDICAL SCIENCE LOTTERY.

This Ticket will entitle the possessor to such prize as shall be drawn to its number in the First Lottery for the promotion of Medical Science, agreeably to an Act of the Legislature of this State, passed March 12, 1810. Subject to a deduction of 15 per cent.

(P) New York, March, 1815. SAM'L L. MITCHELL."

Dr. Mitchell died in New York City, September 7, 1831.

*Pol. Hist., I, 283.

LETTER OF DR. MITCHELL.

WASHINGTON, January 15th, 1804.

My Dear Sir:—This will probably find you on the eve of departure for Albany. And I write it, that you may possess it as a document to enable you to converse with the more intelligence on the question of Louisiana whenever it shall be agitated, either in public or private. The information I am about to give you is derived from the highest source, in Europe, and was known to very few even at the seat of the national government, before I imparted it to them.

Our Minister at Paris had for a considerable time foreseen that the *east* bank of the Mississippi, to which he thought the views of our government were confined, would be insufficient to insure our tranquility, if an active, powerful and enlightened people occupied the *west* bank, particularly the country that lies above the river Arkansas, opposite to our western establishments.

Mr. Livingston therefore, *though without powers*, first endeavored to satisfy the people in power at Paris that establishments in Louisiana would be of no use to them, and that if they should continue to possess Louisiana, it was proper to give us all the country above the Arkansas in order to interpose us between them and Canada. He got his reflections on this subject submitted to Buonaparte the first Consul, through his brother, and notwithstanding his violent attachment to it, procured an assurance from him that some arrangement should be made satisfactory to our government on this subject, and that it should be done in America by the then intended Minister Bernadotte.

In March, 1803, he ventured upon what was considered there and may, you will easily believe, be deemed here a bold and hazardous measure. This was no less than a direct and forcible address to the first Consul personally on the subject of the commercial claims of our citizens. By this extraordinary overture Mr. Livingston obtained from Buonaparte a *positive assurance* that they should be fully and speedily paid. Having accomplished this point he began to look forward to an accomplishment, by means of it, of his other object; because he was now sure that the first Consul could not recede from his own personal promise, and in case of a war which then began to be probable, could he find any other means of discharging the debt than by a cession of country.

The spirited conduct of Congress and indeed of the Nation in the affair of New Orleans was also of use, and so strongly pressed by Mr. L. upon Talleyrand that Mr. T. called upon Mr. L. for some proposition relative to that country. Though he *was wholly unauthorized by our government*, he nevertheless ventured on the 14th of March, to make them explicitly for the east side of the river and all above the Arkansas on the west, and he received a verbal assurance a few days after, that the next day should bring him a full and satisfactory answer. It is probable that such an

answer was prepared, which all was thrown aback by the receipt of letters from Mr. Pichon assuring them "that all was quiet."

On this information they determined to wait and see whether the war with England would pass over, and whether a better bargain could not be made. But as Mr. L. continued to press the execution of Buonaparte's promise for the debt, and an explicit recognition of our right of deposit on the Mississippi the first Consul announced to Council on the 8th (four days before Mr. Monroe arrived there) his determination to sell the country to us the next day. The Minister called upon our Minister for a specific proposition the day after. The business was put into the hands of Mr. Marbois for certain cogent though delicate reasons, but as they said, out of respect to Mr. L. as his friend. Talleyrand had alarmed him by pretending that he had no particular authority to speak to him on the subject, but at the same time called upon him to say what he would give. As by this time our Minister had heard of Mr. Monroe's arrival at Havre he refused to act until the arrival of his associate; but asked why they wished him to make a proposal for the whole of Louisiana, when he had only asked for the east side of the river and a portion on the west? The Minister replied that he had asked all that was worth having, and therefore must take the whole. On this Mr. L. told him he had no objection; but would now wait until Mr. Monroe came up.

On the evening of the 12th, Mr. Monroe arrived. On the 13th, while Mr. Monroe was at dinner with Mr. Livingston, Mr. Marbois was discovered to be walking in Mr. L.'s garden. He was sent for and invited in; but he declined saying he would come in the evening. When he came he seemed to be surprised at seeing Mr. Monroe, not having, as he said, heard of his arrival. After a short visit, he departed requesting, as there was company at Mr. L.'s that our Minister would come to the Treasury that evening at eleven. He went accordingly; and there they in a formal manner discussed the whole business of the cession, which Mr. Livingston told Mr. Marbois he would communicate to Mr. Monroe. During this interview Mr. Marbois promised to procure full powers. The discussion continued until after two in the morning.

The next day Mr. L. presented Mr. Monroe to the Minister, who received him politely, but said nothing of business. The great point having been gained, to wit, the difficulty of bringing the Consul to sell, the subsequent discussion related only to the price and to matters of form. So that if Mr. Monroe had not been taken ill, and confined to his bed for ten or twelve days, (having been taken four days after his arrival) the negotiation would probably have been completed before the 20th of April.

You will easily see that the difficulties attending the Treaty were very great; and what is very remarkable it was chiefly conducted verbally and without correspondence in writing. This is the reason why so little of it has been laid before the public, and even as I understand, before the Senate. And for this reason, am I so particular in giving you what may be considered the interior and confidential history of this important transaction.

Our fellow citizens ought to understand that the most perfect accordance of sentiments has taken place between Mr. Livingston and Mr. Monroe in every measure that regarded the Treaty, and in the steps which had been taken to pave the way for its execution previous to his arrival. After that event, the principal business consisted of commercial arrangements, and the price; and in all these our Commissioners met with much candour on the part of Mr. Marbois.

In Paris, I have been informed, it is considered a most important acquisition, and has procured for Mr. L. the congratulations of the whole diplomatic corps; who knew the difficulties that were to be encountered, and were warmly and vainly soliciting the payment of their respective claims, and appreciated accordingly the success that had attended the application for ours.

Our political friends may be gratified by a knowledge of these events. The British Government has been said by some to be deserving of the merit of this negotiation. They have however no pretension at all, for Lord Whitworth declared before he left Paris that Louisiana had never been a subject of discussion between him and the French Government. This would seem to be the case on the evidence of the papers laid before Parliament by Lord Hawkesbury, who in announcing this negotiation, declared he had no knowledge of it, until it was communicated officially. And the fact appears to be, that Mr. King who made it known to his Lordship, knew nothing of it himself before it was concluded; and then communicated it by direction of our Ministers at Paris.

Before concluding, I believe I ought to mention to you, that I have, since I have been here, been spoken to and written to by our political friends, in relation to the vacant seat in the Senate of United States, so often, that I wish my friends to act as they think for the best on the occasion.

Yours, with sincerity and great respect,

SAM'L L. MITCHELL.

THE NEEDS AND PURPOSES OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY S. N. D. NORTH.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DECEMBER 10, 1878.

Such frequent inquiry is made of the gentlemen connected with the Oneida Historical Society, respecting the character of the donations needed to make its collections complete and valuable, that it seems desirable to have these questions all answered at once, and fully, in the name of the Society. The public, already convinced that this Society is to be a permanent and a live institution, shows a disposition to extend that aid and sympathy without which our hands are tied. The approach of the date set apart for the formal opening of the Society's rooms, furnishes another reason why its claims and wants should be clearly made known. In the following paper an effort has been made to express the views of the Society at large regarding its own work; and if any member has any addition, suggestion or correction to offer, it should be made freely, in order that the whole ground may be covered.

Many citizens who stand ready to respond to the appeals of the Society, have hesitated to make the gifts within their power because they are not sure that what they have to give comes within the legitimate domain of the Society. To all such, exact information will be a guide; and the Society itself may find that its collections will thus receive a coveted and valuable increase.

THE SCOPE OF THE SOCIETY.

A prevalent misapprehension as to the scope of the Oneida Historical Society should be thus early corrected. This misapprehension may have arisen from the local character of the Society's name—a localization which could not well have been avoided. Because it is "The Oneida Historical Society at Utica," it should not

be inferred that its jurisdiction is bounded by the limits of Oneida county. A historical society deals with the past; and Oneida county is a modern civil division. The original civil division of this section of the State was the county of Tryon—erected in 1772; rechristened Montgomery in contempt of a royal Governor in 1784; divided in 1791 into the counties of Montgomery, Otsego, Tioga, Ontario and Herkimer—Oneida county being erected out of the latter in 1798. It is obviously the mission of this Society to cover the entire territory embraced in the original civil division of Central New York. It is a wide field; for the boundaries of Tryon county included all the territory lying west of a line running nearly north and south through the present county of Schoharie. All the State of New York west of that line is our legitimate field. If there are, or should hereafter be, kindred institutions in cities west of us, we welcome them as coadjutors in a broad field of investigation, where the harvest will be abundant for all.

The Home of the Iroquois.

There is another and a better reason why we aim to gather within these archives the history of the territory comprised in the original limits of Tryon county. That county included the hunting grounds of the Five Nations of Iroquois, who were the owners of this soil before our fathers possessed themselves of it, and whose civil and military achievements form the only glorious chapter in the aboriginal history of America. We are at the centre of the famous "long house," within fifty miles of the spot where the council fires were held, and so directly in the home of the Oneida tribe of the Iroquois—the only one of the original Five Nations which stood by the colonists in their struggle for independence—that Utica's Cemetery Association is permitted to be the custodian of its Sacred Stone. There is no association in this country which makes it its special mission to preserve and perpetuate the history of the Iroquois. By reason of our exceptional advantages of location, that should be the special purpose of the Oneida Historical Society.

History of the Original Tryon County.

In many ways the original Tryon county is peculiarly and exceptionally interesting in a historical point of view. Hither penetrated the earliest of the Jesuit missions. Here lived and labored and died Sir William Johnson—in many respects the most

prominent figure in the colonial annals of America. Here also lived his sons and their ally, Joseph Brant, who made the Mohawk valley forever memorable as the scene of the fiercest and most relentless Indian and Tory massacre. Hither migrated the chief segment of the exiled Palatinates; and the story of their pioneer battles with the wilderness, their Revolutionary patriotism under circumstances the most perilous that tested the nerve of any colonists, with the later record of their remarkable assimilation with the American race—a story never yet fully written out—offers inspiration for song, romance and history. Here also settled one of the earliest and most important Welsh colonies in the United States; and their story is likewise yet to be written. Here were the frontier and defensive forts and castles both of the French, the Indians, the English and the colonists—Fort Bull, Fort Plain, Fort House, Fort Hill, Fort Hunter, Fort Dayton, Fort Schuyler, Fort Stanwix, Fort Oswego, Fort Brewerton. Here passed and repassed, along the watercourses, over the Indian fords and through the trackless forests, the military expeditions of French and English, until the prowess of the latter at length determined that the English race and civilization should predominate upon the continent. Here were fought the battles of Oriskany and Saratoga, upon whose fields the war for independence ceased to be a rebellion and became a revolution. Here the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company made the first attempt at artificial water navigation in America—an attempt which soon developed into the Erie canal, upon whose waters the commerce of a continent traverses from the lakes to the Atlantic. Here was the scene of the romantic adventure and the untoward fate of the Castorland Company. Here was the home, and here is the grave and the monument, of the brave Baron Steuben. Here was constructed the most famous turnpike thoroughfare in New York State. Here was tested one of the first railroads ever built, and perhaps the first trunk road. Here was organized the first express company. Here the telegraph was put to its first practical utility. Here were erected the first cotton factory and the first woolen factory chartered by the State of New York. Here the first cheese factory was built. Here were founded the second and third oldest collegiate institutions within the borders of the State, in one of which—Hamilton College—was made the only attempt to educate and christianize the savage Iroquois. Here the Holland Land Company left its impress, and here were located the most princely grants of the royal governors. Here, on the lordly acres of Gerrit Smith, were the headquarters

of the underground railroad. Here another enthusiast, in sympathy with Gerrit Smith, yet unlike him in many ways, undertook the experiment of the industrial education and failed. Here has been the home of more than a due proportion of the statesmen whose life-work is a part of the history of New York and the nation.

How the Public can Assist the Society.

We pass to the nature of the assistance this Society may justly expect to receive from the whole community of Central New York, in its endeavor to gather together the tangled threads of this network of history. 'A historical society is the proper custodian of everything that bears upon the history of the community around it. Where there is no such custodian, these several threads of local history are apt to be scattered and lost. We have had many instances of the fate of private collections. During the life-time of the collector, they are preserved and augmented. When he dies, a single generation perhaps, will respect his legacy. After that it will be carted to the auction room or the paper mill. Even in communities where historical societies exist, whatever of this character is not committed to their care, is liable to be lost, sooner or later. This statement could be enforced by many instances that have come within the personal observation of the members of this Society. Our corresponding secretary, Mr. Jones, relates that when Abraham M. Walton, who was a descendant of the Walton family of colonial New York, came to Deerfield to practice law, he brought with him a large number of documents, both private and public, of a varied and valuable character. When he died, these papers were carefully removed to the loft of a store on Genesee street. Here they remained, undisturbed and forgotten, until fire came: and most of what the fire left, the water made illegible. When the debris was carried away, several bushel baskets of these old papers were sold to the paper men, where Mr. Jones, by a happy accident, arrived in time to rescue a few remnants of parchment. There was a case in Clinton, where a lady from another town moved into a house and found upon taking possession that the garret was loaded with piles of old manuscripts, old letters, old deeds, old newspapers and old-fashioned books—the accumulation of many years and of other families. They represented nothing that was valuable to her, except the room they occupied; and upon the whole she did the most natural thing when she had the whole assortment carted into the back-yard and treated her children to a

glorious bonfire. The discovery was subsequently made that that garret had been the depository—among other things—of the manuscript sermons of Dr. Azel Backus, the first president of Hamilton College.

The Destruction of Historical Materials.

Just before the recent semi-centennial of Whitestown Seminary, a member of this Society interested in the early history of that institution visited Albany to learn from the daughter of a former treasurer what had been done with certain documents and records relating to the school, which had been in his keeping. He found that most of those records had been burned when the family moved —simply because they knew of no other disposition that could conveniently be made of them. I have recently been told of an instance in Utica where an accumulation of carefully assorted pamphlets and files in one of our oldest houses was committed to the flames, because there appeared to be nothing else to do with it. These destroyers of history are not so much to blame. Such piles of "rubbish"—so the thrifty housewife must necessarily regard them—are neither ornamental nor useful in the average American home. They are finally burned or sold, because there is no other known use to which they can be put. If the Oneida Historical Society had been in existence at the time these incendiary fires occured, these accumulations might have been committed to its care; and some of the experienced antiquarians who constitute its membership would gladly have examined them, sorting out what was valuable historically, and leaving the real "rubbish" for the old paper man.

Had this Society been founded twenty-five years earlier, its collections would now be enriched by a mass of valuable documents, vital to a true and full knowledge of our local history, which is not only destroyed, but in the destruction that knowledge has gone also. We know of instances where donations have been made to societies elsewhere because there was no society here—donations valuable anywhere, but especially valuable in a community whose history they would illustrate. Thus Governor Seymour, many years ago, presented the Buffalo Historical Society with the journals and other papers of Judge Adrian Vander Kemp—one of the noblest, and certainly the most learned of the pioneers of Oneida county. Dr. S. Wells Williams presented to the New York Historical Society the files, more or less complete, of the newspapers formerly published by his father in Utica, and known as the *Utica*

Patriot, and *Utica Patriot and Patrol.* This Society is now making an effort to secure these files from New York for its own collections. Here they will be often referred to, for innumerable purposes. There they are of so little comparative value, in the mass of materials accumulated through nearly one hundred years, that a Utica gentleman who went recently to inspect them for a purpose of his own, was unable to find them, and arrived at the conclusion that they were stored away somewhere in the cellar or the garret. Let us be thankful that this Society is at length organized, that it is so fortunately provided with a secure and commodious repository; and that it has already rescued from destruction or from a similar exile, this interesting and invaluable collection that we see about us to-day. Now that it is organized, no housewife or executor or heir in Central New York can say in excuse for applying the match to the garret collection, that they knew not where to deposit the dusty accumulations of their fathers for which they themselves have neither room nor use. In every such case, upon notification from the parties, the Oneida Historical Society will gladly send a skilled and competent agent to inspect such collections, and to bring to a safe keeping here whatever in them possesses a permanent historical value.

The Garret Accumulations.

It would not be safe to insist that all the garret accumulations possess this permanent historical value. There is on the contrary an immense amount of trash in nearly all such collections. But always, when the chaff is thus destroyed, there are some grains of wheat destroyed with it. In many instances it may require experts to separate the wheat from the chaff; and one of the purposes of this Society will be to raise up such experts from among the number of its active members. What this Society claims is, that no such destruction should be permitted until examination has been made, to discover whether something—even though it be a small thing—can not there be found, whose preservation will add to the completeness of these collections. If this suggestion will be borne in mind, instances of destruction which are occurring almost every day, can be somewhat checked. So long as the Oneida Historical Society is not invested with the power to fine and imprison every person who is guilty of such destruction, there ought to be a higher law in wholesome public sentiment that shall give the Society an opportunity to save what is valuable from the rapacious and relentless clutch of the rag man.

What the Society Wants.

For the information of all persons who may feel disposed to aid the Society in this work of preservation, the following list has been prepared at the suggestion of the Society, of the donations solicited. It has been made as comprehensive as a specific and definite statement will permit. The Society has addressed its attention especially to the collection of the following:

I.—BOOKS.

A—All books of whatsoever character, published within the limits of the territory represented by this Society.

B—All books published elsewhere by persons now or formerly resident within this territory.

C—All books relating to the history of the Five Nations, and the Indians generally.

D—All books relating to the history, the biography, the development, the characteristics, the manufactures, the commerce and the agriculture of the counties of Central New York.

E—All the publications of other historical societies.

F—All the publications of the State of New York.

G—All the publications of the United States bearing upon the history or the development of the country.

H—All other publications which relate to American history—with a view to making the local library comprehensive on all questions relating to the history of this country.

II.—PAMPHLETS.

A—All pamphlets which come under any of the above descriptions of books wanted.

B—All published sermons having either a local, historical or personal significance, and all historical and anniversary discourses.

C—Catalogues and reports of all the schools, academies, colleges, and other institutions of education or charity, within the purview of the Society.

D—All published speeches of public men within these limits.

E—All political, religious, commercial and statistical tracts and reports, published within this territory.

III.—NEWSPAPER FILES.

A—Bound files of all the newspapers that are or have been published within this territory.

B—Odd copies of old newspapers which have been preserved for any purpose, and which will be valuable to the Society in completing files.

The Society will be glad to receive unbound files of newspapers, giving in each case a guarantee that they will be properly bound, except when they are duplicates of bound files already in its possession.

IV.—MANUSCRIPTS.

A—Deeds and indentures; B—Autograph letters; C—Journals; D—Surveys and field-books; E—Muster rolls, etc.

V.—MAPS.

All old maps, of a local or general character, are acceptable donations.

VI.—PICTURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS.

A—Portraits and busts of local and historical personages.

B—Views of historic spots and structures.

C—All pictures and photographs which have a local or historical value.

VII.—INDIAN MEMORIALS.

Prehistoric and Indian remains, of every variety and description, are valuable always.

VIII.—MISCELLANEOUS RELICS.

These are the most difficult of any kind of gifts about which to give definite information. There is much matter collected under this head, with which this Society has nothing to do. But relics or mementoes which are connected in any way with the early history of a locality, or with the personal experiences of its early settlers, rarely fail to have a permanent value in the collections of historical societies.

IX.—SPECIMENS IN GEOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

All specimens which illustrate the geological formation of the territory of this Society are welcome additions to its collections; the same remark applies to all specimens which illustrate its natural history.

There may be other articles, not classified under either of the above heads, which possess something of historic interest, and such are always welcomed.

As we are making history every day, the Society is especially desirous that the publishers, authors or compilers of the current circular, pamphlet and book literature of the day shall form the habit of depositing copies with its librarian.

It will be observed that the books which the Society seeks, are as a rule, the class of books which are lightly estimated in a general or family library.

It will naturally happen, in receiving donations from a variety of sources, that duplicates will accumulate. As soon as possible, the Society will publish a classified catalogue of its collections and library. In the meanwhile, duplicates are always valuable, especially for purposes of exchange.

The ground covered above presents a wide range. The list of books alone includes a vast number of volumes, only a very small proportion of which are yet in the possession of the Society. It will be seen that the Society is anxious to supplement its library in such a way that the history of the State, the United States and the continent will be accessible on its shelves to the local student, for purposes of comparison, verification and parallel research.

The attention of residents in the Mohawk Valley and in all the sister counties which are segments of the old Tryon county, is respectfully invited to the above suggestions, in hope that they will be prompted to assist in making the Oneida Historical Society what it is intended to be—a comprehensive receptacle for the archives of all Central New York. They may rest assured of three things—first, that whatever they may send, will be cared for; second, that its individual value will be greatly enhanced, for all purposes of historical research, by association with the other collections of the Society; and third, that in the altogether improbable event of the dissolution of the Oneida Historical Society, every donation will be returned to the donor or his heirs.

Cui Bono?

In answer to the question, to what use can these collections be put, it may be said, in a word, that they are the raw material of history—the straw from which the bricks are to be made. They are the sources from which the chronicles of the community will hereafter be written. They are its protection against careless and inaccurate statement. They are the tangible evidences of the honorable achievements of our predecessors. They are the guide, by which we can best measure the achievement that will be honorable in us. This room is a school room for the growing generation, which may here acquire that knowledge neglected elsewhere—a knowledge of our own home history. They have besides a more practical utility that has already been demonstrated, not alone to the historian, but to the real estate owner, the lawyer, the politician, the editor, the man of business generally; for here facts can

be established, causes analyzed, impressions verified, doubts settled. Thus by loyalty to the past, we can serve the present and the future.

In conclusion, it should be said that the Society does not regard itself as in any selfish sense the proprietor of these collections. They belong to the public, to Central New York; and the Oneida Historical Society simply holds them in trust, for the use and the benefit of the public. It is a guardian merely; and therefore it is that the Society feels not the slightest modesty in asking and accepting donations from all who have and are willing to give. Whatever is here deposited, will be at all times accessible to the sincere student and investigator, subject only to such regulations as the safety of the collections may require.

APPENDIX.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN, MADE TO THE SOCIETY JANUARY 13, 1880.

To the Oneida Historical Society at Utica:

In compliance with your constitution, the undersigned would respectfully submit his second annual report. Confined mainly to dry details, he can not expect to present a paper which shall possess much of interest to the public; but to the active members of the Society the facts and details of my department furnish the evidences of the progress you have made, and the favor you have found with the people. During your first years, you could not decide who and how many had been induced to join your ranks and contribute to your library and cabinet, because your Society was a novelty, nor how many would prove merely "sunshine patriots," leaving for newer fields when the novelty of your first "send off" had commenced to wear off. The past year has decided the question of your continued existence. The same fidelity and activity on the part of the number, never large, who regularly attend the meetings and are at all times alive to your interests, insure the perpetuity of the Oneida Historical Society.

At every meeting during the past year many valuable donations have been made to your library and cabinet, and still there are no indications that the stores have been exhausted. The publicity given to these donations has suggested to others that they, too, had treasures—old books, newspapers, records and manuscripts, laid away and forgotten and thought to possess little or no value, but really as valuable as many which have been so thankfully received. In my attempts to arrange and find places for these articles, I have often discovered names, dates and facts which render them of much value to the future historians of your field, a field which a century ago constituted the hunting grounds, intersected by the war-paths of the Oneidas and Mohawks—yet some of the donors of these old torn, soiled, worm-eaten books and papers have almost apologized for the condition and smallness of their gifts. Central New York is yet rich in objects of this character, hidden

away in garrets, old chests and cupboards, and all that is required for their acquisition is an earnest, continued, yet polite advocacy of the claims and objects of this Society. People exhibit but little haste or enthusiasm in exposing or disposing of their old household gods.

The contents of your library and cabinet have been divided into five classes, and the following table shows the number in each, at the close of the year, since you have had a place for your treasures, and the increase during the past year:

	1879.	1880.	*Increase.*
1. Bound books,	512	829	317
2. Pamphlets,	346	644	298
3. Newspapers and periodicals,	222	268	46
4. Manuscripts, documents, maps,	227	296	69
5. Relics and works of art,	67	83	16
Total,	1,374	2,120	746

In the third and fourth classes a number may include a volume of newspapers or a single paper, a lot of an hundred or two of old letters and documents or a single article, and had your librarian been only desirous of high numbers, these could have been easily doubled.

Your librarian would here, now, in this public manner urge upon the members and friends of the Society the necessity of more room for the arrangement and exhibition of your property. To render the books useful and their stores of historical knowledge accessible, there should be room for their classification, which can not now be done. New cases for the many volumes of newspapers, now unprotected, are also a necessity. Proper cases for the preservation and exhibition of the mass of manuscripts, Indian and historic relics and mementoes would be inducements to many others to make us the custodians of their articles. The present cases may be pronounced safe, but they are deficient in room and in proper arrangement. One motive in thus bringing the wants of the Society before the public has been in the hope that public spirited citizens may see and meet those wants.

Bound Books.

The above statement shows that of these 317 have been received in the past year. Of these the most valuable doubtless are the volumes published by the New York Historical Society. Your wisdom in procuring a share in the publication fund of that Society

can not be questioned. The eight volumes, 1868–1876, (the volume for 1874 not yet published) are from original and mainly unpublished sources, inaccessible to the public. They cover the "Continuation of Chalmer's Political Annals," Governor Colden's letters reviewing and criticising Smith's History of the Colony of New York, documents relating to Governor Leisler's administration, "The Clarendon Papers," documents relating to the "New Hampshire Grants," now Vermont; Old New York and Trinity Church Papers of General Charles Lee, (3 volumes), correspondence of General Pattison, British governor of New York, 1779–80, and the Colden papers, 1760–5. To the general student these volumes are of great value aside from the many curious and strange things they contain relating to our early history. This publication fund share entitles you to all the works published from its income. You have been fortunate in receiving "The Whitney Family of Connecticut and its affiliations, an attempt to trace the descendants of Henry Whitney, of Connecticut, from 1649 to 1878," in three volumes, 4to. This is probably the most splendid and expensive genealogical history ever published in any country. The edition is but 500 copies, all for presentation, and for so generous a gift you are indebted to the author, S. Whitney Phœnix, of New York city.

Among the additions of the past year have been a fair share of useful and rare books, too many, to be even glanced at in this report. As a rule these are of a higher order and better adapted to the wants of a historical society than those received during the previous year. From one source you received over 200 volumes of United States and State public documents which are a mine for the future political student and statistician. The acquisition of a good library is a work of time, even where the books are purchased, and it is no cause for discouragement that your library is no larger or better. You have many reasons for gratification at your success. You still need the Utica directories for 1817, 1835, 1836, 1838, 1841.

Pamphlets.

Received during the past year, 298. Many of your rarest gifts have been in this modest, unobtrusive form. Ever since the discovery of printing a much larger proportion of valuable historical, political, scientific and theological matter has been given to the world in pamphlets and hidden, or become very rare, because of their liability to be lost or destroyed, than in bound books. You have many rare pamphlets, and when classified and arranged they will be sought for by students and the curious in the whole range

of literature. Of those received in the past year you are indebted to Charles L. Woodward, of New York, for more than 150, with some valuable books.

Newspapers and Periodicals.

Although the catalogue shows an increase of but 46 numbers in the past year it must not be inferred that the increase has been of but small value. Twenty-two yearly volumes (bound) of the *Triweekly National Intelligencer*, by Gales & Seaton, of Washington, are a bonanza of historical and political intelligence. They extend from January 1, 1839, to the close of 1865, (5 vols. missing). What the London *Times* is in England, so was the *National Intelligencer* during the lives of Gales & Seaton in the United States—conservative, careful and never partisan at the expense of truth or justice. You are to be congratulated upon their acquisition, which you owe to E. S. Brayton, of this city.

A few numbers of *The Club*, published by "Henry Goodfellow, Esq., & Company," an anonymous literary paper published in Utica in 1814, have been placed on your shelves. These numbers show that this was a respectable, carefully-printed periodical, filled mainly with original matter, and at least continued for several months. Yet it has seemed to pass entirely from the memory of the "oldest inhabitant."

A single number of the Whitestown *Gazette*, presented by B. Pratt Babcock, Esq., of Cayuga, Ill., a native of New Hartford, settles, forever, the question of the date of the first newspaper established in this State, west of Albany. This is No. 7, Vol. I, dated August 22, 1793, and was published by Richard Vanderburgh, "opposite the meeting-house in Whitestown." The good fortune through which this single paper was preserved and presented to this Society, also settles the question of priority between the Whitestown *Gazette* and the *Western Centinel*.

Manuscripts, Documents, Maps.

Of these, sixty-nine have been added in the past year. The undersigned has made considerable progress in arranging them in scrap-books, where they will be comparatively safe from the inroads of autograph collectors, and may be consulted and read. Some of these, and the largest and most valuable, especially those with the pendant great seals of this State attached, are very difficult of arrangement, and I would ask the best taste and skill of

the members of the Society to aid me in their proper disposition. Among the manuscripts are many of real historic interest, especially to this part of the State, while others are old, and others rank as curiosities. In the opinion of the undersigned, the most valuable original paper you possess, is a letter of two sheets, dated Washington, January 15, 1804, written by Hon. Samuel L. Mitchell, United States Senator from this State, giving, in his language, the "interior and confidential history" of the purchase of Louisiana, from France. In 1803, the United States purchased Louisiana from France, for $15,000,000. Lossing devotes fifteen lines to a history of the transaction, and other historians have been about as liberal. Robert R. Livingston, the distinguished revolutionary patriot, the friend of Robert Fulton, the patron of our culture and science, then United States Minister to France, made the purchase of Napoleon, as first Consul, and James Monroe, (afterwards president,) who arrived in France before the bargain was closed, and Talleyrand appear in the transaction. Most of the negotiations were oral, and few records were made or preserved. Napoleon wanted money and hated Great Britain. After the purchase was completed, he declared: "This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States, and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." As a valuable historical letter, I think it worthy of a place in the next volume of your transactions. This letter was presented by Henry Hurlburt of Utica.

The Vander Kemp, MSS. sermons, whether those in Dutch, delivered even an hundred years ago in Holland, or those in English, will sooner or later attract the attention of scholars and theologians. The large number of printed political addresses, handbills and circulars extending through the pre-partisan and federal and democratic-republican eras of our history, are rich in their exhibitions of the spirit, and spite of partisan politics of that period. The vulgar blackguardism and falsehoods vented upon John Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton and many other great and good men, and exhibited in some of these publications, would consign to disgrace and oblivion the utterers and authors of such things, if put forth at this day.

Relics.

The number in this class received in the past year is small, too small, and yet they are valuable. The mementoes and relics of great men, of great events, of battle-fields and historic localities,

the weapons, implements and ornaments of the Indians, although they may be of little intrinsic value, are really valuable, especially to a historical society. They contain and illustrate much of history, and need but the pens of ready writers to record that history. These things all have charms to attract the public to your association and its objects. These Indian relics are fast being gathered up by societies and individuals, and carried out of your limits, to enrich other cabinets and add interest to other societies. Primarily, they belong to you. We know that many historical documents of great value have been taken from this vicinity to historical societies in other cities, for no other reason than that no historical society existed on our field. The thirteen volumes of the original correspondence and papers of Baron Steuben, and many volumes of newspapers printed in the early days of Utica, and probably other things, were wisely given to the New York Historical Society many years ago, and before any one could have foreseen the existence of a historical society here. In modern times, many valuable papers have been taken from our field to Buffalo, Syracuse and other places. What more fitting than that your Society instead of the Buffalo Historical Society should have the papers of the late Henry R. Storrs, a man whose brilliant talents added so much and for so many years to the reputation of Oneida county, or that this Society and not the Buffalo and Syracuse societies should have the Vander Kemp correspondence and journals?

There is not a neighborhood, and in many sections scarcely a house in which there are not relics of our Indians, saying nothing with regard to those brought from distant tribes. Soon these relics of the "stone age," pre-historic relics, will have been gathered up and carried where money will not buy them. The collectors of these things are most persistent beggars, and, therefore, the members of this Society need have no fear of soiling their reputations by using all honorable means, short of petit larceny, in finding and securing anything and everything covered by the letter and spirit of your charter.

M. M. JONES,
Librarian.

UTICA, January 13, 1880.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN, MADE TO THE SOCIETY JANUARY 6, 1881.

To the Oneida Historical Society at Utica:

The undersigned in compliance with Art. XII, of your constitution, would report that the growth of your library and collections has been uniform and steady during the past year, indicating that the Society has the confidence and respect of the community in which we are placed, and of its patrons throughout the State. Your success in securing from Congress the originally promised sum, with interest, for the erection of a monument to General Herkimer, your several publications and the handsome collection of books, manuscripts, relics, &c., all as donations, have given the Society a status as one of the permanent institutions of the kind in our State. One great draw back in securing valuable donations has been the fear that, like too many similar organizations, we would soon die out and our collections be sold by our creditors and again scattered. Your inability to contract debts beyond the means on hand, and the provision that in case of misfortune, articles donated belong and shall be returned to the donors, should inspire full confidence in all those having objects of interest appropriate to such a society.

The following are the numbers upon your catalogue:

1.	Bound books,	884
2.	Pamphlets,	705
3.	Relics, Works of Art, etc.,	202
4.	Manuscripts, Documents, Maps,	315
5.	Newspapers and Periodicals,	285
	Total,	2,391

The first three heads indicate the number of those articles upon your shelves. As to Nos. 4 and 5, a number may indicate a single manuscript, map, or newspaper, or a volume or a bundle—in some instances covering an hundred letters and valuable documents.

I must have more room as soon as your funds will allow, but in the meantime I promise to make room for the safe keeping of all donations.

Respectfully submitted,

M. M. JONES,

Utica, January 6, 1881. *Librarian.*

TREASURER'S REPORT.

1880, Jan. 10.	Cash on hand,	$119 37
	Received for dues,	200 00
		$319 37
	Expenses,	60 00
1881, Jan. 4.	Balance on hand,	$259 37

HERKIMER MONUMENT FUND.*

1880, Aug. 14.	Cash from United States Treasurer,	$4,100 00
1881, Jan. 3.	Paid Wm. Ringrose, for Monument Site,	387 00
	Balance on hand,	$3,713 00

R. S. WILLIAMS,
Treasurer.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. Memorial of the Celebration of the Centennial of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877.
2. Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York. Annual Address before the Society, by Major Douglas Campbell: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome. Address before the Society, by D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society, with Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida county. Annual Address before the Society, by William Tracy: 1880.
6. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, the Paris Re-interment and Papers read before the Society: 1881.

* This is exclusive of individual subscriptions not yet paid to the Treasurer.

Papers and Addresses Read Before the Society, Since April, 1879.

9. May 8, 1879, Dr. Franklin B. Hough—"The Castorland Colony."

10. July 29, 1879, Dr. M. M. Bagg—"The Earliest Factories of Oneida and their Projectors."

11. September 23, 1879, Dr. F. H. Roof—"Johannes Rueff, a Pioneer of Oneida county."

12. November 11, 1879, Henry A. Homes—"Description and Analysis of the Massachusetts MSS., on the Removal of the Seneca Indians, in 1838, from New York to the West."

13. "The Pompey (N. Y.) Stone, with an Inscription and Date of A. D. 1520."

14. December 23, 1879, Daniel Batchelor—"The Civil, Moral and Social Condition of England and its People at the Commencement of the Reign of George III."

15. January 13, 1880, William Tracy—"Early History of Oneida county." Annual Address.

16. February 17, 1880, William H. Christian—"A Glance at the First Volunteers from Central New York, in the Early Days of the War of the Rebellion."

17. May 11, 1880, Samuel Earl—"The Palatines and their Settlement in the Valley of the Upper Mohawk."

18. July 13, 1880, Daniel E. Wager—"The Syracuse and Utica Railroad."

19. November 9, 1880, Samuel Earl—"Andrew A. Bartow and the Discovery of Water-Lime in this Country."

20. December 31, 1880, William J. Bacon—"The Continental Congress; Some of its Actors and their Doings, with the Results thereof." Annual Address.

21. March 2, 1881, Morven M. Jones—Letter of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell, 1804, Relative to the Louisiana Purchase, with Biographical Sketch of its Writer.

DONORS SINCE APRIL 8, 1879.

Abbott, Henry G., Utica.
Alsop, George, Baltimore.
Arnold, Isaac N., Chicago.
American Numismatic Society.
Babcock, H. G., Little Falls.
Babcock, Mrs. Dr., New Hartford.
Babcock, B. Pratt, Cayuga, Ill.
Bachelor, Peter, Utica.
Bacon, Wm. J., Utica.
Bagg, M. D., Utica.
Barnard, Chas. E., Utica.
Bates, Comfort, Utica.
Benham, Thos. L., Utica.
Beach, Allen C., Albany.
Boardman, D. L., Troy.
Brayton, E. S., Utica.
Broadwell, Wm., Holland Patent.
Buell, A. B., Utica.
Buffalo Historical Society.
Calverly, Wm., Trenton.
Camp, Mrs. John, Utica.
Caton, John S., Ottawa, Ill.
Cayuga Historical Society, Auburn.
Coleman, Wm. B., Utica.
Cushman, J. B., Utica.
Conover, Geo. J., Geneva.
Cunningham, Wm., Utica.
Childs, J. M., Utica.
Darling, Chas. W., Utica.
Department of Interior, Washington.
Department of State, Washington.
DePeyster, J. Watts, New York.
Doolittle, Wm. S., Utica.
Earl, Samuel, Herkimer.
Earll, J. L., Utica.
England, Wm., Utica.
Evans, David J., Utica.
Farrier, Geo. H., Mem. of Paulus Hook.
French, Wm. M., New Hartford.
Goodwin, A. T., Utica.
Gardner, M. M., Utica.
Hartley, Isaac S., Utica.
Hastings, John C., Clinton.
Henshaw, Mrs. Jane, Utica.
Hodges, E. P., Utica.
Homes, H. A., Albany.
Hurlburt, Henry, Utica.
Hurlburt, F. W., Utica.
Hutchinson, C. W., Utica.
Ingersoll, F. D., Rome.
Jennings, Rev. Isaac, Bennington, Vt.
Jones, M. M., Utica.
Jordan, John, Philadelphia.
Kernan, Francis, Utica.
Kirkland, Wm., Utica.
Mack, R. C., Londonderry, N. H.
Merrill, Mrs. B. S., Utica.
Merwin, M. H., Utica.
Maryland Historical Society.
Middlebury Vt. Historical Society.
Miller, Henry S., Albany.
Minnesota Historical Society.
Monroe, J. D., Utica.
Morrill, W. M., New Hartford.
New York Historical Society.
New Jersey Historical Society.
Old Residents Historical Association, Lowell, Mass.
Pennsylvania Historical Society.
Phœnix, S. Whitney, New York.
Prescott, C. D., Rome.
Porter, Dr. H. N., N. Y. Mills.
Rhode Island Historical Society.
Richardson, Adams & Mann, Utica.
Richmond, A. G , Canajoharie.
Roof, Dr. F. H., Rhinebeck.
Rouse, Lorenzo, Marshall.
Richards, A. E., Florence, Italy.
Rogers, Henry C., Utica.
Seymour Horatio, Deerfield.
Seymour, Norman, Mt. Morris.
Simms, Jeptha R., Fort Plain.
Silsbee, Rev. Wm., Trenton.
Secretary of State, Albany.
Stafford, S. H., Oneida.
Stanton, Elias, Kirkland.
Shull, Josiah, Ilion.
Stevens, Mr., Lowville.
Searles, Jas. H., Rome.
Thompson, James, Utica.
Trenham, Mrs. Wm., New Hartford.
Telier, F. G., Rome.
Tourtellot, Dr. L. A., Utica.
Underdown, Wm., Philadelphia.
Vermont Historical Society.
Wager, Mrs. David, Utica.
Walker, George, Utica.
Ward, C. W., Rome.
Waterloo Historical Society.
Williams, Warren, Clinton.
Wisconsin Historical Society.
Watson, J. C., Clinton.
Weed, Jas. M., Utica.
Webster, P. G., Fort Plain.
Wright, Miss, Utica.
Wright, B. H., Rome.
Williams, R. G., Utica.
Wood, Leander S., N. Y. Mills.
Wood, Mrs. Delia M., Utica.
White, Philo, Whitesboro.
Williams, S. Wells, New Haven, Ct.
Williams, H. Dwight, Saratoga Springs.
Woodward, Chas. L., New York.
Wilson, James H., Utica.
Young, David S., Lee Centre.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

ELECTED SINCE APRIL, 1879.

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Broadwell, Henry, Trenton.
Calverly, William, Trenton.
Childs, J. Morris, Utica.
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Rowley, Warren C., Utica.
Sutton, Dr. R. E., Rome.
Sturges, Edward, Utica.
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Wardwell, F. W., Utica.
Watson, J. T., Clinton.
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Wilson, James H., Utica.

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ELECTED SINCE APRIL, 1879.

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Bennett, Alfred, Hannibal, Mo.
Bigelow, Horace, St. Paul, Minn.
Burt, Bradley B., Oswego, N. Y.
Curtis, George W., Nora, Ill.
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Wright, Hon. W. W., Geneva, N. Y.

HONORARY MEMBER.

T. Whitney Phœnix, New York.

*Deceased.

ACT OF NEW YORK LEGISLATURE IN RELATION TO HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

CHAPTER 203, LAWS OF 1879.

An Act to authorize historical societies to hold real estate for preservation and monumental purposes, and to receive historical articles in trust. Passed April 19, 1879.

SECTION 1. Any historical society in this State is hereby authorized to have and hold for the purposes of inclosure, preservation and the erection of monuments, but under no circumstances for the purposes of business, the sites of old forts and battles, not to exceed six acres in one locality; and when such sites have been so appropriated and improved and used for such purposes only, they shall be exempt from taxation; and to receive donations of articles of historic interest on the condition that it shall not dispose of the same except with the consent of the donor; and that in case of its dissolution or inability to pay its debts otherwise than from its effects, the said articles shall revert to the donors or their heirs. But nothing herein contained shall be construed as authorizing the charge of any fee for the exhibition of such inclosure or structure by such historical society, or their agents.

SEC. 2. This Act shall take effect immediately.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT UTICA, N. Y.

Founded 1876; Incorporated 1878.

1881-1884.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT UTICA,

1881-1884,

CONTAINING

THE WHITESTOWN CENTENNIAL, WHITESBORO'S GOLDEN AGE, WAGNER RE-INTERMENT, OLD FORT SCHUYLER CELEBRATION, AND DEDICATION OF THE ORISKANY MONUMENT.

UTICA, N. Y.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
ELLIS H. ROBERTS & CO., PRINTERS.

1885.

The narrative portions of this volume are taken principally from the full and accurate reports published in the UTICA MORNING HERALD *at the respective times of the transactions contained therein.*

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*1877—RUTGER B. MILLER.
*1880—OTHNIEL S. WILLIAMS.
*1881—THEODORE S. FAXTON.
*1884—DEWITT C. GROVE.
*1877—STORRS BARROWS.
*1878—ALEXANDER S. JOHNSON.
*1881—JOHN H. EDMONDS.
*1883—PHILO WHITE.
*1884—POMROY JONES.

"The Whitestown Country."

1784--1884.

Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Whitestown June 5, 1884.

WHITESBORO'S "GOLDEN AGE."

THE WHITESTOWN CENTENNIAL.

PRELIMINARY.

At a meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, held April 10, 1883, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

As the fifth day of June, 1884, will complete a century of years since the arrival at Whitesboro, for the purpose of residence, of Hugh White and family, which was the beginning of the first permanent settlement of Oneida County and "the Whitestown Country," it seems fit and becoming in the people of this region to mark the centennial with appropriate observance; and if deemed advisable that it be observed with public addresses and other ceremony, in honor of the heroic men who, throughout the territory, opened the way for their successors, it seems also fit that the Oneida Historical Society should take the initial steps toward the accomplishment of this purpose, therefore

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to confer upon the advisability of such public celebration, and, in case of approval, upon the proper mode of conducting the same, and that they report thereon at the next regular meeting of the Society, said committee to consist of Hons. Samuel Campbell, D. E. Wager, Amos O. Osborn and William M. White and S. N. D. North, Esq.

At the regular meeting of the society, held May 8, 1883, the above named committee reported favorably of a public celebration of the centennial anniversary, to be held at Whitesboro; recommended that a memorial shaft be erected near the first dwelling of Judge Hugh White, which shall be unveiled on the occasion; that the literary exercises consist of a historical address and a dedicatory address, and also of a poem; that the exercises conclude with a collation for invited guests, to be followed by brief addresses and reminiscences; that the Historical Society appoint a committee,

BURTON HIST. COLLECTION

broader in its embrace than its own membership, and large enough for subdivision, which shall have charge of the arrangements for the celebration, raise the necessary funds and carry out the programme, independent of the Historical Society; and lastly for the accomplishment of these purposes, they recommended the following committee, viz.:

Samuel Campbell, Chairman, of Whitestown.
Wm. D. Walcott, of Whitestown.
L. L. Wight, of Whitestown.
George Williams, of Whitestown.
George Graham, of Oriskany.
Rich. U. Shearman, of New Hartford.
Wm. S. Bartlett, of Clinton.
John L. Dean, of Westmoreland.
A. P. Case, of Vernon.
D. G. Dorrance, of Oneida Castle.
A. O. Osborn, of Waterville.
D. E. Wager, of Rome.
A. C. Kessinger, of Rome.
Luther Guiteau, of Trenton,
Fred. G. Weaver, of Deerfield.
Wm. M. White, of Utica.
A. T. Goodwin, of Utica.
John F. Seymour, of Utica.
C. W. Hutchinson, of Utica.
M. M. Jones, of Utica.
Ellis H. Roberts, of Utica.
D. W. C. Grove, of Utica.
A. L. Woodruff, of Utica.
Thos. Foster, of Utica.
M. M. Bagg, of Utica.
Theo. S. Sayre, of Utica.

The committee's report was approved and adopted.

Without further action on the part of the society, preparation for the celebration was taken in hand by the committee, assisted by local sub-committees of their appointment; every portion of the programme was provided for, and when the day arrived was most successfully carried out.

THE CELEBRATION.

On the 5th of June, 1884, the beautiful village of Whitesboro, the seat of the day's festivities, presented its most attractive appearance. Its long, wide main avenue, lined with commodious residences and spacious grounds, and embowered by noble old trees, rich in midsummer foliage, gave the centennial settlement that peculiar charm which recalls its New England lineage. The day was exceptionally pleasant. The whole village was gay with holiday attire in which its hospitable citizens had decked it, in honor of the Whitestown birthday.

The guests from the surrounding country soon began to arrive. They came on the street cars of the Utica and Whitesboro railroad, by the canal steamers and the trains of the New York Central, while a continuous stream of vehicles occupied the roads leading to the ancient county seat.

The literary exercises of the day were conducted on a large platform, suitably decorated, standing in the center of the public "Green" fronting the old Court House. That noted edifice, now the Town Hall, swarmed with visitors registering their names, and busy directors. At the sides of the park the ladies of several of the churches had erected tasteful booths amply provided with refreshments for the thirsty and hungry.

The monument was the center of observation throughout the day. It stands near the middle of the north side of the park. It is a symmetrical shaft of Quincy granite, rising nearly thirty feet from the base, having on the north face a polished shield in relief, bearing the inscription,

TO COMMEMORATE
THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF WHITESTOWN
BY HUGH WHITE AND FAMILY,
JUNE, 1784.

On the base is the lettering,

"ERECTED 1884."

The monument cost about $1,500. The additional expenses of the celebration raised the amount to about $2,100. Of this amount William M. White contributed $500, and members of the White family $500 more. The remainder was raised through the personal solicitation of Thomas Foster and other members of the committee, and was contributed by about a dozen persons.

The space within hearing distance of the platform was occupied by benches, where comfortably seated under the shade of the trees, the assembled throng listened with the closest interest to the addresses and poem. The platform was occupied by Hon. Samuel Campbell, President Dunham, the speakers, members of the committee and many ladies.

About a hundred carriages lined the park, and from three to four thousand persons were present.

The Whitestown band, carrying fourteen pieces, furnished the music of the day, assisted by the Oriskany Cornet Band of fifteen pieces. Both bands were uniformed in blue and buff. The New York Mills band also contributed their share of the music.

At 11.20, Chairman Campbell called the assemblage to order. The exercises were opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. D. G. Corey, of Utica, who for 44 years has been pastor of the Bleecker street Baptist Church.

Hon. Charles Tracy, of New York, was then introduced and delivered the historical address, which was most attentively listened to, the old settlers crowding up the steps of the stand to hear.

THE HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

BY HON. CHARLES TRACY.

A hundred years! How such a period marks the earth and its people with changes. It sweeps away three generations, and hardly does one man who breathed at the beginning of the grand cycle live five score years and watch its ending.

On a bright day in June, 1784, Hugh White, ascending the Mohawk river in a boat, reached the mouth of the Sadaqueda Creek and there landed, at the spot since known as the Point. With some of his sturdy sons he stepped into the vast forest stretching north, west and south to the bounds of the State of New York, unbroken by any civilized settlement, without a natural prairie, and hardly opened to the sun except by a few scattered patches of Indian clearings. But they came to stay, and did stay. The fourth, fifth and sixth generations of his line witness to-day the centennial of that landing and the due honors rendered to those whose dust rests in peace in the fair land they won and reclaimed and beautified.

This hundred of years includes three-eighths of the whole period from the first landing of English emigrants on the American coast down to the present day.

The bold settlement of Manhattan Island by the Hollanders, and the establishment of their colonies along the Hudson and a part of the Mohawk, attracted emigrants from their own country and from Germany, before the British succeeded to the government; but after the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam had become the English province of New York, the difference of language hindered the infusion of British emigrants among the people. At the breaking out of the revolution the Hollanders in the valley of the Mohawk extended not many miles above Schenectady, from whence up to German Flats and Frankfort there were only Germans speaking their native tongue. The two peoples in the valley were similar in character and habits, and were in mutual friendship, but their dialects differed, and were distinguished as low Dutch and high Dutch. They held a region of remarkable fertility and beauty on both sides of the river, and there they cut down the woods, made roads and bridges, built houses and

churches, and cultivated their fruitful fields; and in the winter, when sleighing came, they "rode" their wheat to the town on the Hudson, now the city of Albany. They were in comfort, and were contented.

But the great struggle of the Revolutionary war, and its wonderful success, aroused a spirit of enterprise throughout the union, and, as soon as peace was proclaimed thousands of New Englanders were ready to go beyond the existing Mohawk paradise, and attack the primeval forest, which, as they had heard, covered a broad area of rich soil. Hugh White was the man fitted by nature and chosen by providence to take the lead in this great enterprise. He was a substantial farmer of Middletown, Connecticut, fifty-one years old, with good habits, perfect integrity and ample vigor, promptitude, courage and mental force.

Things were prepared for his hands. One Hugh Wallace had held a tract of 6,000 acres by grant from the British provincial government, sometimes known as Wallace's patent. It lay in this valley, extending from the mouth of the Sadaqueda, at the Point, along up the Mohawk river and back from it on each side, including a remarkable combination of interval with higher level plains and gently rising hills. The Indian title to this land had been lawfully acquired by purchase under the sanction of the provincial government, according to the just and honest course of dealing with the Indians which always prevailed from the days of the first Dutch emigration. Wallace was a merchant in the city of New York, and a member of the British governor's council. The Americans once "apprehended" him; but after holding him prisoner in Connecticut for some time Governor Turnbull released him, and he returned to New York and resumed his seat in the council. His being a clear case of treason, the New York State Legislature, in the midst of the war, on the 22d day of October, 1779, passed a special act in which his name was included with some other like offenders. It opens thus: "Whereas, during the present unjust and cruel war, waged by the King of Great Britain, against this State, and the other United States of America, divers persons holding or claiming property within this State, have voluntarily been adherent to the said King, his fleets and armies, enemies to this State and the said other United States, with intent to subvert the government and liberties of this State and the said other United States, and to bring the same in subjection, to the crown of Great Britain; and whereas the public justice and safety of this State absolutely require, that the most

notorious offenders should be immediately hereby convicted and attained of the offense aforesaid, in order to work a forfeiture of their respective estates, and vest the same in the people of this State." It then proceeds to enact that certain persons named, among them being this Hugh Wallace, "be, and each of them are hereby severally declared to be, *ipso facto*, convicted and attainted of the offense aforesaid; and that all and singular the estate, both real and personal, held or claimed by them, the said persons severally and respectively, whether in possession, reversion or remainder, within this State, on the day of the passing of this act, shall be, and hereby is declared to be, forfeited to and invested in the people of this State." It further enacted that all said persons be forever banished from this State, and that if any one of them should ever be found in this State "he should suffer death without benefit of clergy."

Thus Wallace's patent became the property of the State of New York by the best title known to the law.

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, the State, by its Commissioners of Forfeitures, sold this tract of land to Zephaniah Platt, Ezra L'Hommedieu, Melancthon Smith and Hugh White jointly, and the property became better known as Sadaqueda Patent, thus taking the name of the beautiful stream already mentioned.

The Indian name of this creek signifies "the stream of smooth pebbles," and the savages pronounced it Saghdaguaite. The French, who first wrote it, in their usual way shortened the name into Sauquoite, and pronounced it Sow-quait. The English afterwards wrote it and pronounced it Sadaqueda, and so it appears in maps and deeds through a long period. More recently the custom has been to use the French spelling but to apply to it an English pronunciation, and "*Saw-quoit*" prevails.

Platt, L'Hommedieu, Smith and White divided the land between themselves. As Mr. White agreed to be the pioneer and settle on the ground, he was justly favored in the division, both as to choice of location and as to price, and he wisely chose the eastern part, taking in the creek and its valleys and plains on both sides from the Point up to site of New York Mills, and he also purchased other grounds on the west side of his allotment; so that his possessions took in the "Green" where we now stand, and a valuable part of the site of this village and the graceful hills that rise on its borders.

It is now full five score years since Hugh White thus entered

upon his portion of the land. In the following year, 1785, he brought hither all his family and set up his home. The annual spring freshet of 1785 having surrounded the place near the Point, where he landed in 1784, he chose a spot on the plain near where we now are, and put up a temporary dwelling, which afterwards was succeeded by a substantial frame house, sided with boards brought from Schenectady. The soil about the house he cleared of every tree and shrub, except three maple saplings which had grown there from wild seed, and as he afterwards used to say, they were then not bigger than his whip stock. These were left to grow into shade trees. Their irregular positions and unequal distances show they never were planted by the hand of man, but they stand there now in nature's order, three remarkable trees, with an average diameter of three feet. Although a century has made its marks on their trunks and tops, and although they were bored for the sap and yielded sugar in many successive years, and one of them has lost so much timber that it looks now like a crippled giant, trying to stand on his last leg and keep up till the coming of this day's rejoicing, yet they are in full leaf to-day and retain some remnant of the beauty for which thousands have admired them. The old farm house has been transformed, but these three venerable sugar maples stand before us as living witnesses of the olden time. (See note A.)

Hugh White's house on this plain was built on the Connecticut model, which differed widely from that of the Dutch. The Dutch house had a long front, with less depth, a chimney at each end rising above the high gable and a roofed piazza along the front called by them a "stoop"—a word of theirs which has now become American. The Connecticut house had nearly a square form and a large chimney stack in the middle. To this day the former lingers in the lower valley, and some of the latter remain in Whitestown. The two styles distinguishable at a distance, show whether a Dutchman or a Yankee was the builder. The Tory refugees who sailed from New York harbor, in the autumn of 1783, were of both the races; and in the valley of Annapolis, in Nova Scotia, where King George gave them lands for their consolation in adversity, the tourist of to-day may see how the two races followed their respective old usages in the style of their dwellings.

Mr. White and his sons proceeded with diligence to cut away the forest and convert their possessions into farms. The soil was absolutely perfect, yielding crops in quantity and quality far beyond their New England experience.

In later days botanists found that the native flora between the Oriskany and Sadaqueda creeks was remarkably extensive and interesting.

News of White's settelement in this goodly region was not slow in spreading through his native land. Farmers who had worn out plows and hoes among rocks and stones, with scant reward, welcomed the thought of a soil freely worked and yielding better crops. One of the original brown bread eaters of the east inquired, among other things, whether those wondrous lands bore good rye? and White answered, "I don't know: wheat is good enough for me." The war had left the country much wasted in regard to its material condition, but rich in active men, and a flow of emigration soon started hitherward. The only accessible place where good wild land could be found in this State, was west of the German settlements on the Mohawk, and hence this patent was the natural point of pursuit. The Mohawk valley, with its navigable river and its roads, formed the only practicable line of approach, and thus White's settlement was the very key of the position. Hither they came, first from Connecticut, next from all New England, with some from Long Island and New Jersey, followed later by people of the Old World. Soon there were farms, houses, mills, and villages, at attractive points for a hundred miles westward. Later came the era of turnpike roads, which helped much in the teaming over a soft deep soil. The river was used only the more for freighting. The movement went on without check or slackening, and the new country became an established and permanent reality.

The Oneida Indians were a friendly people. They came often to see what was going on in the new settlement and to do a little traffic. Mr. White was always kind and wise in his intercourse with them, and prompt to decide and act. One of their chiefs after a few years' acquaintance craftily put his confidence to a hard test. This chief after some palaver with avowals of his great esteem, asked for a loan of Mr. White's baby granddaughter, promising to bring her back in a few days and in the meantime to take good care of her. "Take her," said White, "I know you will do as you say." The mother's tears and bursting heart resisted in vain. The little one was picked up by the squaws, and soon was out of sight in the woods. There were long hours by day and longer by night while the child's place was empty. But at last the chief proudly came again, with a procession of squaws, bringing the child, well and happy, bound in a frame like a pap-

poose and glittering with Indian finery and trinkets. From that hour Hugh White was worshiped by the Oneidas.

Years afterwards, when Whitesboro was an established and beautiful village, and the Oneidas had withdrawn from its vicinity, there still was to be seen occasionally a tall, slender Indian marching down in the middle of the street, followed by his family in single file, he bearing no load but a long, fresh, spear shaft which he held perpendicularly, his form erect, his step high, his air proud; the women in blankets, bearing on their backs large packs held by bands across their foreheads, walking bent and parrot-toed; the younger ones falling into the file behind. It was charming to look upon such a party on its way to the fishing grounds. But when the expedition had become wearisome and the fishing was over, and the visit to the shore had ended in drunkenness and begging, they slank back homeward by twilight or through wood paths, straggling and shabby.

Until 1784, the greater part of the State was included in Tryon and Schenectady counties and the Hudson river counties, and Long Island and Staten Island were the exceptions. But there was no actual government or civil organization by towns anywhere west of German Flats. In that year the Legislature changed the name from Tryon to Montgomery county, by a statute passed April 2, 1784, but set up no township government. Thus on the first landing at the Point in June, 1784, this patent was in the county of Montgomery. Four years afterwards the necessity of a regular government for the many and fast growing settlements became apparent. The Legislature by an act passed March 7, 1788, among other things, created the town of Whitestown in the county of Montgomery. This town was laid out on a magnificent scale. Its eastern boundary was a straight line crossing the river a short distance below Genesee street bridge, at a log house then standing there, and running thence due north to the River St. Lawrence, and also due south to a small stream near Pennsylvania and down that stream to the Pennsylvania line. All parts of the State lying west of that line were constituted the town of Whitestown. It contained more then twelve million acres of land, navigable head waters of the Mohawk, the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Ohio, the salt springs of Onondaga, the chain of little lakes and Oswego river, the entire valley of the Genesee with its upper and lower falls, and also the grand cataract of Niagara. Its frontage on great lakes and rivers was not short of four hundred miles in length.

The map now shown is the ordinary map of the State published the present year, 1884. Red ink has been added to show the bounds of the town in 1788. It goes now into the collection of the Oneida Historical Society. Within the original limits of Whitestown there are now a dozen cities, our own Utica being the eldest and by far the most handsome and attractive; and half as many colleges, our own Hamilton being first and leader; and more than a million of inhabitants and untold wealth.

The original town did not long retain its vast dimensions. In 1789 a slice was cut off at the west end to make the county of Ontario. In 1792 the towns of Steuben, Westmoreland, Paris, Mexico and Peru were set off; but the autonomy of Whitestown, with its town meeting, justices, clerk and elections, never ceased. Utica was set off in 1817, and New Hartford in 1827. The residue remains nearly as it was in 1806, when Peleg Gifford made his survey and published his map.

In 1791 Herkimer county was created. It included nearly the whole of Montgomery county west of Little Falls, and Whitestown was its county seat, in which the first court was held. Ten years afterwards Oneida county was created, taking in the greater part of Herkimer county. In this instance the name for the new county was determined by a little gathering held here. It was a Whitesboro man who proposed to depart from the usual custom and take the name of the Indian tribe, the original people of the region still dwelling around the New England settlements; and thus came the smooth and graceful style of Oneida county. This good example was followed in other cases.

Hugh White, the pioneer, was not a seeker of public position. He once was appointed justice of the peace; and afterwards the governor appointed him one of the judges of the county, and he served several years as such judge, with approbation and honor. Age at length inclined him to retirement and quiet.

The last summons found him at his post. On the 16th day of April, 1812, while those three maple trees were putting forth their buds for the season, Judge White, on his own domain, peacefully yielded up his breath, in the eightieth year of his age. His, venerated widow seventeen years afterwards, at the same season, passed away in the eighty-seventh year of her age.

This village early took the name of Whitesboro. Its broad avenue was made by voluntary cessions, enlarging the width beyond the original four rods of a country road to a full one hundred feet, and was early planted with shade trees on each side.

The first church was reared by "The United Society of Whitestown and Utica," on the site of the present brick church. Although it was a wooden building, it was well designed by a competent amateur architect, divided by columns into nave and aisles, with Roman arches, tall windows, a pulpit with sounding board above, a music loft, a graceful belfry and a bright tinned steeple. The carpenter may have failed in some details, but the result was comely, and for a long period it was an attractive structure. A sweet bell, added in due time, was rung at six o'clock to arouse the sleepers, at noon it called to dinner, and at nine in the evening its tongue spoke to all visiting beaux a hint for parting. The organization was Presbyterian—the settlers thus taking a departure from the Congregationalism of their ancestors.

Some, perhaps many, who in youth heard the gospel in the old church, but afterwards felt the spell of worship in grand cathedrals, still held that handsome wooden church in pleasant memories, and sighed when they learned that it was gone.

The Baptists early had a church, and a strong following and influence for good.

The minister and the schoolmaster early appeared, and exercised benign influences. Yet there came a need for court house and jail. The former displayed the union flag while the court was in session, and the sheriff, wearing a cocked hat and girt with a sword, followed by constables holding aloft their long black rods, marshaled judges, jurors and counsel as they went in procession from their quarters to the temple of justice.

Nor were the lawyers idle. This town furnished to the Court of Errors in 1805, the first chancery case in the State on rights in a stream of water, as affected by occupation and by unwritten agreements between the proprietors of adjacent lands. In 1809 this village gave the Supreme Court its first case in the law of escapes. The jail liberties here, which were free to imprisoned debtors, were so established that a certain sidewalk was within the liberties, but a certain roadway was not. A prisoner, strolling on a winter day, found this sidewalk encumbered with a snow drift, and he stepped out into the roadway and walked there a few rods; and the sheriff being sued for this as an escape, was condemned to pay the creditor the whole amount of the judgment, being over $5,000. Each of these cases was argued ably by Whitestown counsel, was considered by the courts with care and fully reported. Many authorities were cited, but all were from English authors, or decisions of English courts. Not a New York

nor American case or authority was referred to; and probably because there was none in existence, touching such questions.

This village early had its weekly newspaper, and was a place of much traffic. But the Utica settlement having advantages in position, in that the high ground there reached to the shore of the river and always gave a dry landing place, finally outgrew Whitesboro; and yet for a long time this spot was not without its merchants who sold both at wholesale and retail, and made shipments to New York of potash, otter skins, beaver skins, and other products of the country.

When the time came for emigration to regions west of this State, the best and almost the only line of travel was by the valley of the Mohawk and through Whitestown. Then could be seen passing along this street the emigrant wagon, covered with a high canopy of sail-cloth, carrying wife and little ones, and furniture and food for the journey; the father and boys following behind and driving a few cows and sheep; all slowly making their way, the canvas marked in large capitals "Ohio." In later years the label was "Indiana." This was a frequent and interesting sight, and it is still repeated on some of the plains of the far west, near the Rocky mountains, where the white and spectral canvas, seen from afar, is called "the ship of the prairie."

Things have changed here; but still the best line for passing from the eastern coast of the United States to the western world must be through the valley of the Mohawk, and the plains of old Whitestown, which line divides the Allegany range as does no other between Vermont and Florida. (See note B.)

Among the neighbors of Hugh White were many who had served in the Revolutionary war, and some who bore arms in the earlier war between the English and the French. One, at least, was a soldier in a Connecticut regiment of volunteers and fought at Louisburg in 1745,—an extraordinary battle, where the New England troops landed at the shore without artillery, and attacked and carried a strong fort, well supplied with cannon and fully garrisoned; and there was one who helped in the same French wars to make the "Mud bow." Coming up the Mohawk in boats, and finding near Sadequada point a long curve in the river which swept around and made a circle, they stopped an hour or two and dug with their oars across the little neck and let the river tear through the soft earth and make a new channel. Their intention was thus to shorten their voyage a whole mile, for their convenience in case of being driven back by the enemy. This

mile of water was soon separated from the river by the deposits of the stream, and it remained a curved pool with the name of the Mud Bow.

An early emigrant long afterwards narrated how he first arrived here. It was in 1789, and the day of company training; and on this green, where the stumps were then burning, Hugh White was drilling about 27 men simply uniformed and bearing muskets, and his son Daniel C. White, was drilling 17 riflemen, who wore hunting shirts made of tow cloth with a ravelled fringe.

Long afterwards, when an emergency of the war of 1812 required the whole mass of the militia of this region to proceed to the northern frontier, they went forth under a Whitestown general, the strongest company being from this town and mustering nearly 150 men. The campaign was a weary one. There were long marches in the mud, leaky shelter in camp under constant rains, and not much fighting to be done. The bayonets always think. When the men concluded that they had served long enough, and had done their duty, and it would be of no use to stay any longer, there began a dispersion, some going home singly, and then some in small parties, and in one case a captain deliberately marching off his company in a body. The battalions were depleted; but the Whitestown company held on and finally constituted a majority of the regiment to which it belonged.

The war being ended, the court martial began to deal with the alleged deserters, and for some fifteen months went on with trials, when it was suddenly discovered that there was a fatal defect in the constitution or organization of the tribunal, and the court, not having yet pronounced any judgment, gracefully dissolved, and no officer or man was condemned.

Years after, on a general training day of the 134th regiment held here, at the noon resting time, there was a debate as to the chances of a shower in the afternoon, when some one asked the oracular major for his opinion on that point. Without looking at the clouds he promptly responded with ringing voice: "It never rains anything but blessings on the old hundred and thirty-fourth."

Some are here now who remember a day during the war of 1812, when a large body of British troops in red coats were marched as prisoners through this street, on the way to the seaboard for exchange; and also the illumination at the peace of 1815, when the windows of the village glared with lighted candles.

The rule of the road, "Turn out to the right," is as firmly fixed in the popular mind as if it came down with the old common law.

But the regulation in England was, and is, to turn out to the left. In this State there was no old or established law or custom in that regard. The roads were generally narrow and bad, and the behavior of drivers depended mainly on their characters. When the roads along the Mohawk and to the west became much used the trouble of meeting and passing became serious. There arose debates and fights between teamsters. The highway became both a necessity and a terror. Thereupon the legislature in 1801, recognizing that the loads going towards tide water usually were far the heaviest, passed a statute requiring that on the roads leading from Schenectady up the Mohawk and on to Canandaigua, all teams going west should give the road to teams going east. This worked some good, but after a little practice, any teamster who was tugging west with a full lading of imported goods, found it not easy to see the propriety of yielding the whole road when he met a wagon bearing only man, wife and baby, or an empty ox cart. Hence arose collisions, law suits and lasting quarrels. At length the legislature interposed again, and by a general law, passed in 1813, required that on all public roads in every part of the State, when teams met, "each must seasonably turn to the right of the center of the road." Such is the law now, and this sensible rule has spread through the United States. In this instance, the law was actually founded on reason.

In 1802 a clergyman from New England, traveling in this region, sent home his journal. He speaks of passing through this place, and adds: "It would appear to you, my friend, on hearing the relation of events in the western country, that the whole was a fable, and if you were placed in Whitestown," * * * "and saw the progress of improvement, you would believe it enchanted ground." He also wrote: "The original Whitestown appears to be the garden of the world." He also sent home a map of this village, made by himself, on which some buildings now standing may be recognized.

A distinguished emigrant from Long Island, who settled some distance hence, used to say that if ever there was a garden of Eden, it must have been here.

This name of Whitestown clung to the whole region from here to Lake Erie and Ontario for a long time. As late as 1827 a celebrated lecturer on geography used to say that the eastern and southern parts of New York, like his own New England, had a poor soil, except in a few valleys, but that when you came to "the Whitestown country," there was a vast area of greatest fertility.

In sight of the beautiful farms now around us, it is best not to forget the time when the great stumps of the forest held out and were a tiresome disfigurement of the landscape, and it was a rare and pleasing thing to look on a ten acre lot which was perfectly free of them.

They who first broke the forest here were not paupers, but for the most part were men of small means, large courage, industry and hope. The story of many was briefly hinted by one of their natural orators, in the westerly parts of Oneida county, on his addressing a jury of his neighbors, and appealing for their confidence. His defense was opened thus: "Gentlemen of the jury. Twenty-five years ago I came across Fish creek with my axe on my shoulder and forty dollars in my pocket, and went to work in the woods. I have grown with your growth and strengthened with your strength. Now how is it? You know my house and my farm and my stock, and you don't know a man to whom I owe a dollar. I am one of yourselves, and can have no object in deceiving you; and I swear to you, gentlemen, that my client here, Jeemes Smith, is an honest man; and an honest man is the noblest work of God."

Pioneer life did have its hardships, and many a toiling man and woman came to the bent figure and trembling hand of old age before passing threescore years. But their children, born and bred on the spot, were erect and robust.

There were times when meat was lacking. Once, after such a period of want, there came immense numbers of wild pigeons, furnishing both abundance and luxury for several weeks. It was then deemed prudent to preserve pigeons' breasts by packing them in salt, in view to another scarcity. This was done, and when the famine of meat came again, the stock of cured provisions was broached; but it was found that the salt had struck in quite too well; and one who messed with Judge White in those days, afterwards said that in spite of soaking and extra boiling, the article was much more salt than pigeon.

This village on the other hand gave to the country the most beautiful, fragrant and delicious of fall pippins; the widely known Lowell apple. The original seedling tree stood for some seventy years in a garden at this village, and bore fruit in its old age. Its stump remains *in situ* under a beautiful green house, its fitting shelter and monument. The river also contributed an occasional luxury, yielding to fisherman the Mohawk pike, celebrated for its delicious quality.

Among the people here from the first there never was a time when Yale and Harvard were not represented, and every generation has furnished its full quota of professional men as well as farmers, merchants, mechanics, engineers, manufacturers and bankers. DeWitt Clinton, in his "Letters of Hibernicus," said of one of the early settlers from the old world, that he was "the most learned man in America."

In this connection let it not be forgotten that a part of Whitestown, now in New Hartford, was owned jointly by George Washington and George Clinton. One of the deeds, on the sale of part of that property, signed by them both, and acknowledged before James Kent in 1796, is preserved in the collections of the New York Historical Society.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to display the names of those who have held public position and won renown by genius or attainments. This has been done well by others, and can be done again, for the theme is not half exhausted. The transformation of the Whitestown country of 1784 into that of 1884 has been wrought mainly by toil and labor. The forest trees fell before the blows of axes wielded by hard hands. The roads were made, the houses, barns and fences were built, and the fruit trees were planted mostly by a host of plain men, abounding in strength and will. It was a long work and more than one generation shared it. The result is a vast cultivated region full of life's comforts, possessing all the material requirements for education, religion, society, refinement and happiness. Without now listing the fortunate few who received the decorations of distinction, it is fair to think deeply of the rank and file who did the work of these hundred years, and standing near the dust of these true toilers, to feel that the world was not made for Cæsar.

It seems not long ago when the Union demanded soldiers, and young men of this region with rifle in hand followed the flag through march and battle, not loving their lives, even unto death, for the good cause. It was a proud day for the sons of Oneida county, when in 1861 its first quota of volunteers passed through the city of New York, and bearing a flag there presented to them by emigrants from this county, marched to the front; and it was a sad but yet proud day when the fourteenth regiment passed the same place again on its return from many battles, bearing the same flag, the ranks thinned by losses, but covered with honor.

The dead of that mortal struggle for national existence, popular government and liberty, piously brought home and laid in the

earth by the side of their fathers, gave to every burying ground in the land a new and holy consecration.

There is no prophet now who can lift up his voice and tell what will be here when another century has passed and we all have turned to dust: no seer whose eyes can pierce through the long vista and descry the scenes beyond.

May the Mighty and Loving Father who made this land of fertility and abundance, and in the fullness of time called our progenitors into its possession, abide with their descendants and successors to all generations.

NOTE A.—The appropriate inscription placed on Judge White's monument about sixty years ago was drawn up by a young man. In his draft there was a glowing passage about "making the desert to blossom as the rose," but his senior, who had been here from the early days, struck out that passage as smacking of fiction, and remarked, "the Judge would not allow so much as a rosebush about his house." The three sugar maple trees were the only exception to the destruction he waged upon all wild growth of tree or bush. Nor was this strange. The necessary fight against forest and thicket inspired a hostile sentiment which made it a joy to wield the axe against the common enemy. Those who tried to save here and there a grand old tree, for its beauty or its useful shadow, usually were disappointed. The shallow roots of a tree full grown in the dense woods proved insufficient to sustain it when standing alone, deprived of the clinging net work of forest roots, and exposed to the winds which swept across the open clearing. Young trees, left or planted in open fields, and there passing their youth, adapted themselves to circumstances, and with grapplings deeper sunk in the earth and forms less lofty and more robust, braved the storm and flourished. Much of the ornamentation of the country was due to rude and unsightly fences, in the corners of which a young tree might escape the plow and the scythe, and on many an old farm we now can trace by a few surviving trees the line of a former log or worm fence, which rotted away long ago, leaving no trace, and better farming gave it no successor, but abandoned the line and united the fields. The landscape is thus beautified by chance, and its beauty not only excites the pride of owners, but improves the taste of the people.

NOTE B.—The Alleganies form a continuous mountain chain, bounding on the west the whole Atlantic slope, except the one opening through by the Hudson and the Mohawk. The valleys of these two streams form a notch or clove reaching from the ocean level to the western slope, always affording a continuous water passage, the usefulness of which led to the great enterprise of building the Erie Canal. Everywhere else the valleys of rivers, when followed up, were found to end beneath high mountain land. All plans and efforts for canalling through to the west, by the river lines of Pennsylvania and of Virginia, and further south, totally failed. Nature had given to New York alone the power to open the west. In later days the railroads have climbed over or pierced through the high divide; but the line of the Hudson and the Mohawk must forever be easier of grade and more available than any other for railroad operations.

GENEALOGY OF THE WHITE FAMILY.

BY WILLIAM M. WHITE.

Chairman Campbell then introduced William M. White, who read a carefully prepared Genealogy of the White family. In introducing it he said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

As the son of Hugh White I lost my inheritance, my birthright, before I was of sufficient age to enter my protest and know my loss. My name should have been Hugh, and then genealogy would record six Hugh Whites in America, each the son of Hugh, but the first, beginning with 1691 and continuing nearly 200 years.

The family trace their descent from Elder John White, one of the first settlers of Cambridge, in Massachusetts, of Hartford, in Connecticut, and of Hadley, in Massachusetts.

These facts conclusively show that the spirit of the pioneer was strongly developed in the father of the family in America. From his connection with Reverend Thomas Hooker and his church, it is supposed that he was born in Chelmsford, the county seat of Essex county, England, about the year 1595. Our first certain knowledge is that he was a passenger, with Mary, his wife, and two children, on the ship Lyon, Captain Pierce, which sailed from England about the 25th of June, 1632, and arrived in Boston on Sunday, the 16th day of September, 1632.

Mr. Hooker's company or congregation had had assigned to them for settlement by the general court of Massachusetts the town of Cambridge, then called Newtown. Elder John White's "home lot" was on the street called "Cow Yard Row," not far from where Gore Hall, the beautiful library building of Harvard University now stands. His social standing, or position, or condition of life—it is fair to infer—was of the middle class, neither rich nor poor; and that his home life in England had been of reasonable comfort, and that he had not been driven to expatriation by necessity or want. The English people have been likened to their own beer: the top all froth, the bottom dregs,

the middle pure. John White was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts, March 4, 1633, and in February, 1635, the town of Cambridge elected a board of seven men "to do the whole business of the town." John White was one of the number chosen. In 1636, he sold "his betterments," and accompanying his pastor, Rev. Mr. Hooker, with about one hundred others, took departure for "the new towne" on the Quin-e-tac-quet river (Connecticut.) In the records of Hartford, John White appears as one of the original proprietors, and he was one of the "selectmen" of the town. On the death of Rev. Mr. Hooker, in 1647, a schism arose which seems to have been of a personal character. It resulted in a new departure under Elder Goodwin; and sixty persons from Hartford and Wethersfield went up the Connecticut river, and laid the foundations of Hadley, in Massachusetts. John White was of the party. He remained there eleven years, when he returned to Hartford and was chosen to the office of elder in the South Church. His life was prolonged to a good old age, and he died early in 1684, just two hundred years ago. He had four sons and two daughters.

Second Generation.

His oldest son, Captain Nathaniel White, was born in England about 1629. At the age of 21, he removed to Middletown with his father, and was one of the first settlers and proprietors. He acquired great influence and was a leading man in the colony. He was a member of the legislature or general court, and for fifty years in succession was annually chosen deputy from that town. Very few instances exist of so long an official life, dependent on annual popular election. In military life he rose through the successive grades to the rank of Captain, by which title he has been known to his posterity. He died August 11, 1711, at the age of 82 years, and the record is: "He was a man of high religious character and sound judgment." By his will he left one-quarter of his undivided lands "to remain for the use of the public school already agreed upon by the town of Middletown, forever," perhaps the first legacy to the public school system in America. He had five sons and three daughters.

Third Generation.

Ensign Daniel White was the third son of Captain Nathaniel, and was born at Middletown upper houses, February 23, 1661.

He lived in his native town, held various town offices, and died December 18, 1739. He had eight sons and three daughters.

Fourth Generation.

Hugh White was the fifth son of Ensign Daniel, and the father of the pioneer of western New York. He was born February 15, 1691. He always lived in Middletown, and was a man of substance and respectability. His wife was Mary Stone, of Guilford. They had three sons and four daughters.

Fifth Generation.

Hon. Hugh White, as he is designated in the records of the family, was the youngest son of Hugh White, and was born in Middletown, Connecticut, January 25, 1733. He "settled" in Middletown, and married Mary Clark of the same town. All of his children were born there. His wife died in 1774. He afterwards married Mrs. Lois Davenport, widow of Rev. Ebenezer Davenport. She joined him early in 1785, in the settlement of Whitestown, and died there in 1829. When a resident of Middletown, Hugh White was a "selectman" from 1779 to 1783. He was a commissary in the army during a part of the Revolutionary war, and soon after the close of the war he joined in the purchase of Sadaqueda Patent with Zephaniah Platt, Ezra L'Hommedieu and Melancthon Smith. Early in the spring of 1784, he started, with most of his family, for their new home, in what was to be known as "the Whitestown country." They arrived here one hundred years ago to-day, June 5, 1784. He divided his purchase of about 1,500 acres among his sons and his daughters, and he lived like a patriarch of old, surrounded by his children and his grandchildren. He had five sons and three daughters, who accompanied him, or joined him in settling this town. And yet, to-day, there is not in the town of Whitestown, nor yet in the county of Oneida, a male resident of his name and lineage. And so it comes to pass that you, to-day, are celebrating, not the arrival of a family now with you, and of you, but are commemorating the first settlement of western New York, which happened to be made by Hugh White (my ancestor.) You are celebrating the founding of the first colony, outside of New England, by the Puritans, the first swarm of the Puritan hive. And these bowlders of New England granite are to be, for all time, witnesses of the first settlement of Whitestown by Hugh White and family of

State printer. He removed to Wisconsin while it was yet a territory; was a member of the legislature; United States Consul to the Hanseatic league, and Minister resident to Ecuador, South America. He returned to Whitestown in 1859, and died there February 15, 1883.

Canvass White, son of Hugh, Jr., was born in Whitestown, September 8, 1790. His early life was spent on the farm. At the age of seventeen he was a clerk in the store of Colonel Carpenter. In the Spring of 1811, he went as supercargo on a voyage to Archangel in Russia. In 1814, he was a lieutenant in the regiment of Colonel Dodge, in the company of Captain B. F. Knop, and was on the Niagara frontier, at the sortie of Fort Erie. He was one of the engineers on the Erie canal under Benjamin Wright, and subsequently rose to great eminence in his profession. He was engaged on the Union, Lehigh and on the Delaware and Raritan canals; built the Delaware breakwater. But failing health cut short his career, and he died, December 18, 1834, at the age of 44 years. As an indication of his ability, capacity and standing, it is related that Henry Clay said to a gentleman seeking an engineer for the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, "Get Canvass White. No man is more competent, no man more capable, and while your faith in his ability and fidelity increases, your friendship will grow into affection."

Hon. Hugh White, son of Hugh, junior, was born in Whitestown, December 25, 1798. He graduated at Hamilton college in 1823, and fitted for the bar in the office of Colonel Charles G. Haines, New York city. But he soon turned to business pursuits. In 1825, he was located in Chittenango, engaged in boating on the Erie canal, and in the manufacture of water lime, called "White's water-proof cement," for his brother Canvass White, being the first made in America, and afterwards at Rondout in Ulster County. He established and built up the Rosendale cement works, where he manufactured much of the cement used on the Croton aqueduct. He was also largely interested and engaged in the development of the water power at Cohoes, on the Mohawk. In 1844, he was chosen representative to Congress, where he served three terms. He was then active with the Litchfields, D. B. St. John, Governor Hunt, John Stryker and others in building the Michigan Southern and Northern Indiana railroad, and carried it to a successful conclusion. He married, April 10, 1828, Maria Mills Mansfield, of

Hugh White

Kent, Connecticut. He died at his home in Waterford, Saratoga County, October 6, 1870, aged 72 years. They had two sons and five daughters, of whom one son and one daughter are living. His widow still occupies the homestead at Waterford.

Colonel William C. Young, son of Mary Stone White, and John Young (the founder of Youngstown, Ohio,) was born at Youngstown, Ohio, (then a territory,) November 25, 1799. His parents returned to Whitestown and occupied their "home farm" in 1802. He attended school, had some knowledge of Latin, geometry and surveying, aside from the ordinary schooling of the period. At sixteen years of age he was assistant surveyor of the islands of Lake Ontario, for the State of New York: the next year a rod-man locating the Erie canal, and participating in the ceremony of "ground breaking" for that work at Rome, July 4, 1817: the next year, a cadet at West Point in a class of 125 members; and graduates No. 12 in his class in 1822. After four years given to army life he resigns June 30, 1826, and engages in superintending the locating and construction of railroads in New York State. Under John B. Jervis the Saratoga and Schenectady road is built, and Mr. Young originates the system of cross-sills or ties as now used. Then as engineer and general manager he gives fifteen years to the Utica and Schenectady railroad, resigning that to be chief engineer and manager of the Hudson River railroad, which he pushed to completion and became its president. A lifetime given to developing the resources of his country, and one of the few minds that have created and developed the railroad system of America, Mr. Young still lives, a splendid specimen of the men of a previous generation. His brother, Charles Clark Young, and his sister, Jane M. Rosevelt, widow of Rev. Washington Rosevelt, Mrs. Catherine Crouse, wife of John Crouse of Syracuse and daughter of Ansel White, and Susan Porter, youngest daughter of Hugh White, jr., are all of the surviving grandchildren of the pioneer. Three generations cover one hundred and fifty years.

With 1595 as the date of the birth of John White, and many of the seventh generation still living, we have the fact that a generation has averaged over 41 years, and a record of 289 years is made. Twenty-four years ago the known descendants of John White were 5,074. Of these 2,850 bore the name of White, and 2,224 bore other names. There were then 542 families of Whites, and 458 families of which the mothers were Whites.

Of the descendants of Judge White, bearing the name of White, those known to be living are:

Nathaniel Patten, Edgar, James Hillhouse, and Frances Amelia, children of Judge Fortune C. White.

Morris Pratt, Mary, Lewis, Philo, and Charles, children of Jonas White.

Halsey and Mary, children of Halsey White. Maria M., Robert Sayre, Canvass and William M., children of Charles Loomis, and grandchildren of Canvass. Harry, son of Lewis White. Mary Adelia, J. Franklin, Edgar Adelbert and Arthur Shirley, children of Edgar White. Nathaniel C., son of James Hillhouse, Port Huron, Mich., Hugh T., son of Nathaniel C., Port Huron, Mich.

William Mansfield White and Isabel White (Niles,) children of Hon. Hugh, son of Hugh, junior.

Ninth Generation.

Hugh, William Pierrepont, Anna Maria, Hubert Lawrence, Florilla Mansfield, Mary Pierrepont, Cornelia Butler, Isabel, De Lancey Pierrepont, Charles Carroll and John Dolbeare, children of William M. White and Anna M. Pierrepont.

In regard to the date of the arrival at Whitestown, the date of the month, the preponderance of proof justifies us in celebrating it to-day (June 5). M. M. Jones says he distinctly remembers that his father, the author of "The Annals of Oneida County," got the date of the same from Philo White, who afterwards dictated the record to his daughter, Julia Ann (Kennedy,) for the "Philo White Bible." It is in her handwriting. The Bible was published in 1849, and as Philo White died April 12, 1849, the dictation must have been made shortly before his death. But he was born June 25, 1767, and he has confounded the date of his birth with the date of the settlement. He was seventeen years old in 1784, and if they had arrived in Whitestown on his birthday, the coincidence would have been noted.

John White sailed from England about the 25th of June, 1632. He died early in the year 1684; just two hundred years ago, making this a second centennial in the family.

Permit me to add, speaking for the family, and the whole family, whether they bear the name of White or have been given in marriage and now bear other names, that this movement of the Oneida Historical Society, and this generous co-operation of the citizens of Oneida county to do honor to our common ancestor, and to mark the spot where the first home was, in the wilderness of western New York, and the time when it was made, and to com-

memorate the actors, and their memory, has gratified our pride: has warmed our hearts; has increased our faith in humanity; has strengthened our love. And we reverently thank God that our fathers and our mothers were of those "whom the people delighted to honor."

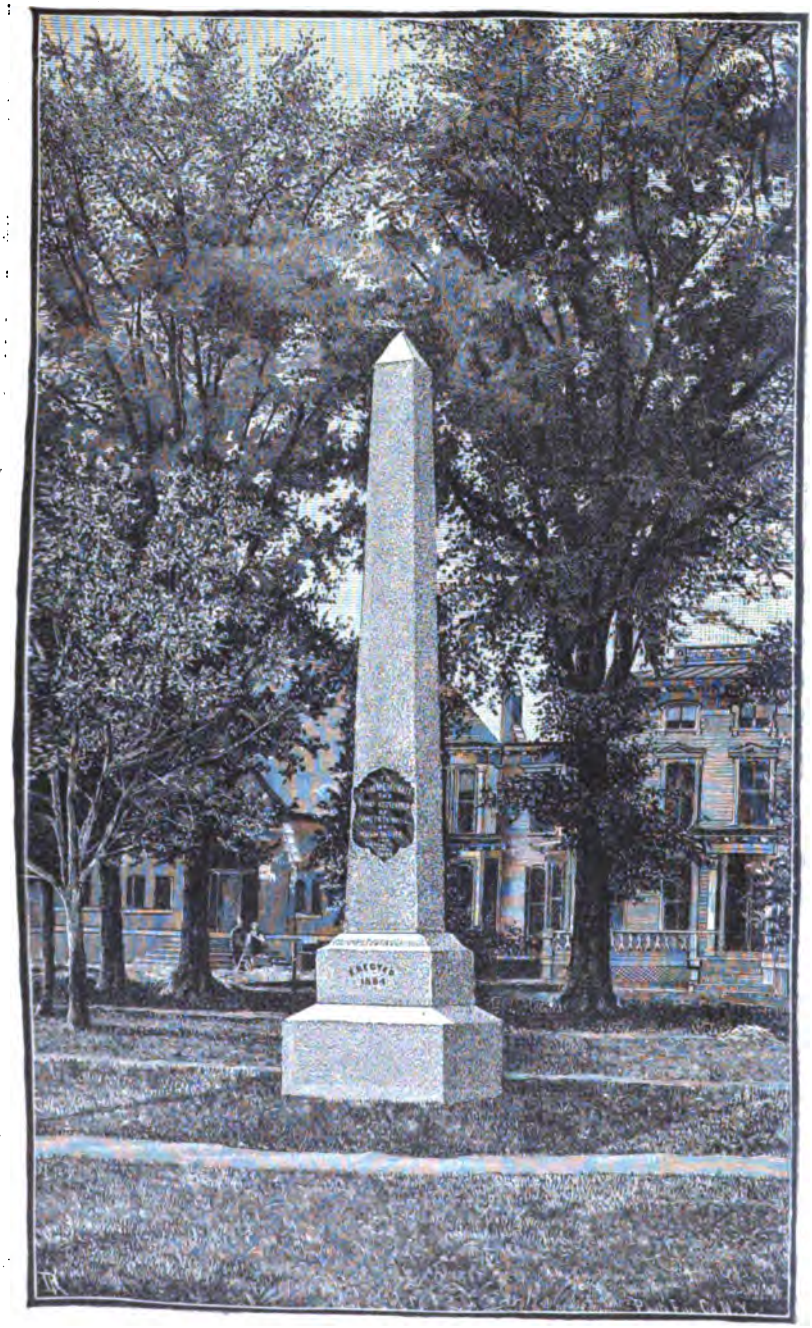
Royal blood is an inheritance. Noble blood if it begets noble deeds is a blessing. But above all and beyond all, is the inheritance of a pious, God-fearing, God-serving ancestry.

Mr. White closed his remaks by saying:

Mr. Chairman: With a due sense of the honor and consideration shown in designating me to unveil this monument to the settlement of Whitestown and to the first settlers, permit me to waive this honor and to designate that it now be done by Hugh White and William White Niles, whose grandfather was Hugh White, son of Hugh the pioneer.

The monument was then unveiled by Hugh White, son of the speaker and William White Niles, amid the cheers of the assembled multitude and approprate music by the Oriskany Cornet band.

Rev. Anson J. Upson, D. D., of Auburn Theolgical Seminary, formerly professor of rhetoric and elocution in Hamilton College, was then introduced and delivered the dedicatory address, which was attentively listened to, and often applauded.



THE WHITESTOWN MONUMENT.

ADDRESS OF DEDICATION.

BY REV. ANSON J. UPSON, D. D.

THE WORLD WILL NOT WILLINGLY LET THE NAMES OF ITS BENEFACTORS DIE.

To preserve the memory of all of them is impossible, yet we grow impatient at the silence that creeps over their graves. We cling to their memory. We will not let them die.

You may tell me that oblivion is inevitable, and the sooner the inevitable is acknowledged, the sooner will the struggle for remembrance be ended, but we reply that for generations at least, the worthiest can be made to survive, and so far as in us lies we will not permit our benefactors to be forgotten.

The great features of nature are comparatively changeless. The rocks and hills around us are everlasting. We would make the memory of character and achievement as enduring as they. The soul that imparts its own character to individual life is immortal. We would make the memory of the character and the life as enduring as the spirit itself.

To such a purpose—to perpetuate character and achievements worthy to be remembered, we dedicate this monument here and now. We would thus, in the words of the inscription "commemorate the first settlement of Whitestown by Hugh White and his family on the 5th of June, 1784"—one hundred years ago!

We commemorate no military achievement. St. Leger, Burgoyne and Sir Henry Clinton might indeed have prevented this settlement forever. The heroism and fortitude of the illustrious Herkimer made it possible. But the British armies had sailed away; and the sturdy German had slept in his grave for seven years when Hugh White entered this township, the pioneer of a conquest as memorable and as far reaching if not as exciting as a great soldier's victory.

By this monument we commemorate the achievements of a pioneer. He cleared the way into this, as yet, unbroken forest. We may justly honor him as a pioneer, for he was a leader, vigorous, ardent, enterprising, intrepid, energetic, devoted to his purpose, persevering. God might have raised up some other man to do the

work he did, but in the honor we pay to his memory, we recognize him as the agent of Providence for this beneficent purpose. And his was the achievement of individual enterprise. He was not supported by governmental authority, nor sustained by the accumulations of wealth. He was a pioneer by the act of his own will. He was not driven out by oppression, as were the pilgrims from England, or the Germans from Palatinate. But with that spirit of unrest so characteristic of the genuine American, he led one great division of that endless procession, that ever since has been fulfilling the prophecy of Bishop Berkeley, when he said "Westward the course of empire takes its way."

And by this monument we commemorate also the character and achievements of one who has been well named "a patriarch"—the head of a family.

Hugh White came into the vast township that afterwards bore his name, not as a solitary adventurer, but with his family, accompanied by his sons and daughters. In his fifty-second year the enthusiasm of youth had been tempered by the experience of advancing age—not altogether unlike the greatest of all the ancient patriarchs "the father of the faithful," he went forth into the wilderness.

He brought with him his family, as an evidence of his faith. He came to stay. He had no other thought. He made the first settlement. As citizens of Oneida county, we honor the memory of James Dean, the patriotic pioneer, not altogether unlike Captain John Smith of Virginia. But we remember that James Dean had no permanent home in this county till 1786. We honor the memory of Samuel Kirkland, the missionary to the Oneidas and the founder of Hamilton College, but Kirkland lived mostly alone with his Indian friends until 1792. He and his family could not become permanent residents till after this new home in Whitestown had been established for eight years.

The word "family" in this inscription is significant. It commemorates the establishment of the first permanent home in the wilderness—father, mother, sons and daughters gathered here together. In that word "family" upon this monument we commemorate the heroism of the mother and the children, as well as that of the patriarch himself. They could appreciate, perhaps better than he, all that Dr. Asahel Norton meant, when in the old meeting house at Clinton, on every Sabbath day, he used to thank the Lord that he had preserved the early settlers in this "howling wilderness!"

But once more; by this monument we reconize Hugh White and his family as our benefactors.

The founders of every community impress their characteristics upon it—characteristics that remain fixed and permanent, so long as the community lasts. The founders gather round them in the early settlement men like themselves. Generations may succeed each other, new comers in great numbers may bring with them new customs and ideas, but the characteristics of the first settlers will be largely controlling. Boston and Albany, Philadelphia and Baltimore differ to-day as much as did their founders.

If Hugh White and his sons had been dissolute men, how the picture of to-day would have been reversed! But they were not dissolute men. They brought with them a New England morality, a New England industry, a neatness and economy, a Yankee thrift, an English vigor and sincerity, a New England intelligence and desire for education, a simplicity of manners, with no affinity either for the dilettanti or the coarse. Above all, they brought with them a reverence for God and a belief in the Bible.

And naturally, the men and women who followed after—the Platts and the Storrs, the Golds and the Sills, the Tracys and the Berrys, the Fosters, the Wetmores, your Benjamin Walcott and your Dexter and your John Frost and your David Ogden and Beriah Green—all these among the honored and revered dead, and many more among the living here, brought with them the same characteristics with which they have enriched and strengthened and adorned your life.

In erecting this memorial to commemorate the first settlement we honor the influence of all these who have contributed to the honorable reputation of this town, that still retains the name of its founder.

And not only so, but we commemorate the founders of that larger township extending from the Mohawk to the great lakes. At this point of departure, where first in this State, the influence of New England began to exercise its beneficent power, we erect this memorial. We give a cordial welcome to every other people. We rejoice in the remarkable commingling of races in this commonwealth that has made New York so cosmopolitan. But we remember that the iron in our blood is drawn from the New England hills. We erect this monument as a token to all comers, that so far as in us lies, the healthful influence of our New England ancestry shall neither be forgotten nor pass away.

Let the children of the coming generations as they pass this monument and read this inscription be taught its significance. Most likely none of them can ever be such pioneers, such patriarchs, such benefactors; yet each in his own life can practice the same simplicity, the same self-reliance, the same integrity, the same faith.

Let this monument teach every passer-by that usefulness, though not always raised to high station, will not be forgotten. Mankind do not forget even their unconscious benefactors. If Hugh White could have foreseen, that when a century should have passed, on an occasion like this, amidst hundreds of an admiring posterity, his name would be repeated with respect and gratitude and veneration, as the great founder of what we behold around us, would he not have felt his heart cheered, under the hardships of the wilderness or amidst the perils of the savage?

"Other men labored and we are entered into their labors."

The great countries of the old world love to trace their long descent from warfare long and fierce between proud Normans and sturdy Saxons, between restless barons and grasping kings—back even to wars between fabled heroes and demigods.

To us it is given to honor conquests more peaceful and not less far-reaching.

To the energy, fortitude, perseverance, of men like him we honor to-day, do we owe the glory of this land we love. They have left us no stately castles crowning our hill-tops with walls and moats and towers, but theirs is a fairer memorial, in the peaceful beauty of a scene like this—in the happy homes which are all about us to-day, because of the bravery and patient toil of that household in the forest here one hundred years ago.

"The Isles of Greece, the hills of Spain, the purple Heavens of Rome,
Yes all are glorious—yet again I bless thee, Land of Home!
For thine the Sabbath peace, my land! and thine the guarded hearth:
And thine the dead, the noble band that make thee holy earth.
Their voices meet me in thy breeze, their steps are on thy plains;
Their names by old, majestic trees are whispered 'round thy fanes.
Their blood is mingled with the tide of the exulting sea;
O! be it still a joy and pride, to live and die for thee!"

Benjamin F. Taylor, of Cleveland, O., the poet of the day, was next introduced, and received with applause. His poem was one of the most enjoyable features of the day, and was read with expression. It was often interrupted with laughter and hearty applause.

"THE WHITESTOWN COUNTRY."

POEM BY BENJAMIN F. TAYLOR.

"One Hundred Years Ago."

"God bless us every one!" So say we all,
Let Hermon's dew like benediction fall!
Time calls a halt and here we stand and turn
To days as dear as ashes in an urn,
When following on the Dutchman's pale "Half Moon,"
The wake of empire kindling in its light,
A "May Flower" out of season came in sight
And graced December with the joy of June.
Miles Standish was aboard, whose sturdy heart
  Played the same blood that throbbed in Kirkland's own;
So, down they come, two centuries apart,
  The mighty Captain and his far-off Son,
Old Sinai's clouds are cleft by Calvary's ray,
Close up, grand comrades, march abreast to-day!

Whitestown Country.

Upon The Whitestown Country's Northern hem
Where breeze was song and brook a running gem,
Wild rubies hid among the meadow grasses,
White-throated deer drank out of looking-glasses,
Sweet-hearted maples stood in sturdy ranks
And packs of dogwoods hung upon their flanks,
While elms in outline arched the graceful air
As if an Ariel meant to chamber there;
And here and there the blue smokes lifted high
As if to tint some spot of faded sky—
Smokes filtering thro' from swallows'-nests of homes
The leafy rafters of the forest domes,
Where whispering twilights haunted cabin doors
And hid the idle noon-mark on the floors.
'Till axe and echo filled the woods with clocks
  Sounding the death-watch for the masted fleet
Of foundered forest that with wrecks and shocks,

Swept swaths of wilderness as cradled wheat,
Matched broad-cast harvest with a broad-cast day,
So axes won the cyclone's right of way,
And let, at last, the golden sunlight fall
Like grand Elijah's mantle over all.

Rivers and Men.

Its rambling rivers flow toward all the world
From vast St. Lawrence to the Chesapeake—
By Mohawk borne and Susquehanna whirled;
They brave the shaggy wilderness to seek
Ontario's wave. Blue Erie and gray main
All one to them, these rivers free as rain.
Dear household brooks and children of the hills,
Ye ribbons woven from exultant rills,
With reedy warble, cataract and song,
Oh, rivers float your Indian names along—
Forbid them not 'till Unadilla dies,
On cloudy wings Chenango's waters rise,
No wrens in woods, no blue-bird in the skies;
Make room, Oh Babel, let their music stand,
The sweet Ionic of the Whitestown Land,
'Till men forget where Skenandoa lies,
That nobleman of God to Kirkland given,
Who held his patent from the court of heaven.
Ah, streams prophetic, had we only known,
Of them who broke the strong horizons thro',
Bore Yankee Doodle to the dragon throne
Where far Cathay its Bohea breezes blew,
Where Desolation's grisly bones have worn
Thro' the lean earth stark, naked and forlorn,
Where lie beneath pale Arctic's pennon'd spears
Unquarried winters of a thousand years,
Where palm leaves lap like tongues the golden air,
And Indian Summer from the topmost stair
To Heaven looks down, relents, and never enters there,
Oneida's sons have rent the azure robe
And boxed the quivering compass round the globe.

John White's Welcome.

Now full two hundred fifty Junes ago
The good ship Lyon stole across the sea.

All sails hauled home she welcomed every blow
That drove her on where faith and Heaven were free.
Beyond the roll-call of the Babel world
The good ship Lyon's tattered sails were furled.
So came JOHN WHITE, an Elder and an oak
No danger daunted and no tempest broke.
Nobody knew that God's salvation went
Beyond the border-line of Continent,
Meant this unchristen'd wilderness, amid
Whose glooms the red and smoky nations bid
Uncounted centuries go idly by,
Left no more trace than eagles in the sky.
One trail no broader that a Bible's page
Crept in a stealthy way age after age
From Hudson's tide to Erie's magic blue.
And this was all, save scatter'd flints that flew
And tomahawks with wings, and heaps of bones,
And blacken'd brands of fires, and frightful tones
The night-owls echoed and the night-hawks caught—
Was all they left that savage Nature taught,
Except heir-looms of rare melodious names
Bound for the future, and forever fame's.

Yet Shakespere walked what little world he knew;
Like holy fire crusaders' standards flew,
All Europe looked and wondered and was grum;
Yet Pocahontas by one act of her's
Whose very thought the dullest bosom stirs,
Had saved the Smiths to people Christendom;
Spenser had led his Fairie Queene along,
Herbert had sung the perfect Sabbath song
Whose pure and plaintive accents will survive
While one dear English word is left alive.

Behold them there, the pilgrim of the Lyon
And this wild realm beyond the range of Zion,
And what Elijah's son could dream the twain
Would e'er be bound in name and blood and brain?
As soon believe the breeze that wakes the rose
Of Ispahan should whirl Alaska's snows.

HUGH WHITE'S WELCOME.

And yet, this day, one hundred years ago,
Near where we stand there swung a rude bateau.

Five generations down, HUGH WHITE had come
To find a wilderness and found a home.
No flag saluted but the tulip trees,
No song of welcome but the wild-rose breeze,
No martial music but the partridge drum
And jay-bird fife and old Homeric thrum.
No torchlight honors and no welcome words
Of dear old English but the "phœbe"-bird's;
The tall elms built the sole triumphal arch
That graced the landing, glorified the march
Both God and valor brought triumphant through.
It mattered not to him and his platoon
Of manly sons. I wonder if he knew
That from the basswood walls and elm-bark roof
That neighbor'd wolves and kept the winds aloof,
His cabin fire would lend a light to June
That would not perish in its hundredth year—
This man who marched beyond the dim frontier
And picket line. I wonder if he heard
The primal throb when empire lived and stirred.
I wonder if he dreamed the drowsy drone
Of meadow bees a few poor spindles made,
Would ever sound, two hundred thousand grown,
Like sea born winds that sweep the everglade,—
The rattling harness of the fireside loom
Jar like the chariots of the grander Rome,
And weave their forty million yards, and more
Than clothe the nation Patrick Henry knew,
Give all the flags our navy ever flew
And dress Rhode Island in a pinafore.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

The bell strikes "one"—The Whitestown Country Chime,
Now put new chevrons on the sleeves of Time!
Stand forth, my Sergeant! Ah, how passing grand
When God's centurions take supreme command.
The gypsy Junes close up along the line,
A hundred Aprils in their snow-drops shine,
A hundred Summers shouldering their sheaves,
A hundred Autumns glorified with leaves,
In rank and file the red Octobers glow,
And white Decembers trail their skirts of snow.

There is no yonder, every there is here,
The sun stands still, the stars themselves are near,
The jewell'd Dipper's holy dews baptize,
The halted Age before our reverent eyes.

Hugh White's old cradlers rock the field of wheat,
His mowers swing the scythe in naked feet,
And sometimes blundering on a grassy nest
They whirl a whisk and wish all bees "be—blest!"
The green and golden surf around them rolls,
They shed their jackets but they keep their souls.
Arrayed in tow the brawny threshers come
And eat for three and drink New England rum;
The oaken floor their flails alternate beat,
And kernels dance a rattling tune of sleet;
Now comes his sempstress—bless her smiling face!
In tall back-comb and linsey gown and grace
And not a bang—she long ago gave place
To shapes of iron feet and cabinet-ware
And left forlorn the bantam sewing-chair.
Swung to a pillion on her wedding day,
Her arm around his waist, she rode away
And made a log-heap turn a lover's nest—
Of all the patents earliest and best.
Great trees that kept the treaty made with Time
An age ago—it seems almost a crime—
Broke the long twilight as her husband knocked,
And sweeping headlong down to ruin, mocked
With crash of column, coronal and branch
The frozen thunder of the avalanche.

They trained a sunflower near the cabin door,
They walked on sunshine round the puncheon floor.
Brigades of corn deployed in green parade
And rounding gold among their ranks betrayed
A pious war, a pumpkin cannonade.
Old fashioned flowers drew up in double line,
The four-o'clock, the pink, the columbine.
The flax a-field was hardly sown before
Unhetcheled tow-heads danced upon the floor,
Swarmed up the ladder on their way to bed,
Swarmed down before the morning sky was red,
Swarmed out three miles to meeting and to school,

Set traps for wolves and learned the Golden Rule.
No man could doubt the Children in the Shoe,
Ten pewter spoons and still the number grew.
And these are they who made this wilderness
Turn fair enough for angels to caress,
Who set this heart of empire throbbing forth
Its sterling manhood round the belted earth.

Their fires were half Promethean—came from Heaven,
No sign of matches had King Pluto given,
And yet how easy, had he only known,
To dip his tooth-picks in the Acheron!
They covered embers though no curfew tolled,
They borrowed embers when their own were cold,
They kept a box with flint and steel and punk,
Boys had the grit and women had the spunk.
Think of Oneida's maid, ye graceful girls to-day,
Who cleared the door-yard of a bear at bay,
And swept him out with just an oaken broom!
Salute, ye heroes, give the maiden room!
Think of the Whitestown Country girls that drove
Their tandem teams where deer scarce dared to rove!
Drove lumbering turn-outs of the classic breed
Of dear Priscilla's puritanic steed,
Whose Juno-eyes old Homer sang in Greece,
And full of spirit with two horns apiece.

The Old Kitchen.

Reverse the lever of the world to-day
  And bid the flying Age dismount and walk;
Before the lightnings left their garret play
  To cheer a kitchen and to learn to talk;
  Before with slender shafts they pumped the rock
And flashed the torches on the startled air;
Before they fished for flame and found it where
The blundering Jonah found an oil depot—
  Now light the candles with a glowing coal,
No other gleam like theirs in all the world to show
  The "living room," the homestead's genial soul,
That warmed their hearts one hundred years ago:
The iron fire-dogs, crooked legs apart,
Knee-deep in rubies from the maple's heart,

A bowl of apples flushing by the fire,
A russet boy that heaps the cord-wood higher,
Festoons of apples swing along the line,
The grumbling clock betrays the hour of nine,
—Pass round, my girl, the orchard's amber wine!—
A full grown clock stands sentry over all,
Upon its solemn shape the firelights fall,
A tall, slim coffin, whence with face serene
And sadly sallow, Time regards the scene
Between his bloodless fingers, long and lean;
With muffled pulse, a shrill and tolling bell,
'Tis all the same, a bridal or a knell;
A bellows' foxy nose, a turkey's wing,
White cotton curtains on an apron-string,
The hammered tongs with poor magnetic legs,
A rusty scabbard swung from wooden pegs,
The starving crane with Ethiopian arm
Holds out its hooks with pot-and-kettle charm,
Their nervous covers playing tambourine
To serenade the golden samp within;
The Prussian-blue pagoda-painted wares,
The pewter platters and the kitchen chairs
Whose woven seats once waved in summer airs
Where rushes drew their sabers to salute,
And bright Bob-Lincolns swung with bell and flute;
There dwelt of old, apart from pomp and pride,
The living circles that have never died
But live as rainbows live, that fade away
In broader glory and a brighter day.

The Early Day.

Five miles to meeting, forty miles to mill,
They backed the grists and traveled with a will;
By bridle path and trail and bark canoe
Dim as the twilight, noiseless as the dew;
Then back they came, the bright day turning brown,
And met the swarthy Mohawk coming down,
The forests roaring like the surf of seas,
The starlight tangled in the tops of trees,
Two fox-fire eyes betray the whiskered cat,
A flying blot—Saint Crispin's bird, the bat,
The tossing fire-fly's mockery of lamp,

And thought of home and Johnnycake and samp.
A royal breed of tramps the fathers made,
We knight them now with loving accolade!
Right-handed men whichever hand you shook,
Square-stepping men whatever way they took,
Stout-hearted men whatever might betide,
For duty ready 'till the day they died.
Truth-loving men, their lettered tablets bore
The first grave charge that ever mortal made,
"HERE LIES," the marbles say, but might have said,
"HERE LIES" the man who never lied before!

THEN AND NOW.

When Faxton drove his shining six-in-hand
Of dappled grays along the Whitestown way
With La Fayette the guest of all the land,
He never dreamed the world would hail the day
And drive the lightnings with a single line,
Abolish time and space and everything
But death, put all the planet in a wedding-ring,
While East and West the concert tidings shine.
When Parker's coach by swamp and corduroy
That made its one score miles since early morn,
Came lurching in amid the general joy
And angry treble of the driver's horn,
And brought six foolscap letters three weeks old
Sealed with a moon and crackling in the fold
Like thorns and hemlock in a log-heap fire,
What would you have? What more could man desire?
Did Parker think that creeping coach of his
Might be a kind of drowsy chrysalis,
That taking wing and clouding up with power
Would make his day's long pull in half an hour?
Shoulder its wake as if it meant to fly,
And leave its smoky track along the sky?

THE WHITESTOWN COUNTRY FORTS.

Lo, Old Fort Schuyler in a grand disguise,
The classic walls of "Hamilton" arise,
The stately mother, of whose royal sons
Six hundred manned the battlements of God.

Some bravely trained the Union's roaring guns
  And won their morning stars and went abroad.
Some wore the ermine with unspotted fame,
Some startled senates into loud acclaim,
Three score turned chieftains of the Fourth Estate,
And some unchalleng'd sit in glory's gate:
And some lived lives of patience and of pain
Serene and pure, but did not live in vain,
As when still moonlight parts the leafy spray
Along the dew-drops dawns a little day;
For these, we know, there waits a rare renown
And earth's acanthus turns Corinthian crown.
I owe thee duty as my father's son,
God make it noon until thy work is done!
Saint Peter kept the keys of Paradise—
Thy Peter bids us look with mild surprise
Upon the broods of callow worlds that blaze,
Hatched out beneath his incubating gaze!
These are the strong redoubts whence Science trains
  Her dumb artillery against the skies
Where far Auriga drives his starry wains
  And brings down worlds to brighten dying eyes.
Tho' Stanwix guns are rusted out and dumb—
Oneida's hives with sons and daughters hum;
These are the forts whose armaments command
The dim blue range where waiting ages stand.
Oh, strong redans, oh, garrisons of youth,
Strike where you will, but always strike to truth.

The Old Meeting House.

Unfold the wardrobe in the cedar chest,
The weary week is done. The Sabbath rest
Begins to-night and lasts all day to-morrow.
Grant perfect peace without a dream of sorrow!
From Indian Summer to the ides of May
The house of God was one long winter's day,
With nothing warmer than an April smile
And small square foot-stoves tinkling up the aisle.
The Elder preached in mittens and in cloak;
While clouds of frosty breath around him broke,
He told of fire, but no one ever thought
How blest indeed to have some embers brought.

Celestial love and holy zeal alone
Kept saints alive in that intemperate zone.
There were the men that from their hemlock tents
Defied the devil and the elements;
And when their time for better homesteads came,
Still nothing warmer than a candle's flame
Relieved the rigor of the chambers, where
The nail heads silvered in the Arctic air.
Sometimes the brazen warming-pan would sweep
The linen parallelograms of sleep,
Feel here and there the frosty corners out,
  But boys and girls went bouncing to their beds,
Their cast-off garments flying all about
  Like wind-blown down from dandelion heads.
Gone the old church and gone the reverent feet
That made the threshold beautiful and sweet,
And charmed the Sunday noontimes round the place
With Christian comfort, carraway and grace.
Across the road the fallow field of God,
  Unsown, untilled, unmourned and overgrown
With tangled thistle, thorn and golden rod;
  Gone are the graves and inarticulate the stone.

Gone is the preacher with the braided queue,
The velvet small clothes and the buckled shoe,
The broad flapped coat, the continental hat,
The broad bandanna and the broad cravat—
Broad as "the road" of which he used to read,
"And thousands walk together there." Indeed
He wore the colors of the Flag all thro',
Bandanna gave the red defiant hue,
Cravat the white, Connecticut—the blue!

Ah, dead lips whisper like a field of wheat,
  Old China mourns "departing friends" once more,
Slow clouds the crape along the mourners' seat,
  Front-face to God and sadly borne before,
The solemn bell slow booming overhead,
In rigid slumber come the shrouded dead.

THE OLD CHOIR.

The singing master's wooden pitch pipe blew
A curlew note and all the singers flew.

Oh, fly again, sweet girls of Israel's choir
And warble larklike up the tuneful stair.
The fugues fled with fragments of the words,
The meeting house was filled with singing birds
Each with a note to make the nest complete,
And named it Windham, Mear or Silver Street:
Or else he "flushed" them with a two-tined fork,
Picked up the key and grimly said, "Sing York!"
Old Neptune's royal trident had not then
Done baser duty for the sons of men,
And two tined forks "pitched" melody and meat,
Tossed the new hay and swung the bundled wheat.

No girls in seraph white and heavenly blue
So sweetly sang as if they thought it true,
"I want to be an Angel." If they might
Turn birds of Paradise and take their flight,
Each pair of wings a maiden should unfurl
Would rob the world and not improve the girl.
No gentle souls in penitential mood
Before the congregation rose and stood,
And sang confession, how "I love to steal,"
No alto owned it with a joyous peal,
No tenor told in music clear and strong.
No grumbling bass to pass the crime along.
No fair soprano bore the guilty story
In sky-note carol to the gates of Glory.
In those old days no line of real girls,
Fun in their eyes and frolic in their curls,
Stood forth and sang "I would not live alway."
Bless their dear hearts, we know they "care to stay."
They sing it all with such delightful grace
It brings a smile to Meditation's face;
The three-score grief is not akin to youth's,
The words are Rachel's but the lips are Ruth's.

Grief to the world, those crumbling wasp gray walls
Were built too near the pure and perfect halls
Of Paradise, the Canaan of the Blest.
The pulpit stood, that sacred swallow's-nest,
On border-land and boundary between
That world and this, whence angels could be seen
That beckoned mortals to the other side

With grace so rare they could not be denied,
No other gate but Death's and so they died.

STANWIX AND ORISKANY.

Plow, press and primer, pulpit, post and pen
Proclaimed abroad "good will and peace to men."
Sling up for once the axe beside the sword,
With helve and hilt in beautiful accord,
Halt, if you may, with talismanic word
The pioneers who marched in Freedom's van
One hundred years ago, and bid them, if you can,
Look back upon the realm thro' which they "blaze"
Their way to glory—regiments of maize
And high-tide gracious seas that never drown,
Where answered prayer for all the world is strown,
And countless flocks of homes that climb and crown
The vantage hills with all their towers and spires
That loom like castles, mount like sacred fires.
Fort Stanwix guns are dumb: no longer Death
Grins from embrasures blackened with their breath.
Appear, once more, immortal August day,
Let muskets rattle, busy batteries play—
Ye rifles blent with old Queen's arms fire true!
Fire low! fire fast! fire all! 'till woods turn blue
With bullet blasts, and the green mosses red
With such bad blood as Brants and Butlers shed—
See there, St. Leger's scalp-locked scarlet hordes,
Satanic bond of tomahawks and swords,
Scalps at their belts—such peltry quoted high,
A woman's hair ten dollars if she die!—
Gunpowder in their rum! —Sling off the drum!
Beat the long roll with cannon! Let them come!
Run up the flag above the parapet!
Those Stanwix colors strangest that had yet
Saluted, shrouded, rallied or defied.
Grew costlier far than coronation pride:
A soldier's shirt all scalloped into stars
Was stitched—"fixed" stars—upon a martial cloak
Of blue, and stripes of scarlet rags made Mars
Blush dingy red and bless the battle smoke.
Up with the garments! Valor's cast-off clothes
Can have no ending more sublime than these!

A sultry day, Oriskany, was thine,
Of wild red revelry and wasted wine.
In shivering woods the waltz of death began,
From tree to tree the dreadful circles ran,
'T was white to red, 't was death to man or man.
Death lurked behind each beech and maple shaft
Heroic soldiers took to woodman's craft,
The bullets whistled thick as driving rain,
The bayonets bristled like a hedge of cane,
The forest columns dotted dense with shot
Like bird's-eye maple when the wood is wrought.

Amid this hell rode Herkimer, as calm
As if he heard an old long-meter psalm—
Rode his "White Surry" with a swinging rein,
As if he loitered in a farm-yard lane;
Then tumbling headlong died the stricken steed,
Then fell the rider like a shattered reed.
They bore him bleeding to a fallen beech,
But sword and soul were both within his reach,
And there reclined he fought the battle thro'
With orders cool as if he never knew
That, every breath he drew, around him whirled
An instant summons to the other world.
And there he sat, and struck with arrow-head and knife
A spark; the tinder crinkled into life,
And then he calmly smoked as if he heard
The storks come home, old Holland's household bird!
I think this leads the Appomatox chief
Who made Havana roll historic leaf.
This was the Beulah Land to which men came
Who saw on Bunker's day the Charlestown flame
That flung its last red gleam along the seas
When British scarlet caught the homeward breeze;
Those men whose garments brought the powder smoke
Of Bennington; whom Yorktown cannon woke;
Charged six abreast through Sodom's dreadful rain
And swept like surf down Lundy's fiery Lane;
Dared the red lion, scorched him in his lair;
Crossed in the gloom historic Delaware.
This is the stock express and thoroughbred
That made the ribb'd earth tremble with its tread,

That answered "here!" when Freedom called the roll,
Went through the mills of God where death took toll,
A widow's thirds, a pension or a soul,
And dotted all the Whitestown Country through
Like spotted cambric with the Federal blue!

The Doge of Venice deemed it very grand
To wed the Adriatic with a ring.
The Whitestown Country saw a grander thing
When spades were trumps and Clinton played the hand
And played it through though Thomases decried,
And made the western wave Atlantic's bride.
Along that narrow water silent went
The Western glory of the continent;
Great States passed by, like shadows one by one,
That flaunt their sheaves against the setting sun.

Here dwelt the man who led the roll that signed
The Magna Charta Letter to mankind,
Here died the last of pensioners who drew,
Because their muskets made that Message true.
From first to last, from wilderness to prime,
The splendid lineage runs like perfect rhyme.
Weave them a wreath of palm and immortelle,
Ring them a chime on Time's centennial bell,
The Age strikes "one." God save us all. Farewell!

PRESENTATION OF THE MONUMENT.

Hon. Samuel Campbell then presented the monument to the village of Whitesboro, saying:

President Dunham:

A pleasing duty devolves on me that will occupy but a few moments of our time. We are now enjoying the fruition of our endeavors in making preparations for the event that brings us together to-day. That enduring monument will stand as a witness to tell the story of its origin to future generations, possibly for centuries. I hope it will be looked upon, not only as an ornament, but in some measure as relatively associated with your beautiful village that owes its beginning to the historic name on the tablet. Hugh White and family left their New England homes in May, 1784, to brave the dangers and vicissitudes of frontier life. Their new home took the appropriate name of the Whitestown country. We are now reaping the fruits of their hazardous enterprise.

I have now the honor, as chairman of the executive committee, with power, to transfer the care and keeping of the monument to the trustees of this village of which you are now the worthy president, and thereafter to your successors in office, which I trust will be cheerfully accepted.

Rev. Dr. M. E. Dunham, president of the village, accepted the monument in the following words:

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE.

BY REV. M. E. DUNHAM, D. D.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Historical Committee:

In behalf of the citizens of Whitesboro, as represented by their Board of Trustees, I have the honor to accept the custodianship of the monument which your generosity has erected, dedicated and this day given into our care. It is natural that we should take pride in protecting it from injury, as it is to us, and will be to coming generations, a memento of the early settlement of this,

our beautiful village. It stands there a granite shaft, on a granite base, an imperishable epitome of history engraven on stone. We read that when the children of Israel made their wonderful passage through Jordan that their leader, Joshua, commanded twelve men, one from each tribe, to take each man a stone and deposit them in a heap, that these might be a sign among them, so that when their children should ask: What mean ye by these stones? they could recount to them the history of their passage through Jordan, dry shod, while the turbid waters stood waiting on either side, and thus perpetuate the record of this remarkable event. We have no record that the early settler of this place met with any such divine interposition on his journey hither—though he had two rivers to cross; but tradition says that he arrived here and pitched his tent on Saturday evening, spending the next day in the quietude of a New England Sabbath observance, amid the trees of the forest; and if this be true, then civilization entered upon the inheritance of this goodly land through the gateway of the Sabbath day, and thus hallowed the future that lay before it. And surely as it spread from this point westward, it went, not only to possess a land full of promise, but to bear the seeds of promise in itself which have borne wonderful fruitage in the temporal prosperity, Christian refinement and intellectual culture which rests as a crown of glory upon western New York to-day. You have, therefore, gentlemen, done an appropriate act in the erection of this granite monument, that when the children of coming generations look upon it and ask what it meaneth, there may be recounted to them what we have heard in the historical address to-day. Thus shall the events which transpired here one hundred years ago be kept fresh in memory and handed down through the coming centuries.

We congratulate you, gentlemen, upon the successful completion of this work you have undertaken. In reverence for the past you have erected a land-mark of its history for the contemplation of the future. Your work has been well done. Coming generations will thank you for it as we thank you to-day. On it is recorded the name of Hugh White, the first white settler in this then wilderness, who led the way of civilization to this fertile region and gave to it the name of Whitestown. To-day we honor the name he bequeathed. Once it covered a broad extent of territory, extending to the St. Lawrence on the north, to the lakes on the west, and to Pennsylvania on the south—as we

have been told; but as the population increased and spread, new colonies sought, like new married couples, to set up for themselves; and Whitestown, out of the generosity of her motherly heart, gave them a goodly territory, and let them set up for themselves under new names. Thus her own territory has been narrowed down into comparatively small limits. Still, gentlemen, she is Whitestown—proud of her name and content with her territory. She has been an indulgent mother, suffering her children to grow up into cities, while she has remained a modest township with modest villages. Nor does she envy them their thrift and prosperity. She will be content to remain with smiling farms and beautiful villages—unless some day the village that bears her name shall be seized with ambition and shall reach out her arms to take in the cities on her borders. But we trust that time may be far distant. Better in modest content to "bear the ills we suffer than fly to those we know not of."

By your generous act, gentlemen, we have something that will be abiding. Once we had the distinction of being the center of business, of justice and of legal talent. But ambitious daughters, on either hand, became desirous of this distinction and we yielded to their demands by turning our jail into a peaceful dwelling and our court house into a town hall, because we believed that these ambitious daughters had more need of court houses and jails than we. With the yielding up of these we lost something of our prestige, but still retain the honor of our name. You have to-day given us something that our ambitious neighbors can not take from us—this granite monument. So in modest content we rest; with a name prominent on the page of history; with a manufactory of world-wide reputation and without a superior in its special field; and with a monument standing as a land mark for the ages to come. In behalf of the citizens of Whitestown I thank you for what you have done for us this day; and now after an intellectual feast of history, of rhetoric and of poetry, I invite you to a humbler but no less essential collation for the refreshment of the physical man. Please follow to yon neighboring tent.

THE COLLATION.

The speakers of the day, members of the committee and the invited guests, headed by President Dunham and Hon. Samuel Campbell, with their wives, then marched in procession to the tents where the collation was spread.

South of the park on the Whitcher lot the large tents were spread, under which the invited guests were to feast. Thirteen long tables filled the space, at which plates were laid for seven hundred guests. The tent poles were handsomely twined with bunting, and their bases hidden in groups of house plants. Comfortable benches surrounded the tables. Baskets and vases of flowers decorated the board. The good taste shown in their selection and arrangement is due to the efforts of the floral committee, under the direction of Miss H. Gold Frost. Among the profusion of lilies, pansies, white and purple fleur de lis, many-colored tulips, and roses, was a basket crowned with a superb white lily, having the date, 1884, in black on a center of white pyrethrum, sent by Mrs. Merritt, from Rome. There were also a pretty basket of flowers from Mrs. A. R. MacKenzie, a vase of white callas, bunches of single and double peonies, and baskets of wild flowers, in which the white mandrake blossom was prominent. Mr. Benedict, of Yorkville, and Mr. Tunbridge, of Whitesboro, robbed their green-houses recklessly to make the tables bloom.

The collation comprised the usual menu of coffee and sandwiches with the addition of delicious pies and cakes, biscuit, pickles, coffee, fruits and cream. Rarely is a public collation so elaborately prepared and so attentively served. Fifty maidens in pink and white, assisted by some of the Whitestown lads and marshaled by Mrs. White, attended to the wants of the guests. By each plate was a favor of pansies and forget-me-nots, enveloped in a Japanese napkin. Across the south end of the tent over a line of bunting hung a green shield, on which was inscribed in white flowers, "1784—White—1884." This was afterwards presented to Hugh White.

The table committee, headed by Mrs. E. J. Mack, had provided ample accommodations for the nine hundred guests who partook of the collation. Among the ladies and gentlemen in the tent was a liberal sprinkling of gray heads, most of whom were closely con-

nected by family ties with the events of one hundred years ago. When the company were seated, President Dunham called upon Rev. R. L. Bachman, of Utica, to ask a blessing upon the feast. About an hour was then spent in doing justice to the collation.

The local committee of Whitestown promised to feed six hundred people. It performed far more than it promised, and fed about nine hundred people, including the bands and many of the older residents of Whitestown and surrounding towns. The village made a record for hospitality of which it may well be proud.

AFTER DINNER REMARKS.

At 3 P. M., Rev. M. E. Dunham, president of the village and toastmaster of the occasion, called the assemblage to order, and asked John F. Seymour to act for him.

Mr. Seymour said Henry A. Foster, of Rome, and others could not be present. He called on, as the first speaker, Judge Wetmore, of Pennsylvania.

Judge Wetmore said he was present because a descendant, a great grandson of Hugh White, the pioneer. His ancestors had left this locality and had gone to the wilderness of northern Pennsylvania. It was a good thing for children to go back to the hearthstones of their ancestors. It was a pleasure for him to look into the faces of the descendants of the Whites and Wetmores here. He complimented the people on their enterprise and thrift.

Rev. Thomas R. Gold Peck, of Waterville, was next called on. He said a little egotism on an occasion like this was pardonable. "It was in this dear old village of Whitesboro I first saw the light of the world, and was baptized by Rev. John Frost. Here I first attended school, and here I would come year after year when a resident of New York, to renew the wasted energies of city life." Mr. Peck spoke in a very pleasing manner of the old associations of the village. His grandfather, Thomas R. Gold, came here from Connecticut and established a law school. He sat in Congress and afterwards became government agent for the Indians. Rev. John Frost came here and married the eldest daughter of Thomas R. Gold, and the only direct descendant is Miss H. Gold Frost, who graces this occasion with her presence.

A large number of letters of regret had been received in response to invitations, sent to those having associations with this locality, but as there was not time then to read them all, or space now to print them, and as selections might be invidious, they are omitted. The following is a list of persons from whom regrets were received and their residences, the State being given, except New York:

H. G. Abbott, Utica.
C. D. Adams, Utica.
Miss E. J. Alexander, Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Rosamond Barbour, Saratoga Spa.
Charles W. Barnes, Buffalo.
Rev. Dr. Willis J. Beecher, Auburn.
Hon. H. R. Bigelow, St. Paul, Minn.
J. L. Bissell, Waterville.
Charles A. Butler, Utica.
Dr. A. N. Brockway, New York city.
Lewis A. Brigham, New York city.
W. B. Camp, Sacketts Harbor.
Hon. Horace Capron, Washington, D. C.
Hon. John D. Caton, Ottawa, Ill.
T. D. Catlin, Ottawa, Ill.
Hovey K. Clarke, Detroit, Mich.
His Exc. Grover Cleveland, Albany.
Ezra Chapman, Oneida.
Mrs. Clifton, Washington, D. C.
John Constable, New York city.
Rt. Rev. A. C. Coxe, Buffalo.
Hon. Alfred C. Coxe, Utica.
John J. Crouse, Syracuse.
Mrs. John Crouse, Syracuse.
H. W. Dawley, Guelph, Canada.
Rev. James Deane, Crown Point.
George Doolittle, Washington, D. C.
L. M. Drury, Canandaigua.
Hon. C. E. Flandrau, St. Paul, Minn.
William Floyd, Westernville.
Joseph Foreman, Lima.
John E. Frost, Topeka, Kan.
Hon. H. A. Foster, Rome.
John P. Garrett, South Trenton.
E. A. Graham, Utica.
Hon. S. Hastings Grant, New York city.
T. F. Hand, Oneida.
T. P. Handy, Cleveland, Ohio.
Dr. P. M. Hastings, Hartford, Conn.
Dr. J. W. Hitchcock, Mt. Vernon, Ill.
Wm. F. Hovey, Chicago, Ill.
John C. Hoyt, Utica.
Robt. J. Hubbard, Cazenovia.
Rev. T. B. Hudson, Clinton.
Thos. G. Hull, Brookland, Pa.
Mrs. K. W. Hutchinson, Albion.
E. R. Johnes, New York city.
D. M. K. Johnson, Rome.
J. F. Kirkland, Washington, D. C.
H. F. Locke, Waterville.
Jas. H. Loomis, Attica.
Rev. Dr. S. K. Lothrop, Boston, Mass.
Chas. J. Lowery, Brooklyn.
Rt. Rev. Theo. Lyman, Raleigh, N. C.
Prof. E. North, Ham. College, Clinton.
A. D. Neal, Paris.
Chas. A. Olmstead, Lockport.
Frank W. Owen, Boonville.
Dr. J. E. Peck, St. Augustine, Fla.
H. D. Peck, Staunton, Va.
Merritt Peckham, Utica.
Mrs. H. M. Peckham, Toledo, Ohio.
Hon. F. D. Penniman, Honesdale, Pa.
Rev. G. F. Plummer, Portland, Oregon.
Hon. W. C. Pierrepont, Pierrepont Manor.
Dr. W. A. Pierrepont, Brooklyn.
Mrs. Susan Porter, Cohoes.
Dr. H. C. Potter, East Saginaw, Mich.
Geo. Putnam, Waterville.
Hon. Chas. Rhodes, Oswego.
C. H. Roosevelt, New Rochelle.
Hon. John Sayles, Brenham, Tex.
Norman Seymour, Mt. Morris.
Com. M. Sicard, Washington, D. C.
Geo. J. Sicard, Buffalo.
Aaron Stafford, Waterville.
S. H. Stafford, Oneida.
Wm. K. Tibbits, Galesburg, Ill.
Charlemagne Tower, Philadelphia, Pa.

John C. Van Rensselaer, Rensselaer, Ind.
H. C. Van Schaack, Manlius.
Cornelius Van Santvoord, New York city.
B. S. Walcott, New York city.
S. E. Warner, New York city.
H. P. Willard, Boonville.
James C. Wetmore, Elizabeth, N. J.
Rev. W. W. Wetmore, Plymouth, Mich.
L. G. Wetmore, Ontario, Ill.
Mrs. Myra A. Wheeler, Kent, Conn.
Louis Wilhelmi, Ft. Grant, Arizona.
Erskine N. White, New York city.
Alexander M. White, Brooklyn.
Jas. H. White, Port Huron, Mich.
Edgar White, Port Huron, Mich.
Philo White, San Francisco, Cal.
Robt. S. White, San Francisco, Cal.
Canvass White, Perth Amboy, N. J.
Mrs. Hugh White, Cohoes.
Hon. Peter White, Marquette, Mich.
E. B. Wood, San Jose, Cal.
Rev. Albert S. Wood, Rensselaer Falls.
Wm. C. Young, New York city.
Wm. S. Young, Buffalo.
W. Edward Young, Buffalo.
Mr. and Mrs. Caryl Young, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Bagg read an old poem entitled "The Whitestown Rove," furnished by Mrs. D. B. Peck, of Marshall, with the following explanation:

"Reading about the Whitestown celebration I am led to send you an old time song which has been recited to me, from memory, by Mrs. Almira Barton, of Waterville, aged 81, widow of the late David Barton, one of the earliest settlers of this town, and sister of Mr. George B. Peck, of Marshall. Mrs. Barton says she memorized the words when a child, over 70 years ago, from hearing her blind aunt, Miss Roxanna Peck, sing them. It was called the 'Whitestown Rove,' and was composed in 1780, by those who, during the Revolutionary war, had been impressed with the fertility and beauty of the upper Mohawk region, as an invitation or exhortation to settlers to make their home in White's Town. Mrs. Barton is not aware that the lines were ever printed, and thinks the last line of each stanza was spoken. As a product of memory, and as a description of the physical and animal Whitestown of a hundred years ago, rather than as poetry, the song is as interesting as quaint."

"THE WHITESTOWN ROVE," 1780.

"Come all ye laboring hands
That toil below
Among the rocks and sands,
To plow and sow.
Come, and quit your hired lands
Let out by cruel hands;
You'll make large amends—
(If you'll to Whitestown go.)

"There's many a pleasant farm
Lies on that vale;
Where you can settle down,
You need not fail—
You'll make a large estate—
(So don't come too late.)

"Our cows they give us milk,
By nature fed;
Our fields afford us wheat
And corn for bread.
Oh! the sugar trees do stand
And sweeten all the land,
We have them at our hand—
(So do not fear.)

"The pigeon, goose and duck,
To fill our beds;
The beaver, coon and fox,
To crown our heads.
Oh! the harmless moose and deer
Make food and clothes to wear;
(Nature could do no more for any land.)

"There stand the lofty pines—
They make a show!
As straight as any lines
Their bodies grow,
And their lofty limbs do rear
Up to the atmosphere
Where winged tribes repair;
(And most sweetly sing.)

William Kirkpatrick of Syracuse, grandson of William Kirkpatrick, who came to Whitestown eleven years after Hugh White, was next called on. He said the Onondagas sent greeting to the Oneidas. They still kept the fires burning brightly at their councils. In a few years the Onondagas would celebrate their centennial, and the Oneidas would then find the old long house open at both ends. His ancestor had lived here eleven years, and had represented this district in Congress. The speaker gave an interesting sketch of his ancestor, which was closely listened to.

Mr. Seymour spoke of Captain Avery, who formerly lived in Whitestown, and whose daughter, Mrs. Hannah Avery Clark, lives at Utica with her son, George A. Clark. Captain Avery was a clergyman, who raised a company to fight in the Revolution.

Horace P. Bigelow of Waterville, spoke pleasantly of the great progress made by the country during the past one hundred years.

Professor A. G. Hopkins of Hamilton College, was next called on and spoke of the value of preserving the history of towns. The history of Kirkland had been well written, and it was appropriate that the history of Whitestown should also be.

Hon. David Gray of Marcy, was called on and said he was no more prepared to make a speech than he was to make a balloon ascension. He had known the people of Whitestown for sixty-five years, and had great respect for them. In the old days it was a custom for any one called on at a dinner, to make a speech, tell a story, or sing a song. He would conform to the custom by telling a story. This he did in most interesting style.

Hon. Samuel Earl of Herkimer, spoke interestingly of the relations of Herkimer and Oneida counties. The first county clerk of Herkimer county lived in Whitestown, which was the county seat. Although Herkimer was sixty years older than Whitestown, Whitestown within six or seven years took the lead in public spirit and enterprise. He read extracts from the diary of a lawyer who visited Whitestown in 1792, which showed that at that time Whitestown was quite gay.

Rev. Dr. D. G. Corey said he never heard so many good things said about a people as he had heard about the Whitestown people to-day. If they were not proud, it was because they possessed an extra amount of humility. Soon after the settlement of the town, a young lady came here from Connecticut. After remaining for a time she returned to Connecticut and gave most glowing accounts of the new western country. The only objection which she had to the place was that the people were all democrats. The chairman (Mr. Seymour) labored under the same difficulty.

He moved a vote of thanks to the ladies whose ministrations had been so faithful and who had done so much to make the visitors happy to-day.

The motion was unanimously carried.

Professor A. J. Upson spoke of the old elms of the village. He said his step-father was James Dean, who told him that when he was fourteen years old, just eighty years ago, he saw the elms planted in front of the residence of J. C. Smith, formerly the Judge Platt and S. Newton Dexter house.

Mr. Seymour read a poem entitled "Twenty Years Ago," written by Thomas Gold, Jr., son of Thomas R. Gold.

Twenty Years Ago.

I've wandered by the village, Tom, I've sat beneath the tree
Upon the school-house playing ground, that sheltered you and me;
But none were there to greet me, Tom, and few were left to know
Who played with us upon the green, some twenty years ago.

The grass is just as green, dear Tom, barefooted boys at play,
Were sporting just as we did then, with spirits just as gay,
The "master" sleeps upon the hill, which, coated o'er with snow,
Afforded us a sliding place, some twenty years ago.

The old school-house is altered some; the benches are replaced
By new ones, very like the same our pen-knives had defaced.
But the same old bricks are in the wall, the bell swings to and fro,
Its music's just the same, dear Tom, as twenty years ago.

The boys were playing some old game, beneath the same old tree;
I do forget the name just now—you've played it oft with me
On that same spot; 'twas played with knives by throwing so and so.
The loser had a task to do then—twenty years ago.

The river's running just as still, the willows by its side
Are larger than they were, dear Tom, the stream appears less wide,
But the grape vine swing is ruined now, where once we played the beau
And swung our sweethearts—"pretty girls"—full twenty years ago.

The spring that bubbled 'neath the hill, close by the spreading beech.
Is very low—'t was once so high, that we could almost reach,
And, kneeling down to get a drink, dear Tom, I started so,
To see how much that I am changed since twenty years ago.

Near by the spring upon an elm, you know I cut your name,
Your sweetheart's just below it, Tom, and you did mine the same,
Some heartless wretch had peeled the bark, 'twas dying sure but slow,
Just as that one whose name you cut died twenty years ago.

My lids have long been dry, dear Tom, but tears came to my eyes,
I thought of her I loved so well—those early broken ties,
I visited the old churchyard and took some flowers to strew
Upon the graves of those we loved some twenty years ago.

Some now are in the churchyard laid—some sleep beneath the sea,
But few are left of our old class excepting you and me;
And when our time has come, dear Tom, and we are called to go,
I hope they 'll lay us where we played some twenty years ago.

Rev. E. H. Payson of Oneida, said it was his privilege to be the pastor of the first Presbyterian church of Whitestown, which was not then Whitesboro. He was acquainted with all the pastors of the town from the time of John Frost to the present day. He wished to say a word for Judge Jedediah Sanger, one of the most prominent and best men of New Hartford, then Whitestown, who held court in a barn.

Mr. Seymour. Didn't they pass whisky around after court adjourned?

Rev. Mr. Payson. Undoubtedly they did, especially if Mr. Sanger was a democrat. [Laughter.]

Amos O. Osborn of Waterville, said his town (Sangerfield) was named after Judge Sanger, and in recognition of the honor, Judge Sanger gave the people a barrel of whisky or rather a cask of rum. Benjamin White first settled the town of Sangerfield, but he was not a relative of the Whites of Whitestown.

Hon. S. S. Lowery spoke briefly and pleasantly.

Rev. Mr. Conkling of Rochester, followed with a few remarks.

Hon. William J. Bacon spoke pleasantly of Whitestown. He remembered it when he was but eight years old, as a very pretty little village. He remembered its old court house, where the lawyers of the county engaged in legal struggles, and at the end of the day's work gathered around the large open fire place of the tavern and told stories. He tried his first case in that court house, and gave a very interesting account of it.

William W. Niles of New York, offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the children of Oneida, in centennial celebration assembled, be extended to Hon. Charles Tracy, for his delightful, exhaustive and eloquent address; and that a copy be requested for publication and preservation.

Resolved, That we have listened with great interest to the dedicatory address, by Rev. Anson J. Upson, D. D. That it has renewed in us our reverence for our ancestors, and our love for our "kith and kin," and awakens us to a fuller realization of our duties, our responsibilities, our influence and our position.

Resolved, That a copy be requested for publication.

Resolved, That the æsthetic, historic and poetic verses by Benjamin F. Taylor have added largely to the pleasure and completeness of this occasion, and that a copy be requested for publication.

William M. White offered the following, which were also adopted unanimously.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our chairman, Hon. Samuel Campbell, for the active, energetic and earnest interest he has manifested in making the centennial of Whitestown a success, and securing this monument as a memorial of the settlement of the town.

Resolved, That our thanks are also due to Dr. M. M. Bagg for his personal zeal and devotion in the arrangements for our celebration, and in summoning the children of Oneida county to commemorate their ancestors and their origin. And also to Thomas Foster for his efficient and successful labors as chairman of the finance committee. And last, but not least,

Resolved, That we cordially thank the people of Whitestown and their representatives, and especially the ladies of Whitesboro, for the cordial, hearty, substantial welcome given us, their guests, on this reunion of old friends and renewal of old memories.

The afternoon's exercises closed at 4.30 P. M., all present having enjoyed themselves heartily.

WHITESBORO'S GOLDEN AGE.

BY D. E. WAGER.

[The following series of papers were prepared for, and most of them read before the Oneida Historical Society in 1881 and 1882. The first paper was read December 7, 1881.]

In 1705 the colonial authorities of New York, with the approval of the sovereign of Great Britain, granted to five persons some 30,000 acres of land, now known as the "Oriskany patent." The boundaries of that patent commence at the junction of Oriskany creek with Mohawk river, (where the present village of Oriskany is), and extend up the creek four miles, for a distance of two miles on each side of that stream; also, for a distance of two miles on each side of Mohawk river and up that stream far enough to include the present city of Rome. That was the first patent granted of lands in what is now Oneida county.

The second grant of lands in this county, by the same authorities, was made in 1734, and known as "Cosby's manor,"

The Village of Whitesborough was incorporated under that name by an Act of the Legislature passed March 26, 1813. The official name of its Post Office is still Whitestown. Whitesboro has long been the popular name of both. By an Act of the Legislature passed June 14, 1884, the corporate name of the village was changed to Whitesboro. For the above engraving of its seal (representing the wrestling match between the pioneer settler and an Oneida chief,) we are indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. B. W. Whitcher, the authoress of "A Few Stray Leaves in the History of Whitesboro," published May 31, 1884.

the western boundary of which was at the point where Sauquoit creek empties into the Mohawk river, at or near what is now the village of Whitesboro.

A glance at the map of Oneida county will show, that between the above two tracts of land, is a strip about two miles wide and six miles in length, and on both sides of Sauquoit creek and Mohawk river. There are about 6,000 acres of land in that strip of territory, and in 1736, the above authorities granted that parcel to Frederick Morris and twelve others, under the name of the "Sadachqueda patent;" it has been sometimes called and known as the "Morris tract." At the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, Hugh Wallace was the owner of that patent. He had been from 1769 to 1775 a member of the New York Legislative Council, and by reason of his adherence to the crown, the New York Legislature in October, 1779, passed an act confiscating his property, forfeiting it to the State, and ordering the Sadequada patent to be sold. In January, 1784, that tract was so sold, and John Taylor, Zephaniah Platt, Hugh White and others became the purchasers.

By an arrangement between the owners, they were to meet on the patent in the summer of 1784, survey it out, make a partition and divide the lands among themselves.

In pursuance of this plan, and for the further purpose of becoming a permanent settler in the then remote wilderness, Hugh White, in May, 1784, left his old home in Middletown, Connecticut, accompanied by three sons, a daughter and a daughter-in-law, and proceeded by water to Albany, where they were joined by another son who had gone overland with two yokes of oxen. From Albany the party went by land to Schenectady, and there a batteau was purchased, and while the family and their goods went up the Mohawk by boat, the oxen were driven along the road and Indian trail, and kept even pace by land.

Not far from May 20th, 1784, the party reached a place on the south side of Mohawk river, a few miles east of what is now Utica, known as "Shoemaker's." The charred remains of burned buildings and the desolated and deserted, but once cultivated fields, told a sad, but eloquent tale of the ravages which the war of the Revolution had made. With a commendable foresight the party stopped there long enough to plant one of the unoccupied fields, to corn. They then resumed their journey and reached their place of destination on Sauquoit creek, and at what is now the village of Whitesboro, on the 5th day of June, 1784. A temporary bark

shanty was erected for that summer's use, and until a more substantial structure could be built. Soon after a log house was erected about quarter to half of a mile westerly of Sauquoit creek, on a rise of ground which formed the west bank of the valley of that stream, and about half a dozen rods southerly of what is now Main street in that village. It was at that house that Lafayette stopped and shared the hospitalities of Hugh White in the fall of that year, during his attendance at the treaty with the Indians held at Fort Stanwix. In the partition of that patent Mr. White acquired title to about 1,500 acres, and his possessions embraced the site of Whitesboro and extended southerly to the south bounds of the tract.

During the season of 1784, Mr. White and his sons cleared off about four acres of land by chopping down the trees, but not by piling and burning them as now, but by rolling the logs off the embankment east of his house, and upon the low lands between it and Sauquoit creek. That clearing included the present "village green," the sites which were subsequently those of the court house and jail, and adjacent lands. In due time the male members of that family hoed and harvested the field of corn, which they had planted at "Shoemaker's" the May before, and that crop did good service for the next winter's supply of food and fodder.

In January, 1785, Hugh White returned to Connecticut for the rest of his family, and at once brought them to his new settlement on the banks of the Sauquoit. The family then consisted in all of fifteen persons, viz.: five sons, (two of them married,) three daughters, two daughters-in-law, and three grand children. Those were the pioneer settlers subsequent to the revolution, and then the only white settlement in the State west of what is now the village of Herkimer, formerly "Fort Dayton."

Old Montgomery County.

At that period of time, that settlement was in Montgomery county, which county then included all of the State west of the county of Albany. That county was divided into "districts," not into towns as now. The "German Flatts district" then included part of what is now Herkimer county, and thence to the northern, southern, and western boundaries of the State.

On the 7th of March, 1788, Montgomery county was organized into towns, and all that part of the State west of a north and south line drawn across the State, passing through Genesee street in Utica, was formed into the "Town of Whites Town." The territory

embraced in this town included about half the State, with a population, perhaps, of less than 200. The first town meeting was held at the tavern of D. C. White, in Whitesboro, son of Hugh White, April 6, 1789. The first general election held in the town in 1791, commenced at Cayuga bridge, then adjourned to Manlius, thence to Fort Stanwix, and closed up at Whitesboro.

Old Herkimer County.

In February, 1791, Herkimer was carved out of Montgomery county, and extended west to Ontario county, which had been taken off in 1789. By this act of 1791 it was provided that the courts of common pleas and of general sessions for Herkimer county, "should be held at the church in the town of Herkimer." The church thus alluded to then occupied the present site of the Dutch Reformed church in that village, on the corner diagonally across the street from the present court house. But two terms in each year were provided for by said act, and those terms to commence on Tuesday and end the Saturday following. The judges and justices of these courts and the supervisors of the several towns in Herkimer county were authorized to select the site, and the latter to raise money to erect a court house and jail. The site selected is the present one in Herkimer village, and the jail was placed in the story underneath the court house. Henry Staring, a plain Dutch farmer, but of much native ability and good strong sense, and who had rendered valuable service, and endured great suffering for his country, was appointed first judge. Jedediah Sanger, of New Hartford, Hugh White and Amos Wetmore, of Whitesboro, were made side judges. William Colbrath, of Fort Stanwix, was appointed sheriff, and Jonas Platt, of Whitesboro, county clerk. Work was soon commenced on the court house and jail, and an act was passed in January, 1793, authorizing the supervisors to raise £1,000 to defray the expenses already incurred in the erection of those buildings; by the same act the courts above mentioned were authorized to alternate "between the court house in the town of Herkimer, and such place in the town of Whitestown as said courts should order to be entered in their minutes;" and the sheriff was ordered to remove all the Herkimer county prisoners to the jail in that county from Montgomery county, on or before March, 1793. In pursuance of above act the January term of the court was held in 1794 in an unfinished "meeting

house," in what is now New Hartford, at which Judge Staring presided. That was the first court of record held within the limits of Oneida county, and was the same court where Sheriff Colbrath passed up to the judge a jug of gin as the court was about to adjourn for the day, in consequence of the absence of fire and the intense cold in the building. As that story has been so often told and so many times published, it need not be repeated here. In March, 1795, a law was passed authorizing the supervisors of Herkimer county to raise $720 to complete the court house and jail, and in March, 1797, they were further empowered to raise all funds necessary for that purpose.

While Jonas Platt was county clerk of Herkimer county, he kept the county clerk's office at Whitesboro, but when Oneida county was taken off in 1798, the Herkimer county clerk's office was ordered to be located at Herkimer. In 1804, that clerk's office was destroyed by fire, and with it, about all of the valuable books, records and papers.

Not long since I examined the clerk's office at Herkimer to gather material for this sketch; but that fire of 1804 had made sad havoc with the early records. In a dry goods box, promiscuously stowed away, were "declarations," "*Narr*," and other pleadings and legal proceedings, with the names of E. Clark, T. R. Gold, Jonas Platt and J. Kirkland, early members of the bar in this locality when it was part of Herkimer county, endorsed on such papers, but so bedimmed by time and damaged by fire as to make it extremely difficult to gather much information therefrom. I was able, however, to ascertain from scraps and fragments of scorched and half burned court calendars, minutes of the courts and other legal documents, that prior to 1794, the Herkimer courts were held in what is now the village of Herkimer; and that from and after the January term of the Common Pleas in 1794 (which term was held at New Hartford) until Oneida county was taken off in 1798, the county courts of Herkimer alternated between Herkimer village and "the school house near Hugh White's in Whitestown." That school house stood on the north-easterly side of what is now Main street in Whitesboro, and was the site subsequently occupied by the Academy, and now by the residence of Hon. C. M. Dennison.

In January, 1795, at a term of the Common Pleas held at the court house in Herkimer, a vote was taken by the judges and justices present, as to the place in Whitestown the next June term should be held, and the votes, as entered on the minutes of the

court, stood eleven for "the school house near Hugh White's," and two votes for "the meeting house near Jedediah Sanger." Those two votes were James Dean and James Steele. I did not find any other vote entered in detail upon the minutes, as to where the courts should be held. The June term of 1795, and the September and October terms of 1796 and 1797 and the January term of 1798 were held at said school house. The fact that the county clerk's office of Herkimer county, for the first seven years after that county was organized, was kept at Whitesboro, and was so kept for eighteen years after Oneida county was formed, and that the county courts were held there half the time, had much to do in attracting thither, at that early period, leading lawyers and prominent citizens and in giving to that village a start and prominence in the early history of the county.

Oneida County.

In March, 1798, Oneida county was formed, and its boundaries then extended to the north and south bounds of the State, and as far west as Onondaga county. By that act courts were directed to be held "at the school house near Fort Stanwix," which school house then stood in the southeast corner of the west park in Rome. A court house when built, was ordered by said act organizing the county, to be located within one mile of the fort. Jedediah Sanger was appointed first judge, Hugh White and three others, side judges. William Colbrath, who had been the first sheriff of Herkimer county, was made the first sheriff of Oneida, and Jonas Platt, who had been first county clerk of Herkimer county, was made the first county clerk of Oneida. Dominick Lynch, a large land-holder in Rome, donated to the county, May 21, 1800, for the purposes of court house and jail, the present site occupied by those edifices. In March, 1801, an act was passed providing for the keeping of Oneida county prisoners in the Herkimer county jail, but to be removed therefrom to Oneida county, as soon as the sheriff of the latter county should deem the jail directed to be built in Oneida county sufficiently finished for the safe keeping of prisoners. In April, 1801, Thomas Jenkins and H. L. Hosmer, of Hudson, and John Thompson, of Stillwater, and Derick Lane of Troy, were appointed commissioners to locate the court house and jail in Oneida County, and they selected the site which Mr. Lynch had deeded to the county. The Whitesboro people then made an effort to make that locality a half shire town of the county; for at that time Utica was quite an

insignificant place and the leading men of the county were located at Whitesboro. In September, 1801, Hugh White deeded to the county over an acre of ground in Whitesboro to belong to the county, so long as it was used for purposes of court house and jail, but to revert to him or his heirs, when not so used. At a term of the Common Pleas held at the school house in Rome, in December, 1801, Sheriff Brodhead reported that the jail at Whitesboro was sufficiently completed for the safe-keeping of prisoners, and the court ordered the Oneida county prisoners in jail at Herkimer to be removed to the jail at Whitesboro in January, 1802. In February, 1802, the supervisors of Oneida County were authorized to raise the further sum of $539 to complete the jail (without mentioning which jail), and in February, 1803, they were further empowered to raise $500 to complete the jail at Whitesboro, and in April of the same year courts were authorized to be held alternately at Rome and Whitesboro, and the commissioners who had been authorized to erect the Rome jail were empowered by that act to go on and "cause the doors of the jail lately built at Rome to be made and completed." In April, 1806, the legislature authorized the supervisors of Oneida County to raise $4,000 to erect two court houses, the one near the jail at Rome and the other near the jail at Whitesboro, and those two court houses, both made of brick, were soon after built on the sites which had been donated to the county. The Rome court house was burned in 1847, but the Whitesboro building yet stands, probably the oldest one in the State yet standing, erected for a court house.

In delving among the session laws of the last century, to find laws relative to the holding of courts, I found the following law, passed in February, 1788, the same session Whitestown was formed, which may be curious and of interest at the present day, as showing how carefully the bench was then guarded, right after the Revolution, lest some wealthy and influential outsider should sit thereon, and by his presence overawe judges and perhaps thwart or prevent justice. The act reads: "No person, little or great, shall sit upon the bench with the judges during their session, upon pain of fine and imprisonment; and said judges are charged that they do not suffer any person to sit with them on the bench in their session contrary to the intent of this act."

This preliminary sketch relative to the patents, to the organization of counties and towns, to the designation of county seats, and the erection of court houses and jails, and the holding of courts, seemed to be necessary for a better understanding of

some of the causes which gave to Whitesboro its start and importance in the early history of the county, and contributed to make it the abode of so many influential persons, so many learned and able lawyers, and so many prominent politicians and citizens. I have named the pioneer settler. He was a person of resolute will, great force of character, full of energy and enterprise, and with a clear and discerning mind. The fact that Hugh White, at the age of fifty-one years, with a large family, should break away from early associations and pleasant surroundings, and become a pioneer in such a remote wilderness as this part of the State then was, indicates pretty clearly the character of the man, and that he was a person of far-reaching sagacity to be able to discern what this section was destined to become. He at once set to work to improve and build up the neighborhood, to cause it to be the place for holding courts, and in various ways to make it attractive, so as to induce its settlement by the best class of citizens from his own State, as well as from other localities. The lawyers who early located in Whitesboro, were college bred and learned in the law, and the other citizens were generally persons of mark, and of more than ordinary prominence and ability. The ladies, too, who composed the families of those early settlers, were as a rule, educated and refined, and, of course, gave grace, culture and dignity to the circle in which they moved. In many respects the villages of Whitesboro and Canandaigua seem much alike. Both were small places. While Whitesboro had her Whites, Gold, Sill, Platt, Storrs and Breese, Canandaigua had her Grangers, Wadsworth, Spencer, Porter, Sibley, Phelps and Gregg, men of distinction and large influence in the State.

In March, 1790, Congress passed a law for taking a census of the inhabitants of the United States. Under that law the first enumeration of the people was made after the revolution, and from it, it appeared that there were in what is now Rome, in that year, some three or four families, and in what is now Utica, about fifteen families and one hundred persons. Whitesboro had twenty families and some one hundred and thirty inhabitants. Of this number sixty-one were males over sixteen years of age, twenty-five males under sixteen, and forty-four females. That census showed there were six hundred and eighty-nine families in the town of Whitestown and a total population of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-one.

These papers are entitled "Whitesboro's Golden Age," and to show that Whitesboro had a golden age, and is justly entitled

to that name, and to all that may be said in praise of her prominent and worthy citizens, it will be essential to give a brief account of some of the persons who resided there, and who contributed to give it prominence and celebrity.

Hugh White and Family.

Hugh White and family occupy so large a place in the history of this State, that a full sketch of the various members would fill quite a volume. Even the merest outline will be quite too lengthy for a paper of this kind. Hugh White was one of the selectmen of Middletown from 1779 to 1783; he was commissary in the army during a portion of the Revolutionary war, and he was a man of means and of position, or he would not have been associated with such men as joined him in the purchase of Sadaqueda patent. At the time of his location in Whitesboro, this part of the State was a wilderness, the woods peopled with hostile Indians, the nearest white settlement twenty miles distant, and the nearest mill forty miles, (at Fort Plain). Mr. White, like Sir William Johnson and Rev. Samuel Kirkland and Judge James Dean, had the prudence and sagacity to conciliate and make friends with the Indians. The Oneidas adopted him into their tribe and he was a general favorite with all. He was one of the judges of the Herkimer Common Pleas when that county was organized in 1791, and held that office until Oneida county was formed seven years later, when he was appointed judge of that court for the latter county and held the office until 1804—fourteen years judge. During his life he placed his sons in comfortable circumstances about him by giving each a farm, locating them in relation to his own residence according to the priority of their ages—the eldest being the nearest, the youngest the farthest removed.

Judge White was the first settler after the Revolution, who dared to overleap the German settlements lower down on the Mohawk, and brave the dangers and the hardships of the western wilds. He lived to see the territory in which he settled, named after him as a town, and the vast wilderness, then inhabited only by savages, turned into cultivated fields and prosperous villages and become the abode of 300,000 persons, the forests and the red men replaced by seminaries of learning and temples of worship, the place where he settled and passed the remaining twenty-eight years of his life, become the leading village west of Albany, and the center of as refined and cultured a society, and

the home of as influential and intelligent a class of men as any in the state or nation. He died on the 17th of April, 1812, at the age of 79 years. His funeral was attended by his numerous descendants and connections, and by an unusual concourse of the most aged and respectable inhabitants of the county. The remains of this pioneer settler repose in a commanding position in the Whitesboro cemetery, and so long as history shall retain a memorial of the first settlement of this country, the name of Hugh White will be remembered with veneration and respect.

Mr. White had ten children, eight of whom grew to man or womanhood. Daniel C. White, the eldest of his sons, came (with his wife and a son then two years old) with his father in 1784 to settle on the Sadaqueda patent. He kept tavern directly across the road from his father's residence, on the brow of the hill, or rise of ground, east of and near the site now occupied by the residence of Mr. Babbitt, formerly of William Robbins. It was there his daughter, Esther White, was born in 1785; the first white child born in the State after the Revolution, west of the German Flats. She became in 1810 the wife of Henry R. Storrs. It was at that tavern the first town meeting was held in town, in April, 1789. Daniel C., died in 1800, and his widow kept the tavern after his death. Fortune C. White was another child of Daniel C. White. He was born at Whitesboro three years after the removal of his father there, and graduated at Hamilton College, which conferred on him in 1826, the honorary degree of master of arts. He read law with his brother-in-law, Henry R. Storrs, and the two subsequently became partners. In 1828, Mr. White was member of assembly from this county, and again in 1837. From 1840 to 1845, he was first judge of the Oneida Common Pleas, and was brigadier general of the New York State Militia. Except a residence of a few years at Yonkers, he was a resident all of his life, of the place where he was born. He died at Whitesboro in 1866, at the same age his grandfather, Judge Hugh White, was at his death.

Joseph White was another son of Judge Hugh White. He and his wife and his daughter Susan, then three months old, accompanied the pioneer settler to Whitesboro, in May, 1784. He was a farmer and settled on the flats, between his father's residence and Sauquoit creek, and died in 1827 at the age of sixty-six years. The daughter Susan, above mentioned, was the one taken to the house of the Indian Han Yerry, at Oriskany, to be kept over night, as related in Jones' Annals of Oneida County. Another

daughter of Joseph White was Abigail, the wife, but now the widow of Samuel Wilcox. She is yet living at Whitesboro, past ninety-two years of age, but with a good mind and memory for one of her years. She is the only one of those early born who has, up to this time, been a continuous resident of that village.* Henry White, a son of Joseph White, was born in Whitesboro, the same year Whitestown was organized; he was ambitious in his youth for the army or navy, and for the services he rendered his party in the political campaign of 1804, when he was but sixteen years old, in carrying political documents and dispatches, he was promised a cadetship; but as that promise was not fulfilled, he became a farmer. When the Utica and Schenectady Packet Boat Company was organized in 1822, after the completion of the Erie canal, he was appointed superintendent, and held that position for sixteen years, exhibiting great executive ability. He died in Utica in 1860, at the age of seventy-two. Joseph White had eleven children, five of them sons, and two of the latter died in infancy.

Hugh White, Jr., was another son of Judge Hugh White. For three years Hugh, Jr., was in the Revolutionary army, and for a time on board a privateer during that war. He was twenty-one years old when he accompanied his father to Whitesboro in 1784. He was a farmer, and lived near his father's residence, and had seven children. One of his sons was Canvass White, who served in the war of 1812, was one of the early engineers on the Erie canal, and was sent to England by the canal authorities to procure mathematical instruments and to make observations relative to canals. To him has been generally ascribed the credit of being the first discoverer of water lime cement, until that claim was so ably combatted in a paper prepared and read before this society in November last year by Hon. Samuel Earl. He died in Florida in 1834. Hugh White, brother of Canvass White, graduated at Hamilton College in 1823, at the age of twenty-five, read law with his relatives, Storrs & White, and afterwards in New York city, but soon turned his attention to other pursuits. From 1825 to 1830, he was a resident of Chittenango, and after that removed to Waterford, Saratoga County, and in 1844 was elected to Congress from that county, and was subsequently twice re-elected, serving three terms in that body.

Ansel White, was another son of Judge Hugh White. He accompanied the latter to Whitesboro in 1784. He was a farmer and had ten children. He died in that village in 1858, at the age

* Since deceased.

of ninety-three, having been a resident of that locality seventy-four years.

Philo White, another and the youngest son of Judge Hugh, was seventeen years old when he came with his father to Whitesboro. He was a farmer and also engaged more or less in merchandising; and he had nine children, four of them sons. One of the sons, (Hon. Philo White, LL. D.,) was born in Whitesboro, and acquired an academical education at the seminary in that village. His early inclinations were for the press, and before of age, he contributed much to the columns of the *Columbian Gazette*, a paper started in Rome in 1799, but removed to Utica in 1803. In 1820 he went to Washington, and while there and through the influence or acquaintance of his relative, Henry R. Storrs, then in Congress from this county, Mr. White went to North Carolina and became editor and proprietor of the *Western Carolinian*, and so continued until 1830, when he was appointed United States navy agent for the Pacific station. In 1834 he established the North Carolina *Standard* at Raleigh, and was elected State printer and his paper became the State paper. From 1837 to 1844 he was paymaster and purser in the United States Navy. Subsequently he removed to Wisconsin, was editor of several newspapers there, and in 1847 was member of the Territorial Legislature, and subsequently of the State Senate. He held other positions of influence in that State. In 1849 he was appointed United States Consul at Hamburg. In 1853 he was appointed *charge d' affaires* to the Republic of Ecuador, and the next year was raised to the grade of minister resident in that country, and there remained until 1858. Many years ago he returned to the village where he was born, where he now resides at the age of eighty-two, with a vigorous mind, respected by his neighbors and a very large and extensive circle of acquaintance. (Died February 15, 1883.)

General George Doolittle.

Within two years after Judge White left Middletown in 1784, there came from that same place to Whitesboro a young man, then less than twenty-six years old. Although a young man in years he had rendered good service to his country, for during the struggle which resulted in our independence, George Doolittle had served in the continental army. He was a shoemaker by trade, and carried his "kit of tools" with him while in the war, and with these he "cobbled" and mended the shoes of the soldiers,

and the money thus earned was carefully saved. With his little capital he commenced at Whitesboro the shoe-making business, which expanded into that of a tanner and currier.

He was highly prosperous in business, accumulated a handsome property, and was greatly respected. He was for nearly thirty years supervisor of Whitestown, and such was the confidence of the taxpayers and his fellow-citizens, in his ability and integrity, that there was little or no opposition, to his repeated re-elections. His residence at the time of his death was just east of Sauquoit creek, in the brick house yet standing there, a few rods southerly from Main street. He was the first brigadier general of militia commissioned in the county, and a Roman who remembers General Doolittle sixty years ago, says he was a large handsome man and occupied a high position in the community where he lived. He died quite suddenly in 1825 at the age of sixty-five years leaving ten children and twenty-eight grandchildren. Two of his sons, Jessie W. and Charles R., were prosperous merchants in Utica, the former as early as 1805. One of his daughters became the wife of Benjmin S. Walcott; another married Herbert B. Mann, a son of Newton Mann, then of Whitesboro, but who subsequently moved to Jefferson county, and after whom Mannsville was named; another was the wife of William K. Tibbitts; another married Joseph Foster, and the youngest one married Charles Hammond, who was prominently connected with various railroad enterprises in the west. His wife was the survivor of all General Doolittle's ten children, and a few years ago she and her husband were residents of Chicago.

Amos Wetmore.

In 1786 Amos Wetmore, with a large family, came from Middletown, Conn., and settled on lands adjoining Mr. White's, but east of Sauquoit creek. He was the owner of two hundred and fifty acres of land and was a prominent and enterprising citizen. In 1788, the first grist mill in the State west of the German Flats, was erected on his lands by John Beardsley, builder, at the joint expense of Mr. Wetmore, Hugh White and Mr. Beardsley—the latter being owner of half, and each of the others of one-quarter of the mill. The mill was but a short distance from Mr. Wetmore's residence, and a number of rods east of the Sauquoit, and the machinery of the mill was propelled by water taken in a canal from the creek. In the course of a few years the mill burned down, and Mr. Wetmore, in 1797, built a new one, he having in the

mean time become sole owner. There had been no actual purchase or deed of the water, or the right to use it, to Mr. Wetmore, and soon after the new mill was rebuilt, Mr. White insisted that unless Mr. Wetmore would build a dam and turn half of the water on a meadow contiguous to Sauquoit creek (owned by Hugh White, Jr.,) and become a Presbyterian and join the congregation in Whitesboro under the charge of Rev. Bethuel Dodd, he (the elder Hugh White) would cut the old dam and deprive Mr. Wetmore of the use of the water. Mr. Wetmore did not consent and the dam was cut accordingly, and Mr. Wetmore filed a bill in chancery against Hugh White, Sen. and Jr., claiming that a parol agreement or understanding between Wetmore and the elder White existed as to the water. Jonas Platt, a young man of less than thirty years of age, then located at Whitesboro, was solicitor for Mr. Wetmore, assisted by Abraham Van Vechten of Albany, one of the best real estate lawyers in the State. Thomas R. Gold, assisted by John V. Henry of Albany, also a bright legal luminary, was counsel for Mr. White. At the hearing in chancery, before Chancellor Lansing, the latter decided in favor of Mr. White, but on appeal to the Court of Errors, the latter court unanimously reversed the chancellor's decision and gave to Mr. Wetmore the permanent use of a portion of the water. The case after being in the courts seven years was decided in 1805, and the mill was for years known far and wide as "Wetmore's Mills." Mr. Wetmore was appointed one of the side judges of the Herkimer Common Pleas when that court was organized, and in 1798 when Oneida county was formed he was appointed one of the justices for the county. He died in 1808 at the age of sixty-seven years, leaving eight children and numerous descendants. Among his sons were Amos, Jehiel, Ezra, Asher and Parsons Wetmore; the latter married a daughter of Judge Hugh White.

Leavenworth, Wilcox, Pool, Barnard and Brainard.

Soon after Amos Wetmore's removal to the "Whitestown country," there came, (and prior to 1790), a number of other families from the New England States, who located at or near Whitesboro; but the order or the precise year of their coming can not now be ascertained. There were the families of Lemuel Leavenworth, Reuben and Ozias Wilcox, Simeon Pool, Moses Barnard Jeptha Brainard; all of the foregoing appear on the United States census of the town of Whitestown, taken in 1790; all, except Mr. Pool, I believe, came from Connecticut; Pool came from Massa-

chusetts. It would seem from recorded deeds in the county, that most, if not all of the above, located on farms outside of the village of Whitesboro, and hence, strictly speaking, out of the line of these sketches. A brief reference, however, to each will not be, perhaps, uninteresting. Mr. Leavenworth located east of Sauquoit creek and at his death, in 1825, was the owner of quite a farm. He held town offices, and was coroner of the county in 1798, 1799 and 1800; he left a number of children. Jeptha Brainard located west of the village, but after a few years he moved to Western in this county, and died in 1829, at the age of 83 years. He was the grandfather of the somewhat celebrated Dr. Daniel Brainard, of Rush Medical college. The Wilcox family became permanent residents of the town. Reuben was a soldier of the Revolution, and when he came to Whitesboro, bought a farm a mile west of the village, for which he gave two shillings per acre, and had to cut a road through the woods to get to it. He married a daughter of Joseph White, (and sister of Mrs. Abigail Wilcox,) and died in 1853 at the age of ninety years. He was father of Morris and Reuben Wilcox, whom present residents of Whitesboro will remember as being old residents of that place. Moses Barnard purchased considerable land in that locality and was one of the substantial citizens of the town; he died in 1811, at the age of sixty-one. Simeon Pool in 1793, owned some two hundred acres of land adjoining the Oriskany patent, west of Whitesboro. In that same year he had the contract for carrying the United States mails between Canajoharie and Whitesboro, which was evidence of the establishment of a post-office at the latter place, at least as early as that year. In the *Western Centinel* of 1794, then published at Whitesboro, is an advertisement of a store at "Pool's landing," (wherever that may be) in that town. It further appears from recorded deeds, that Simeon Pool was a resident of Whitestown in January, 1795, but that in December of the same year, he is described as being of German Flats. All that I can learn further of him is from Jesse R. Pool, who was a resident of Whitestown since his birth in 1806, on the farm where he resided until his death in September last; which farm was about a mile south of Oriskany. He informed me that his father (John H. Pool) was a cousin of Simeon; that he remembered hearing his father read or tell of letters he had received from Simeon Pool, then at Washington, or further south; giving an account of the arrest of Aaron Burr, in which arrest Simeon had a part, and of Burr's trial for treason in 1807. The Pools cordially disliked Burr, and hence those letters were full and interesting.

The grandfather of Jesse R. Pool came to Whitestown with another son between 1790 and 1800, and the two soon afterwards moved into what is now Jefferson county. Jesse R. stated they moved to Watertown. Hough's history of that county records the fact that Timothy Pool was one of the assessors and one of the overseers of highways of the town of Champion, the first year that town was organized in 1800; but what relationship that Timothy was to Simeon Pool, I can not state. The John Pool who was republican United States senator from North Carolina from 1867 to 1873, and who made a sensation in political circles by coming out for General Hancock in the presidential campaign of 1880, is supposed to be a descendant of the Simeon Pool above mentioned.

Dr. Elizur Moseley.

As early as 1790, there was living in Whitesboro, one who was the first physician, the first merchant, and the first postmaster of the place. How much sooner than 1790, Dr. Elizur Moseley came to that village I can not ascertain. The United States census of August of that year, shows he was there then. He came from Massachusetts, and his wife was a sister of Mrs. Captain Ebenezer Wright, who came to Wright's settlement in Rome, in 1789, father of the present E. W. Wright of that town. Dr. Moseley erected a dwelling on the corner of what is now Main and Clinton streets, in Whitesboro, and in due time erected a more substantial dwelling, quite a nice one for the times and place. He also erected a store near his dwelling, and later a tavern stand. My information is, that he had considerable of a ride as a physician when he first located in the place and the country was new and the population scattered, but years before 1820 he gave up about all of his practice, and up to about 1830 attended mainly to the duties of his store. He kept a varied assortment of goods and articles for sale, so much so, that his store was noted the country through as the place where everything was kept on hand and for sale. A bet was once made in the village bar-room of "the drinks for the crowd," that no one could go to Dr. Moseley's store and inquire for any article that he did not have for sale. The taker of the bet went over to the store and wanted to purchase a "goose yoke." The doctor, who knew nothing of the bet nor the object of the inquiry, very innocently asked which kind of a goose yoke was wanted, "the forked stick" or "the single goose yoke." The inquirer was non-plused at first, yet on second thought said he would take *l oth.* The doctor went or sent up into the garret and

brought down one of each kind, to the utter discomfiture of the loser of the bet, but to the great amusement of the winner, and the evident satisfaction of the crowd, which lingered at the bar-room until they got their share of the stakes. It has been heretofore stated that Simeon Pool carried the mails in 1793 between Canajoharie and Whitesboro; that is good evidence that there was a post-office there as early as the latter year; but tradition has it that a post-office was established in Whitesboro in 1790, and that Elizur Moseley was the first postmaster of the place. A recent letter of inquiry to the post-office department brought back the answer that a fire had destroyed earlier records, but that it appeared from records then in the office that in January, 1795, Elizur Moseley was postmaster of Whitesboro, and was such until he was succeeded in 1825 by William G. Tracy. When he ceased to be postmaster of that village, it was stated in the newspapers of the day, that he had been longer in that service than any other postmaster in the United States. When Oneida county was formed Dr. Moseley was appointed one of the justices of the new county, and in 1799 he was made the second sheriff. He practiced medicine and carried on the mercantile business, as before stated, until about 1830. His wife died about ten years before. About 1832 he sold his residence in Whitesboro to Dr. F. B. Henderson, and also sold his store, and about that time went to reside with his daughter, Mrs. Morrison, in Penn Yan, where he died about 1835. He was about five feet ten inches high, and is represented as being polite and affable in his manners, courteous in his conduct and bearing and careful not to say anything to hurt the feelings of others; he was much liked and respected by all. He reared a family of five children, all daughters but one. In the Whitesboro cemetery is a lot, surrounded by a substantial iron fence, and within the enclosure are a number of mounds, all thickly overgrown with briars and brambles; there are no monuments nor headstones to tell whose remains rest beneath the soil, nor anything to indicate whose lot that fence encloses, save the single word of "Moseley" upon the iron gate.

William A. Moseley was the only son of Dr. Moseley; he graduated at Yale college in 1816, read law with Gold & Sill, and soon after his admission to the bar, and about 1819, he located in Buffalo, and there became a prominent lawyer and citizen. In 1835, he was elected to the Assembly from Erie county, and ten years later he was elected to Congress. Late in life he

married the widow of Bela Coe, of Buffalo; she was a daughter of the late P. C. J. DeAngelis, formerly of Trenton, in this county. William A. Moseley died in New York city in 1877, leaving no descendants. Those who remember him well forty years ago, inform me that he was tall and of commanding figure, (six feet in height,) of graceful and polished manners, and of fine literary tastes and acquirements, and a fair lawyer. I am told that his portrait adorns the walls of the court room of the General Term at Buffalo. The eldest daughter of Dr. Moseley, (Mary Ann,) became the wife of Julius Guiteau. Another daughter became the wife of Roderick N. Morrison, who was a lawyer in Utica, and at one time law partner in that city of the late Thomas H. Flandrau, and later of Benjamin F. Cooper; on the death of his first wife, Mr. Morrison married another daughter of Dr. Moseley, and not far from 1835 lived in Penn Yan, and later in New York city. In 1850 he was living in San Francisco, and was probate judge of that city, where he died in 1856. One of Mr. Morrison's sons was named after Dr. Moseley; he was lieutenant in the army, as a volunteer, during the Mexican war. As a romance of his life, a relative of his informs me that it became the lieutenant's duty to attend to the execution of a soldier sentenced to be shot for desertion. A brother of the soldier thus executed swore vengeance against Lieutenant Morrison for his part in the affair, and some years after, that brother and the lieutenant met in the streets of San Francisco, and with little or no warning, the brother drew his pistol and shot Lieutenant Moseley Morrison dead in the streets of that city. Another daughter of Dr. Moseley married Valentine Morris, son of Judge Morris, of Butternuts, Otsego county; he was a midshipman in the United States Navy when young, and later in life had charge of the property of the United States at Sacketts Harbor, where his wife died not many years ago. The daughter who married Julius Guiteau outlived her husband and died some twenty years ago, and her remains are in the Whitesboro cemetery.

As I shall have considerable to say in relation to those lawyers located in Whitesboro prior to 1800, and to make reference to the Circuit Courts, and Courts of Oyer and Terminer held in that village up to 1820, it may add interest to give a brief statement of the condition of the judiciary and the mode of obtaining admission to the bar, at the time the pioneer lawyers made Whitesboro their home.

In 1790 there were but three Supreme Court judges in the State,

and they held all the general terms in the State, all of the Circuit Courts, and Courts of Oyer and Terminer in the respective counties. The salary of the chief justice was $750 per annum, that of the two associate judges $500 each. There was not then, nor for many years thereafter, a single text book on law, by an American author—not any work on the practice in the courts—not a volume of reported decisions, nor any "rules" of the courts to govern the judges or to guide the practitioners. There were no degrees among lawyers as in later years, such as attorneys, counselors and solicitors. Before persons could be admitted to the bar, they were required to serve seven years' clerkship with a practicing attorney, or else, three years of such clerkship and pursue classical studies for four years—making seven years, either way. They were then admitted, not as now by courts after an examination, but licensed by the governor of the State, on the recommendation of the chief justice of the Supreme Court, and on signing the "roll for attorneys," then kept in the Supreme Court clerk's office in the city of New York, and on taking the following oath:

"I, ————, do solemnly, without any mental reservation or equivocation whichsoever, swear and declare that I renounce and abjure all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and state, in all matters ecclesiastical, as well as civil, and that I will bear faith and true allegiance to the State of New York, as a free and independent State.

I ———— do swear that I will truly and honestly demean myself in the practice of an attorney according to the best of my ability.

On that "roll," and underneath above oath, are the signatures of some thirty or forty attorneys, with the date of subscription opposite, or underneath each signature. The earliest date on that "roll" is January 12, 1790. Over the date of April 24, of same year, is the autograph of DeWitt Clinton; opposite the date of May 1, 1790, is the autograph of John V. Henry, who became one of the legal luminaries of the State; opposite the date of August 5, 1790, is the autograph of Francis Bloodgood, who became afterwards a prominent citizen of Utica, State senator, county clerk of this county from 1802 to 1813, and again from 1815 to 1821; opposite the date of October 20, 1790, is the name of Henry W. Livingston, who also was a resident of Utica from 1808 to 1814.

Jonas Platt.

On the roll and opposite the date of July 27, 1790, is the autograph of one who, at that date, was but a month and a few days past his twenty-first birthday, and who in a few months thereafter, took up

his residence in Whitesboro, and thereby became the pioneer lawyer in the State west of Johnstown, and who also in due time made his impress upon the little hamlet where he settled and subsequently rose to eminence in the county and State. That pioneer young lawyer was Jonas Platt. He was born at Poughkeepsie, and read law with Richard Varick, attorney general of the State. His father was Zephaniah Platt, a prominent, wealthy and influential citizen of that locality, who became, in 1784, one of the owners of a tract of land in Clinton county, in this State, bounded east by Lake Champlain and extending westerly on both sides of the Saranac river, so as to make seven miles square; Plattsburgh was named after him. Besides the partnership which Zephaniah Platt had in the Clinton county lands, and in the Sadaqueda patent, as heretofore mentioned, he was also interested in lands in the "Military tract," in the western part of the State. For three years he was delegate to the Continental Congress, a member of the committee of safety, twice a deputy to the Provincial Congress of New York, State senator from 1778 to 1784, member of the council of appointment in 1778 and again in 1781, and first judge of Dutchess county from 1781 to 1795. Jonas Platt had not only the wealth and influence of his father to back him, but the same year that he located in Whitesboro, he married into the wealthy and aristocratic Livingston family of Poughkeepsie; his wife was a sister of the Henry W. Livingston, above mentioned, and aunt of the second wife of Judge Smith Thompson, of the Supreme Court of this State, and later of the United States Supreme Court. It was between August 1, 1790, and November 12, of that year, that Jonas Platt became a resident of Whitesboro, as evinced by the facts, that the United States census taken August, 1790, does not contain his name, while a deed to him of lands in Whitestown, recorded in the county clerk's office, bearing date November 12, 1790, describes him "of Montgomery county,' as Whitesboro was at that date. It is quite likely, that the large interest which the father of Jonas Platt then had in the Sadaqueda patent, and the fact that the tide of emigration was then setting in strongly to the "Whitestown country," and that in all human probability a new county would be soon organized in this part of the State, with new county offices to be filled, had much to do with the son's making Whitesboro his future home. Mr. Jonas Platt became the owner of quite a parcel of land in that patent, by a deed from his father, and he and his wife went to housekeeping in a log cabin on the corner of what is now Main and Mohawk streets in that village.

In less than six months thereafter Herkimer county was organized, and the next day after such organization Jonas Platt was appointed its first county clerk, and held that office for seven years, and kept it and its records at Whitesboro. In 1795 he was elected to the assembly from the district then composed of the counties of Herkimer and Onondaga. On the 15th of March, 1798, Oneida county was taken off from Herkimer, and four days thereafter Mr. Platt was appointed clerk of this new county, holding and keeping the office and the records at Whitesboro until 1802—making a clerkship of eleven years for the two counties. The same year that he was appointed county clerk of Oneida, and within a few weeks thereafter, he was nominated by the federalists for Congress, for the district then composed of the counties of Montgomery, Herkimer, Oneida and Chenango, and in April was elected. Up to this time he was the first lawyer, the first county clerk and the first congressman who resided within what is now Oneida county. Hence it is apparent that within the first decade after Jonas Platt's removal to Whitesboro, he rose rapidly to prominence, and became an important factor in the affairs of the county and in the politics of the State. In the mean while his law business increased, and he must have attained considerable distinction at the bar, for I find that in 1807 he and William W. Van Ness of Albany, both federalists, were brought forward as candidates for the vacant judgeship of the Supreme Court, occasioned by the resignation of Brockholst Livingston to accept the appointment of judge of the United States Supreme Court. The federal members of the appointing power were at first equally divided between Platt and Van Ness, but after consultation and comparison of views, Mr. Van Ness was appointed, and Mr. Platt had to bide his time. It was not long, however, he had to wait. An election of State senators was to take place in April, 1809, and the federal party made great efforts that year to carry the legislature, by nominating their best and most popular men. It was the next year after President Madison's election, an "off year" to the national administration, and at a time when the people, especially in the country districts, were much excited and dissatisfied with the "embargo act" and other measures of that administration. Mr. Platt and two other federalists were nominated by their party for State senators in the "western district," then composed of all of the State west of Montgomery county. Elections were then held in April, and a property qualification required. That "western district" had not elected a Federal Senator since 1799, and there was but little faith that Mr.

Platt and his associates could be elected. Election came, and all three federalists were elected by three hundred and ninety-one majority. This was indeed a great surprise all through the State, and seemed at once to bring Jonas Platt prominently to the front as the federal candidate for Governor in 1810. The town of Whitestown, always strongly federal as long as that party existed, gave Jonas Platt for senator and one of his associates three hundred and fifty-four votes and his other associate three hundred and fifty-three votes, while it gave the opposition ticket one hundred and fifty votes; the towns which now constitute Oneida county gave that federal ticket over eight hundred majority. The first session of the Senate after Mr. Platt's election did not begin until January 30, 1810, yet twenty-five days before that time a federalist meeting was held at Albany, presided over by Abraham Van Vechten, at which Jonas Platt was nominated for governor. It was pretty well understood at that time that Governor Daniel D. Tompkins would be renominated as Mr. Platt's competitor, and he was so renominated in just one month from that time, and in April thereafter, was a second time elected, his majority over Mr. Platt in the State being about six thousand five hundred. At that election the "western district" returned to its old love and gave Mr. Tompkins a goodly majority. The town of Whitestown, which gave in 1807 Mr. Tompkins one hundred and forty-four votes and Morgan Lewis, his opponent, three hundred and twenty-two, at this election in 1810 gave Mr. Tompkins one hundred and sixty-one votes and Mr. Platt three hundred and seventy-two; and right here is a good place to mention the votes given for Governor in Whitestown from 1807 to 1818, as showing how slight the increase, and how little they varied, during that decade. In 1813 Governor Tompkins ran the third time and received in that town one hundred and sixty-one votes, (the exact number he received when he ran against Jonas Platt,) while Rufus King, his opponent, received three hundred and sixty-four votes, or eight less than Mr. Platt received. In 1816, when Tompkins ran the fourth time, he received one hundred and forty votes, or four votes less than he received 1807, when he ran the first time, while Stephen Van Rensselaer, his opponent, received three hundred and fifty-five.

Mr. Platt was a prominent member of the Senate and took an active part in the project for the construction of the Erie canal. His term expired in April, 1813, and the next February there was a vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court by reason of the

promotion of Judge Smith Thompson to the Chief Judgeship. A majority of the federalists favored Jonas Platt for that vacancy. His competitor was Richard Riker, of New York city, therefore, a strong "Clintonian." The federalists were in the minority in the appointing Board, but a "Clintonian" member of that Board cast his vote for Jonas Platt and the latter was thereby appointed judge, February 23, 1814. It was charged at that time that DeWitt Clinton's secret influence was exerted in favor of Mr. Platt and against Mr. Riker; at any rate, Mr. Riker seemed so to think, for after that appointment he ceased to be a friend of DeWitt Clinton. Although Mr. Platt was appointed judge in February, 1814, it was nearly four years thereafter before he held a Circuit Court in this county. The first term he held in the county was at Whitesboro, commencing December 17, 1817, and lasting ten days; there were over two hundred and fifty causes on the calendar, and one hundred and one jury trials. He held court almost every night until midnight and commenced early each morning. He "pushed things" somewhat after the manner of the late Judge Gridley. The next term he held in the county was at Rome, in June, 1818, lasting four days, and thirty-four jury trials disposed of. In November of same year, he held a Circuit at Utica, and disposed of seventy-two jury trials. The nature of those jury trials the records of the court do not show. In June, 1821, he held another term at Rome, and the next November at Utica, and those five terms were all he held in this county while on the bench. He held courts, however, in other counties of the State, and did his share of the general term business. The newspapers of that period speak of him as an indefatigable worker. When he went upon the bench in 1814, there were about a dozen volumes, all told, of reported decisions, and when he left it about ten more volumes were added to the list. In 1821, and while yet judge, he was elected from this county to the constitutional convention. He was a strong federalist, and was not imbued with the progressive views then taking hold of the people. While a member of that convention he not only spoke and voted against some of the liberal features of the constitution, but did not sign the instrument after its adoption by the convention. That constitution went into effect January 1, 1823, and put an end to the term of the old judges. Governor Joseph C. Yates sent the names of the judges of the old Supreme Court to the Senate for confirmation as the judges of the new Supreme Court, but that body rejected them, and thereupon Judge Platt was retired to private life.

When Judge Platt left the bench he had lost most of his property by reason of his large expenses and the smallness of his salary. He at once resumed the practice of law with all the industry, ardor and energy of his younger years. He removed to Utica about 1824, and in company with his son opened a law office in that then village. Not far from 1828, he removed to New York city to practice law, and did there a fair share of business. He was one of the three arbitrators (the other two being merchants, I believe) in the Greek frigates litigation, out of which arose great excitement at the time, and discussion in the newspapers, by reason of the decision in the case and the fees charged. Time and "the sober second thought of the people" entirely vindicated the character, integrity and fair fame of Judge Platt. Failing health compelled him to relinquish his law business, and soon after 1830 he removed to a farm in the town of Peru, near Lake Champlain, in Clinton county, and there he engaged in agricultural pursuits. He died very suddenly February 22, 1834, at the age of 65, of disease of the heart. The Clinton county bar held a meeting on the occasion of his decease and passed suitable resolutions. A meeting of the Oneida county bar was held March 10, 1834, at Whitesboro, the Common Pleas being then in session. General Joseph Kirkland was chairman and Chester Hayden secretary. A committee on resolutions, composed of Nathan Williams, J. A. Spencer, Theodore Sill, J. H. Ostrom, F. C. White and Hiram Denio, reported a series of resolutions, expressive of their high opinion and regard for deceased and regret at his death, and resolving to wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days. Nathan Williams, in a speech, paid high tribute to the worth of the departed, and gave a brief sketch of some of the incidents in his life. In the meridian of life, Judge Platt embraced the doctrines of the gospel, and was a meek and devoted Christian, making open profession of the faith that was in him. He died as he had lived, in peace and charity with all, leaving not an emeny behind him, but rather a multitude of ardent friends who lamented his death and mourned that he was gone. Those now living, who remember Judge Platt as he was on the bench and after he left it, describe him as about five feet eight inches high, medium size, dark eyes, of quiet demeanor, courteous in his manners, dignified, yet affable in his bearing, social in his intercourse with others, a close student and a diligent worker. The reports of the Supreme Court, after he left the bench, showed that he had a fair share of business as counsel from

all parts of the State. His life had been one of incessant activity, and during the forty years that he had been among the most prominent of the actors on life's busy stage, he had witnessed important changes in the country at large, but more especially in the locality where he commenced his professional career. The log cabin where he and his wife commenced housekeeping, gave place in a few years to the fine mansion yet occupying the site, and the young saplings which his thrifty and industrious hands planted near a century ago, are now the stately and magnificent trees which shade and beautify the grounds and ornament the village. He was the first president of the Oneida Bible society, in 1810, and was such for four years, and again from 1824 to 1828.

Judge Platt had eight children—two sons and six daughters, all born in Whitesboro. The eldest son was Zephaniah; he graduated in 1815 from Hamilton college, read law, was admitted to practice, and became his father's law partner in Utica, after the latter left the bench. When Judge Platt removed to New York, the son located in Michigan, and was Attorney-General of that State. In 1868 he removed to South Carolina, was appointed a judge of one of the courts in that State, and died at Aiken in 1871, at the age of seventy-five years. Henry Platt, the other son, attended the school of Mr. Rawson, in Whitesboro, where he was a classmate of John Stryker, of Rome and Charles Tracy of New York; he engaged in mercantile pursuits, removed to New York city, and died many years ago. In the Whitesboro cemetery are three little mounds, side by side, but with no enclosure surrounding them. The time-worn and faded headstones tell us they are the graves of three of the daughters of Jonas and Helen Platt—the one their first, and another their last born, all three dying before 1811. The other three daughters of Judge Platt reached maturity. One became the wife of Truman Parmele, for many years a resident of Utica and among its respected and worthy citizens. Her name was Helen, after her mother. Susan was another; she became the first wife of Richard R. Lansing, after whom the capital of Michigan is named. He was a prominent citizen of Utica, and a nephew of Chancellor Lansing. After the death of his first wife, which occurred not far from 1835, R. R. Lansing married her cousin, the widow of Judge Smith Thompson. Cornelia, another daughter, was engaged to be married to Rev. Theodore Spencer, son of Chief-Justice Ambrose Spencer. She was east on a visit, but reaching Albany on her way home, sickened and died but a short time before the day fixed for the

wedding. She died May 27, 1821, at the age of twenty-two years. Those now living who remember her inform me she was a beautiful, highly educated and accomplished young lady. Theodore Spencer died nearly fifty years after his first love, yet the remains of both repose near each other, in the rural cemetery of the village where she was born.

Elias K. Kane.

John, Charles, Elisha and Elias Kane were brothers. They were as enterprising business men, and their family connections as influential and as highly respected as any in the State. They were cousins to Chancellor Kent, and one of their sisters married into the wealthy and aristocratic Van Rensselaer family, while another sister was the wife of Joseph C. Yates, who was judge of the Supreme Court of this State from 1808 to 1823, and the first governor of the State under the constitution of 1821. One of the above Kanes was grandfather of Dr. Kane, the celebrated Arctic explorer. In August 1791, Moses Barnard of Whitesboro conveyed to the above named Kane brothers five acres of land in Whitesboro, east of but next to Sauquoit creek, and there Elias Kane carried on business as merchant at the period above named. He was father of Elias Kent Kane, who was born in Whitesboro about 1795. The son was a graduate of college and then read law. When he was 20 years of age he settled in Illinois, and, in 1818, was a member of the convention which formed the first constitution for that State; when the State government was organized, he was appointed the first Secretary of State, although but twenty-three years of age. He was subsequently elected to the State legislature and, in 1825, elected to the United States Senate, and, at the end of his term, re-elected. When Congress assembled in December, 1835, Mr. Kane had hardly recovered from a severe attack of fever contracted at his home in Illinois; the ride over rough and muddy roads to Washington, in an inclement season of the year, brought on another fit of sickness, and he died at his father's residence in Washington, December 12, 1835, at the early age of forty, and within five days after Congress had assembled. His loss was greatly deplored.

Thomas R. Gold.

Less than two years after Jonas Platt became the pioneer lawyer of Whitesboro, there came to the same place another lawyer. He

was an older and an abler lawyer than Mr. Platt, and was the second one who settled in that little hamlet. At the time of his coming he was twenty-eight years old and had a wife, and a daughter. When twenty-two years old he had graduated at Yale College, soon after read law and was admitted to practice in the State of Connecticut. One of the grantees named in the Charter Oak charter of Connecticut was Nathan Gold, who had not long before emigrated to Connecticut from Edmundsburg, England. A descendant of that Nathan Gold was Rev. Hezekiah Gold, for thirty years Presbyterian clergyman at Cornwall, Connecticut. A son of that clergyman was Thomas Ruggles Gold, the second lawyer who located at Whitesboro. His residence and law office were on the northerly side of Main street west of the Presbyterian church. It is the place where Mrs. Alden now or lately resided. Mr. Gold seems to have taken at once front rank in his profession, and to have had all the business he could attend to. The earliest Court records in the county clerk's office at Herkimer, show his name oftener than any other attorney, and the reports of the Court prior to the time when Storrs, Talcott and Maynard came to the bar, show, I think, that he had more business before the higher Courts than any other lawyer in central New York. The fact that in 1796, Mr. Gold was elected State senator, and three years later appointed assistant attorney general for the district then composed of the counties of Herkimer and Otsego, show the estimation in which he was held. He was a good scholar, a close law student and a hard worker. His mind was clear and analytical, and his mode of presenting facts to the jury, or questions of law to the Court in banc, was earnest, forcible and somewhat vehement. He was well read in the fundamental principles both of legal and equitable jurisprudence, and hence was able to cope with the best lawyers in the land, not only in the discussion of legal questions and those relating to chancery practice and equity principles, but in the trial of jury causes. Mr. Gold was about six feet high, well proportioned and of large frame, and weighed about 200 pounds, He was wonderfully near sighted, and the unusually large gold spectacles, which he procured from London, are yet preserved as a relic by his grand daughter, Miss Frost. In the first murder trial in the county after it was organized, Mr. Gold was the prosecuting attorney. A woman of the town of Augusta had on election day, April 29, 1798, shot her husband and he died the next day. She was indicted in May and tried June 5, 1798, before Judge James Kent at a court held at Rome, and convicted and sentenced to be

hung the 29th of the same month, and her body to be given to Dr. Hull, of Augusta, for dissection. She hung herself the night before the day fixed for her execution, in her cell in the Herkimer county jail, where the Oneida county prisoners were then kept. The above case, and the others which are cited, will show how swiftly punishment followed after crime in those days. In 1801, at a court held at Rome in June by Judge Kent, Mr. Gold was the prosecuting officer in another murder trial. This was the case of a man killing his wife with a poker in Rome. The murder was committed February 24, 1801, the man was tried June 16, 1801, convicted and sentenced to be hung August 28, 1801. He was so executed on a gallows erected on the hill just back of Whitesboro. In 1807, Mr. Gold defended a man for poisoning his wife in Madison county. It was the next year after that county was organized, and the first murder trial in the county. The late Judge Nathan Williams was the prosecuting officer. The man was a singing master and had poisoned his wife, that he might marry one of his pupils with whom he had fallen in love. The offense was committed April 6, 1807, and at the first term of the court thereafter, commencing July 3, 1807, the prisoner was indicted, and the trial was set down for 6 A. M. the next day, July 4th. Judge William W. Van Ness presided, and it was his first court after his appointment a month before, when he had Jonas Platt for a competitor. The trial took place in a barn in the town of Sullivan, as Madison county then had no court house. Dr. Francis Guiteau, then of Utica, was one of the witnesses for the people. The prisoner was convicted and hung in August thereafter. In December, 1817, at a court held at Whitesboro, presided over by Judge Platt, the first he held in this county, there were five murder trials, in which Gold and F. C. White defended the prisoners. Those were remarkable and noted cases. A number of prisoners (the defendants among the number) were confined in the Rome jail, then constructed of hewn timbers, dovetailed and fastened together with thick planks. The prisoners set the jail on fire in August, 1817, in hopes of escaping in the confusion that would follow. They waited too long, however, before giving the alarm, and the result was, one of the prisoners was suffocated to death. There was a crack in the door, where a breath of fresh air could be obtained, and to that all the prisoners crowded, pushing and fighting for the place, and trampling each other under foot in the struggle for life. Help came at last, but not until most of the prisoners were nearly dead. They were

taken out of the cells like so many corpses, and placed upon the grass in the open air to recover, if possible. Old residents of Rome speak of the scene as the most ghastly they ever witnessed. Five of the prisoners were convicted of murder, and sentenced to be hung in February thereafter. The coffins were made and the gallows erected in Rome. The prospect of witnessing the novel spectacle of five persons being hung at one time was the means of bringing to Rome a large concourse of persons to witness the executions. But a few hours before the time for the executions, a commutation to imprisonment for life, came from Governor DeWitt Clinton. There was another trial which took place before Judge Platt, the next year, and in which Mr. Gold was engaged. Although not a criminal one it was a case of much importance and excited much interest. It was an action brought by Alvin Bronson against Melancthon T. Woolsey, to recover the value of a schooner lost in the war with Great Britain, at the time the British captured Oswego, May 6, 1814. The vessel was owned by the plaintiff, but was employed by the defendant, then an officer in the United States navy, for the transportation of ordinance and military stores from Oswego to Sackett's Harbor. The defendant had ordered those in charge of the schooner in case the British succeeded in carrying Oswego, to sink the vessel and her cargo. The vessel was sunk in about eight feet of water, the deck remaining above water. The vessel was not sunk so deep but that the British troops captured and raised it, and carried the vessel away and made Mr. Bronson a prisoner. Judge Platt charged the jury that the plaintiff was entitled to recover, although the defendant was acting for the government, and the jury found a verdict of $3,830; but the general term set this verdict aside. Popple & Beach of Oswego, were attorneys, and Mr. Gold counsel, for plaintiff, and F. C. White and Nathan Williams for defendant. Mr. Bronson was afterwards State Senator and one of the "immortal seventeen;" he died at Oswego about a year ago at the age of ninety-nine years. Mr. Woolsey was afterwards commodore in the United States navy.

In 1800, Mr. Gold formed a law partnership with Theodore Sill, whose accomplished sister he married, and the law firm of Gold & Sill for the quarter of a century of its existence was as widely and favorably known as any in the State. Persons desiring to pursue legal studies, sought that office from every part of the State. A descendant of Mr. Gold writes me, that at one time there were thirty law students in that office. Among those who read law there

were Henry R. Storrs, S. A. Talcott, H. K. Jerome, Francis Granger, Vincent Mathews, Halsey Townsend, William A. Moseley, Richard R. Lansing, Ichabod C. Baker and John Stryker. As deeply as Mr. Gold was engaged in law business, he devoted time to politics and to holding offices. Besides being State Senator and assistant attorney general he was in 1800 member of the council of appointment. In 1804 he ran for Congress in the district then composed of Oneida, Lewis, Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties, but was beaten by Nathan Williams. In 1807 he was elected to the assembly.

In 1808 Mr. Gold was elected to Congress over Joshua Hathaway of Rome. In 1810, he ran again for Congress and was elected over Thomas Skinner of Utica, a brother-in-law of Judge Nathan Williams. In April, 1812, the last two named again ran for Congress, and Mr. Gold was elected, but the next June, Congress changed the congressional districts, making Oneida county and what is now Otsego, a district, and ordering another election to take place in December, 1812. At that election Morris S. Miller of Utica and George Brayton of Western, were competitors, and it resulted in the election of Mr. Miller. In 1814, Mr. Gold was again elected to Congress by about 700 majority, over Nathan Williams, and that seemed to end Mr. Gold's political career, so far as holding office was concerned. I have heretofore mentioned Mr. Gold's near-sightedness. I am informed that late one night, he was returning home on horseback from the country, and during his absence the heavy rains and swollen waters of Sauquoit creek had carried off the planks of the bridge which he had to cross. He did not see what had occurred, but his sure-footed and faithful pony did, and carried the rider safely over by walking on one of the stringers. It was not until the next day that Mr. Gold learned of his narrow escape. Another informant says it was Dr. Moseley who had that adventure; he had it from the doctor's own lips. I give both the benefit of a hearing.

Mr. Gold died of paralysis quite suddenly October 25, 1827, at the age of sixty-three years. A meeting of the Utica bar was held presided over by General Joseph Kirkland, at which appropriate resolutions were adopted. The widow of Mr. Gold died at Whitesboro, July 18, 1852, at the age of eighty-seven years. There were five children, two sons and three daughters. Theodore S. Gold was a pupil in Mr. Halsey's school at Whitesboro, graduated from Hamilton College in 1816, followed mercantile pursuits and was for a while a partner in Utica of Jesse W. Doolittle, a son

of another of Whitesboro's early settlers. For several years he was editor of the *Oneida Whig*, and in 1837 was mayor of Utica. In 1849, he like his father had a stroke of paralysis, from which he never fully recovered. He died in Utica in 1867, at the age of sixty-seven. His wife was a daughter of James S. Kip, three times sheriff of this county—in 1804, again in 1808, and again in 1811. A daughter of Theodore S. Gold became the wife of Andrew Dexter, a son of S. Newton Dexter. The other son of Thomas R. Gold was named after him. He too was a merchant, and did business as such in Whitesboro in company with B. W. Raymond, whose sister T. R. Gold, Jr., married. He died in October, 1846, at the age of thirty-seven. The eldest of Thomas R. Gold's children was Harriet L.; she was two years old when her parents moved to Whitesboro; she became the wife of Rev. John Frost; she died in Whitesboro in August, 1873, at the age of eighty-three years, having been a resident of that village for eighty-one years. The other daughters became Mrs. Walton of Schenectady and Mrs. Peck of Brooklyn.

William G. Tracy.

In December, 1793, there came to Whitesboro, from Norwich, Connecticut, to engage in mercantile pursuits, a person who by his integrity and fair dealing in all transactions with his fellow-men, won a reputation as a citizen and merchant second to no other in central New York, and I may add in the State. William G. Tracy is the person alluded to. He was then but twenty-five years of age, and I believe he was the next merchant in the place after Mr. Kane. His wife was a sister of the late Henry and George Huntington of Rome, and the youngest daughter of Hon. Benjamin Huntington of Connecticut, judge of the Supreme Court of that State, one of the committee of safety during the war of the Revolution, member of the Continental and of the first Congress under the United States Constitution. Mr. Tracy's residence in Whitesboro was a little westerly of that of Judge Platt, and his store was nearly opposite on the other side of the street; and there for over thirty-five years he carried on his business; and no store in central New York had a larger or better class of customers or was more exact, fair and correct in all its dealings. Mr. Tracy was also connected with the industrial interests of the county and a public spirited citizen. His politics were of the federal school, and although firm and decided, he was not offensive in the expression of his views.

He had the entire confidence of both political parties, as evidenced

by the fact that he was for twenty years treasurer of this county, placed there many times by the political party to which he was opposed. He was first appointed to that office in 1810, again in 1811, the third time in 1813, and each year thereafter until his death. In August 1825, he was appointed postmaster of the village to succeed Dr. Elizur Moseley, the second postmaster of of the place, and he held that office until he died. From 1811 to 1830, he was treasurer of the Oneida Bible Society, and held other positions of trust, benevolence and usefulness. After a brief illness he died April 15, 1830, at the age of sixty-two years. At the time of his death he was the oldest merchant in continuous service west of Schenectady. His funeral was largely attended from all parts of the county, and by many of those other early settlers who honored and respected him while living and mourned his death. The widow of Mr. Tracy died in April, 1852, at the age of seventy-three years, and a fitting monument in the Whitesboro cemetery marks their resting place. Mr. Tracy left four sons and five daughters, all dead but one son and the youngest daughter. William and Charles Tracy, two of the sons, are too well known in this community and to the bar of the State, to need any reference to their honored careers. William Tracy was two years in Hamilton College, then a year at Union, where he graduated in 1824; for two years he read law with Storrs & White, later with Judge Denio, and a short time with J. H. Ostrom, and in 1828 was admitted to the bar. He practiced law in Utica with his brother Charles, and about 1855 he removed to New York city, where he continued in a large and lucrative practice until his death in the fall of 1881, at the age of seventy-six. Charles Tracy graduated at Yale College about 1830, read law one year in New York city with Henry R. Storrs, completed his legal studies with Judge Foster of Rome, was admitted to the bar about 1835, and became a member of the law firm of Foster, Noyes & Tracy at Rome. He moved to New York about 1848, and is now one of the leading lawyers in that city. Henry and Edward Tracy were the two other sons, and both prominent civil engineers. Henry was for a year and a half civil engineer for the government of New Granada. He died in Santa Fe De Bogota in 1851, at the age of thirty-six. Edward was engineer on the Chenango Canal, later assistant under Hon. John B. Jervis of Rome, on the Croton Aqueduct, and after the resignation of the latter, chief engineer on that work until the work was completed and the water distributed in the city. He was subsequently engineer on the Des Moines navigation

improvement, and after that was again called to the position of chief engineer of the Croton Water Works, and there remained until his death in 1875, at the age of fifty-eight. Susan, the eldest of the family, became the second wife of Moses Bagg, one of Utica's honored citizens and early residents. She died in 1859. Margaret, another daughter, and the second of the children, married Rev. Chauncey E. Goodrich, a faithful divine, and for many years a worthy resident of Utica. She died in 1862. Annie, the fourth of the family, was the first wife of William Curtis Noyes, one of the ablest lawyers in this county, and later of the city of New York. She died in 1836, at the early age of twenty-nine years. Until within a few years past the plain and unpretending house in Rome yet remained, where Mr. and Mrs. Noyes first went to housekeeping. Catharine became the wife of Milton D. Parker, a worthy citizen of Utica. She was drowned with a number of others in April, 1845, at the time the steamboat Swallow ran aground opposite Hudson. Frances, the youngest of the daughters, and the only one of them alive, is the wife of William Henry Welles, a resident of New York city. All of Mr. Tracy's family were cultured, and valuable acquisitions to the society of Whitesboro.

Arthur Breese.

The year before E. K. Kane was born, in 1794, there settled in Whitesboro another lawyer, who subsequently became prominent in the politics of the county. That lawyer was a native of New Jersey, graduated at Princeton College, read law in Philadelphia with the celebrated Elias Boudinot, was admitted to the bar in 1792, and when he located in Whitesboro was but twenty-five years old. His wife was a sister of Mrs. Jonas Platt, and as Mr. Platt was county clerk of Herkimer county in 1794, he made Arthur Breese, the lawyer alluded to, deputy county clerk. In 1796 Mr. Breese was elected to the Assembly, as successor to Jonas Platt in that body, and when Oneida county was formed, in 1798, Mr. Breese was appointed the first surrogate, and held that office for ten years thereafter; surely those brothers-in-law had their share of offices. A law partnership between Messrs. Platt and Breese was formed, and their marriage, business, social and political ties were strong indeed. The first homestead of Mr. Breese in Whitesboro was opposite the "Green," was known later as the "Storrs House," where the late Thomas H. Flandrau lived many years, and which dwelling tradition says Mr. Breese erected. Later, Mr. Breese built a fine residence on the hill near the cemetery, where

Gideon Granger resided a number of years subsequent to 1814. As Mr. Breese was a federalist, the council of appointment in 1808 turned him out of the office of surrogate, and about that time he moved to Utica. On Mr. Breese's removal to Utica, he was made one of the clerks of the old Supreme Court, and he was also master in chancery. He was clerk of that court from 1808 until his death. He died in 1825, in the city of New York, where he had gone for his health. His age was fifty-five years. Mr. Breese was not a prominent member of the bar, nor do the court proceedings show that he ever had much to do as an attorney or counsel; but he was among the most worthy of the citizens of the county, and very highly respected and esteemed. While he and his family were residents of Whitesboro, they were valuable additions to the society of the place. He had quite a large family of children, all of whom were cultivated and refined. Samuel L., one of his sons, was rear admiral of the navy, and sixty years in the service. One of his daughters became the wife of B. B. Lansing, and after his death she married James Platt of Oswego, brother of Judge Platt; B. B. and R. R. Lansing were brothers. Another daughter was the wife of William M. Sands, purser in the United States navy. Another was the wife of Captain S. B. Griswold, of the United States army, (afterwards the father-in-law of Professor S. F. B. Morse, of telegraph fame.) Another daughter was the wife of the late Thomas R. Walker of Utica. Sidney Breese, one of his sons, was born within half a mile of the place where E. K. Kane first saw the light, and about five years after Mr. Kane's birth. Sidney Breese attended Hamilton College, but graduated at Union, and soon after followed E. K. Kane to Illinois, and was admitted to the bar in that State before he was of age. When he was twenty-two years old he was appointed State attorney and held that office for five years, and then, in 1827, was appointed United States district attorney, and later postmaster of Kaskaskia, where he and Mr. Kane resided,—all through the influence doubtless of Mr. Kane, who was then in the United States Senate. In 1829 Mr. Breese published in octavo form a volume of Supreme Court decisions for Illinois, which volume bears his name, and was the first book of that form published in that State. In 1835 he was elected circuit judge and in 1843 elected United States Senator from Illinois. No other instance of the kind can be found of two persons so near an age—born within half a mile of each other, moving in early life to a distant territory, and both becoming United States Senators from the

same State. In 1855 Mr. Breese was again elected circuit judge, and subsequently was made chief justice of Illinois.

Rev. Bethuel Dodd.

As I have named the first lawyers, the first merchants, and the first physician who located in Whitesboro, the next in order will be the first clergyman. An inscription upon a monument in Whitesboro cemetery tells us that the remains of Rev. Bethuel Dodd repose beneath, that he came in 1794 to Whitesboro from Orange, N. J., assisted in forming the first Presbyterian Church in the State west of Albany, that he lived at Whitesboro the remainder of his life, and died there April 12, 1804, at the age of thirty-seven years. Mr. Dodd was born at Bloomfield, N. J., graduated from Rutgers College in 1792, and the next year was licensed to preach. On the first day of April, 1793, a meeting was held in the barn of Hugh White, at which he presided, to take measures to form a religious society. Jonas Platt, Thomas R. Gold, George Doolittle and others were a committee on resolutions. An organization was finally effected under the name of "The United Presbyterian Societies of Whitestown and Old Fort Schuyler." Among the first thirteen trustees were Jonas Platt, Elizur Moseley, Thomas R. Gold, Amos Wetmore and Arthur Breese. In 1794, Rev. Bethuel Dodd, then twenty-seven years old, was called to be the first pastor of that church, then numbering fourteen members, and his first sermon to them was preached August 20th, of that year, in the tavern then kept by Daniel C. White. The installation services were held in an arbor improvised for the occasion, on or near what is now the "Public Green" in Whitesboro. At first, Mr. Dodd preached at Utica only once a month, and the remaining Sabbaths at Whitesboro, where he had much the largest congregations; later, he alternated between the two places. Until a church edifice was erected, he preached in Mr. White's tavern, or in barns. In 1803, the Presbyterian Church edifice, 45 by 60 feet, was erected on Main street, at a cost of $4,500, and in March, 1804, it was dedicated. In a very short time thereafter, Mr. Dodd sickened and died, and his was the first funeral held in that edifice. He died April 12, 1804. The wife of Mr. Dodd was Sarah Pierson, of Orange, N. J., a sister of the mother of Hon. John Stryker, of Rome, and of Rev. Isaac P. Stryker, of Whitesboro. She subsequently married Mr. Ballard, and died in Whitesboro in 1828. Mr. and Mrs. Dodd were childless. When they moved to Whitesboro, they took up their residence in the log house along with

Jonas Platt and wife, but subsequently he erected a dwelling westerly of Thomas R. Gold's premises.

President Dwight, in his "travels" through this section in 1799 and later, speaks of Mr. Dodd as a very worthy and excellent person, who left behind him a name which is as the odor of sweet incense. Rev. John Taylor, in his missionary tour in 1802 through this part of the State, speaks of Mr. Dodd as a pious and valuable man, very intelligent, a sound Calvinist and very judicious. He makes this entry in his journal: "Preached for Mr. Dodd at Whitesboro; about 250 persons present; communion day; about forty members; appearances good; in the afternoon preached at Utica; about 300 present; most of the persons are at the Borough. At Utica may be found ten or twelve different nations, and of almost all religions and sects, but the greater part are of no religion. The world is the great object with the body of the people." The late Judge Seth B. Roberts, of Rome, who lived when a lad with Mr. Dodd, speaks of him as of fine personal appearance, of polite and polished manners and an able preacher.

Dr. William Kirkpatrick.

In 1795, there came from New Jersey to Whitesboro, the second physician of the place, who with his natural ability and skill, would have ranked among the best physicians in the State, had he closely followed his profession. It was Dr. William Kirkpatrick. He was born in New Jersey in 1768, was a son of a Presbyterian clergyman, graduated at Princeton College, studied medicine with the celebrated Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, and located in Whitesboro as above mentioned, boarding, while there, at the tavern kept by Colonel Daniel C. White. He was skillful as a physician, but his sympathies were so strong with the suffering and his horror of death so great, that he endeavored to avoid the duties of his calling, and graduated into other pursuits. In 1806, he was elected to Congress, over John Nicholson, of Herkimer, and while in Washington acquitted himself creditably, and became a great friend of William H. Crawford. About 1809 Mr. Kirkpatrick removed to Salina, was appointed in 1811 superintendent of the salt springs, and held that position until a year before his death. He died rather suddenly of cholera, in September, 1832, highly respected by the citizens of Onondaga county.

Theodore Sill.

In Goshen, Lynn and New Fairfield, Connecticut, were in the last century, numerous families by the name of Sill. One of those

families at Goshen was Dr. Elisha Sill. He was a graduate of Yale, a surgeon in the American army in 1777, at the surrender of Burgoyne, and for nearly fifty years was engaged in the practice of medicine. Theodore Sill was the second son of Dr. Elisha Sill. He graduated in 1797 from Yale College, when twenty years of age, and very soon after took up his residence in Whitesboro and became a law student in the office of Thomas R. Gold, who had married his sister. Mr. Sill was admitted to the Oneida Common Pleas in December, 1800, having been previously admitted to the Supreme Court, and at once the law firm of Gold & Sill was formed. In 1802, Mr. Sill was appointed county treasurer, the second one appointed in the county, and was continued in that office until 1810 when he was succeeded by William G. Tracy. In 1814 he was elected to the Assembly, and again in 1826 and again in 1827. He was appointed brigadier general of the State Militia, was an old friend of General Winfield Scott, and old residents relate visits made to General Sill at Whitesboro by General Scott and staff, and the sumptuous and elegant entertainments furnished on those occasions by General Sill to the hero of Lundy's Lane. Mr. Sill was rather tall in person, of stately figure, of polished and courtly manners, dignified bearing and of rather commanding presence. He was a good lawyer, a graceful and persuasive speaker, and as an advocate before a jury, he was the superior of Mr. Gold. Ex-Judge Foster tells me of a case tried at the Rome court house which he heard Mr. Sill sum up for the plaintiff over sixty years ago. It was an action for assault and battery and false imprisonment, brought by one Barney Hoy (once a notable character of Rome), against Captain Welch, an United States officer at the Rome arsenal. The offense consisting in putting Hoy in irons and keeping him severely confined several days, for an alleged disobedience of orders. Judge Foster says the summing up by General Sill was remarkable for its force, eloquence and touching pathos, and had great effect upon all, and particularly upon the jury, as they rendered a verdict of $1,000 for plaintiff—an unusually large verdict for those times, in such cases. Mr. Sill was not only an able lawyer, a persuasive jury advocate, and a successful politician, but he was largely interested in, and closely identified with the manufacturing interests in the county. He was an active co-operator in the establishment there of the first cotton mills in the State, and promoted similar enterprises in other localities. In 1810, he married Miss Eliza Mann, an educated and highly cultured woman whose family will hereafter be noticed.

Mr. Sill died at Whitesboro March 27, 1836, at the age of fifty-nine years; just eight days after the death of Samuel A. Talcott, who had been a law student in the office of Mr. Sill a quarter of a century before. Mr. Sill had nine children; five of them died before reaching nine years of age. The only son of his who survived him died in 1842, at the age of twenty-four. His eldest daughter became the wife of Hon. Calvert Comstock, of Rome, too well and favorably known to need further mention. Sarah Gold Sill became the wife of Rev. Gurdon Huntington, of Sag Harbor, and after her death in 1858, Mr. Huntington married her sister Charlotte. All of the children of Mr. Sill are dead. The daughters were educated, intelligent and refined, and were among the most cultured of Whitesboro's society, when it was at its best. Of all of Whitesboro's intelligent ladies, none were better informed, possessed greater conversational powers, had finer literary tastes and acquirements than Sarah Gold Sill. The widow of Theodore Sill died in Rome in April, 1847, and the remains of both, with those of five of their children, sleep side by side in the Whitesboro cemetery.

As this paper closes all I have to say of Whitesboro, prior to 1800, a brief sketch of the condition and growth of that hamlet during the last decade of the last century may be of interest. Between 1790 and 1800, the population of the "Whitestown Country," increased by reason of immigration, more rapidly than at any former or subsequent period in its history. Elkanah Watson, who was an extensive traveler through Europe as well as through the United States, passed through the Mohawk valley several times between 1784 and 1800. On his visit in September, 1788, he makes this entry in his journal.

"The road from old Fort Schuyler to Whitesboro is as bad as possible, obstructed by broken bridges, logs and stumps, and my horse at every step sinking knee deep in the mud. I remained one day recruiting at Judge White's log house, and slept in his log barn with horses and other animals. Whitesboro is a promising new settlement, in the heart of a fine tract of country, and is just in its transition from a state of nature into civilization. The settlement commenced only three years since. It is astonishing what efforts are making to subdue the dense and murky forests. Log houses are already scattered in the midst of stumps, half burnt logs and girdled trees. I observed their log barns were well filled. At present, lots bordering on the river have advanced to $3 per acre—those lying a few miles back at $1 per acre. Settlers are continually pouring in from the Connecticut hive, which throws off its annual swarms of intelligent, industrious and enterprising emigrants. They already estimate 300 brother Yankees on their muster list. At Oriskany I passed 200 Indians, and after leaving the consecrated spot of

the Oriskany battle ground, which I thoroughly visited, I found myself soon after alone in the woods in the midst of a band of Indians *'as drunk as lords.'*"

In September, 1791, Mr. Watson passed over the same route. He makes this entry in his journal: "Emigrants are swarming into these fertile regions in shoals, like the ancient Israelites, seeking the land of promise." Another writer states that in the winter "of 1795, 1,200 sleighs loaded with furniture and with men, women and children passed through Albany for the Whitestown Country" in three days; and that 500 were counted between sunrise and sunset of February 28th of that year. I have heretofore mentioned the terms of court, Judge Platt held in Whitesboro, and as a matter of interest and of future reference, I give the names of the judges who held the circuits, and the time of holding them in Whitesboro, up to the time the constitution of 1821 went into effect. The June term of 1802 was held by Judge Smith Thompson, in the school house. In September, 1803, by Jacob Radcliff. In June, 1805, by James Kent. In June, 1806, by Ambrose Spencer. In June, 1808, by Judge Kent; June, 1810, by Judge Spencer; September, 1812, by Judge Thompson. In June, 1814 and 1816 by W. W. Van Ness. At the term in 1816, Martin Van Buren, then attorney general of the State, attended, and was engaged in the trial of a couple of jury causes. In June, 1820, Judge John Woodworth held the court, and in May, 1823, Judge Spencer. Prior to June, 1808, the courts were held in the school house in Whitesboro. The first court held in the court house in that village was by Judge Kent, June, 1808.

The Guiteau Family.

It has been already stated that Dr. Elizur Moseley, of Whitesboro, was the first physician who located in this part of the State. The second one who came was Dr. Norton Porter, who located in 1791, at the age of twenty or twenty-one years, in what is now the town of Westmoreland, and for forty years followed his profession; he was father of Dr. H. N. Porter, now of New York Mills. In 1792, or a little earlier, there came another physician, the third one of this "Whitestown country," who pitched his tent a little to the east of what is now Deerfield Corners in this county. He was from Massachusetts; and at the time of his coming was twenty-seven years old, had a wife and two small children. On his way here he stopped for a while and either

studied or practiced his profession in Rensselaer county, but it would seem, concluded to push his way still further to the westward. This new comer was Dr. Francis Guiteau, Jr., a name not now unfamiliar to the American public, nor one likely to be soon forgotten. He was grandfather of him, who within the past year, has acquired such unenviable notoriety throughout the world. The Guiteau family were of Huguenot origin and were descendants of those exiles, whom the cruel religious persecutions of Louis XIV compelled to leave their homes to seek asylums in other quarters of the globe. This audience need hardly be reminded of the historical fact that the Huguenots were noted for their intense religious zeal and fervor; for their severe and rigid notions of morality; for their skill in the mechanical arts; for their thrift and habits of industry, and for their enterprise and public spirit. Those who fled to America for homes, number among their descendants, men who are noted for their exemplary habits, rare intelligence, stern virtues, and who have contributed in a remarkable degree to the growth, prosperity, intelligence and piety of the country. Of the seven presidents of the Continental Congress, three of them, Henry Laurens, Elias Boudinot and John Jay were of Huguenot families. Besides those, there were the Morgans of South Carolina; the Bayards of Delaware, Professor Agassiz, and the late President Garfield, who were of the same origin. The Guiteau family, for many successive generations have furnished to the world one or more members of the medical profession who were leading and prominent physicians in the community in which they lived, as well as in the vicinage of their practice. They were as noted in this regard as the Mann and Capron families. The father of the one who thus located in Deerfield was himself a physician, and for years had been a leading one in Lanesboro and Pittsfield in Massachusetts. He was quite an old man, when his eldest son, who was named after him, came to this county; the father also came soon after, and died in 1814, at the age of seventy-seven. A brother of Francis Guiteau, Jr., as early as 1794, attended school in Clinton, later pursued and finished his medical studies in Massachusetts, and in 1802 located in Trenton, in this county, and there for nearly fifty years Dr. Luther Guiteau practiced his profession and was among the foremost, most honored and respected of the physicians and citizens of this county. He was father of the present Dr. Luther Guiteau of that village. Another brother was Calvin Guiteau, a well known surveyor of the farms and first roads in Deerfield, who

became a resident of that town as early as 1797, was elected in 1798 the first commissioner of highways in Deerfield, and its supervisor in 1811; in 1817, he removed to Utica, in which place he died. Another brother was Samuel Guiteau, who located in Trenton about 1806, and when seventeen years old, took up a tract of wild land in that town; he died in 1851 at the age of sixty-two years. He was for years a member of the Presbyterian church. Another brother was Rev. Norman Guiteau; he joined the Baptist church in Whitesboro in 1813, as the records of that society attest. In 1819 and 1820 he was pastor of the Baptist church in Trenton.

I have thus far digressed from the main subject of this sketch because I deemed that any facts which are given in relation to this family will be of interest. From what I can gather, I infer that Francis Guiteau, Jr., was not licensed to practice medicine when he first came to this county; and so conclude from the notice of his death in 1825 in the *Baptist Register*, which speaks of him as having been a practicing physician for nearly or about thirty years. When Deerfield was organized into a town—at the first town meeting held in the Spring of 1798, Dr. Francis Guiteau, Jr., was elected its first supervisor, re-elected in 1799 and again in 1800. About 1801 or 1802 he moved across the river into Utica, and there practiced medicine and a portion of the time kept a drug store, some of the time with Dr. Solomon G. Wolcott as partner, until 1815. In the last named year, Dr. Guiteau bought of W. G. Tracy, the premises next westerly of the present residence of C. M. Dennison, and thereupon removed to Whitesboro, and resided in that village until his death, which occurred after a brief illness, April 18, 1825, at the age of fifty-nine years and five months. Dr. Guiteau was a worthy and respected citizen, and as a physician, stood at the head of his profession. He was one of the founders in 1806 of the Oneida County Medical society, and was elected its president in 1808, and again in 1809. He was twice elected its vice-president, and three times chosen censor. In the outset of this sketch, mention was made of the religious tendencies and the enthusiasm of the Huguenots. The records of the Baptist church at Whitesboro show that Dr. Guiteau united with that church in 1809, and all accounts agree that he was a firm believer in, and a zealous advocate of the doctrines of that church. A correspondent writes me from a distant State, that Dr. Guiteau had such decided convictions as to the form of baptism by immersion, that he was heard to declare

that if an angel of light should tell him any other form was right, he would not believe it. Dr. Bagg in his "Pioneers of Utica" speaks of Dr. Guiteau, "as a zealous and leading Baptist and sensitive to any opposition to his religious views; he was also a strong democrat, genial and pleasant in manners, but decided in his opinions and free in the expression of them. He was about six feet high, rather spare of flesh, erect and active, of firm fibre and well fitted to endure labor and fatigue. In the war of 1812, he invented an explosive missile, designed to sink ships, for which he received a grant from the government." The article in the *Baptist Register* before alluded to, supposed to have been written by Rev. Elon Galusha, a former editor of that paper, and who was in charge of the Baptist church at Whitesboro at the time of the doctor's death, spoke of the deceased "as one of the brightest luminaries in his profession, a friend to humanity, an affectionate husband, an indulgent parent, and the possessor of an active mind and memory which few can boast, and one who died in full faith in his Redeemer and confidence in the Christian religion." Dr. Guiteau was the father of eleven children, ten of whom, five sons and five daughters, lived to maturity. The given names of three of the sons were the same as those of their uncles, and it was argued on the assassin's trial at Washington, that as the names of Calvin, Luther and Abram seemed to be favorite ones in the Guiteau family, it afforded evidence of the tendency to the religious spirit and enthusiasm which characterized their Huguenot ancestry.

I will name the children in the order of their births, and by mentioning the diseases of which they died, light may be thrown upon the question as to insanity in the family, and as to whether it was brain trouble, or a disease of other organs that caused death. Mary was the first born, and was about two years old when her father came to the "Whitestown country;" in 1812 she married John McNeil, then of Charlotte, Vermont, but the McNeil family subsequently lived across the river in Deerfield in this county, as old residents inform me. He was father of Judge John McNeil, of Port Huron, Michigan. An inscription on a tombstone in the Whitestown cemetery tells us that Mary died August 27, 1816, in the twenty-seventh year of her age; she died of consumption. Hannah was the next born, and was about a year old when Dr. Guiteau located in Deerfield; she was never married; after her father's death she lived with her brother Calvin at Watertown, and later with her brother Luther at Freeport, where she died of cholera in October, 1854.

The third child, but the first son, was Julius C. He was born the next year after his father moved to this section. A correspondent, now seventy-seven years old, writes me that he well remembers Julius, when the latter was in his teens and clerk in the drug store of Dr. Wolcott, of Utica. In September, 1815, when twenty-two years old, he married Mary Ann, the eldest daughter of Dr. Moseley, and soon after moved to Buffalo, and went into the drug business in that place. A letter from the post office department gives me the information that Julius C. Guiteau was postmaster of Buffalo from May 6, 1818, to April 25, 1831. It will be remembered that William A. Moseley, a brother-in-law of Julius C. Guiteau, went to Buffalo from Whitesboro, about 1818, and subsequently became a well known lawyer and member of Congress in that place. Julius C. subsequently moved west and died of consumption in Freeport, in August, 1845. His widow died in August, 1853, in Whitesboro, and her remains are in the cemetery lot of her father in that place. Old remembrancers of Whitesboro inform me that Julius C. had no children. A Roman informs me that in 1838 he was living in Batavia, in this State, and that he knew a young man there about twenty-one years old by the name of Julius Guiteau. The name and age of this young man would indicate him to be the eldest son of Julius C.; but it may have been another family, or the old residents of Whitesboro may have forgotten, or never have known, whether or not any children were born unto Julius, as he left Whitesboro so soon after his marriage and never lived there afterwards. Sophronia was the next child born, who lived to maturity. In October, 1818, she became the wife of Captain Freedom Tibbetts, formerly deputy sheriff in this county, and who over fifty years ago kept the American Hotel in Rome. She died of consumption in August, 1822, at the age of twenty-six, leaving two children. The daughter is dead, but the son named after Francis Guiteau is living in Milwaukee, a wealthy and respected citizen of that place. Anna was the next child; she was born in 1798. When a young woman she taught in Whitesboro a school for young girls. In January, 1829, she married Orsamus H. Parker, a music dealer and teacher, and lived a while, as I learn, in Oswego. A correspondent from the west writes me that in 1835 Anna was a widow with three children, and residing at Ann Arbor, but that within a year or so after, she moved away and went east, and in 1852 was living in Jefferson county. It was stated by counsel on the Guiteau trial that Mrs. Parker returned to Oswego insane, and

died in that condition. Correspondents at Watertown, who well knew Anna in her life-time, write me that she lived for a while and died in Watertown and is buried there, and speak highly of her; no mention is made of her insanity. Another correspondent writes me that Anna died of cancer in the breast, and makes no mention of her being insane. She left three children; the eldest son was quite intemperate, and as appeared on the Guiteau trial, died in an insane asylum; another son is living out west, and the only daughter died a few years ago in San Francisco.

Francis W. was the second son of Dr. Guiteau, and he is the one of whom mention was made on the assassin's trial as having been engaged when a young man in a duel, and died in an insane asylum. A correspondent, now eighty-six years old, a former resident of Utica, and who well knew and well remembers Dr. Guiteau and all of his children, and whose mind and memory seem unimpaired, writes to the following effect of that affair: When quite young, Frank went to live with his brother Julius in Buffalo. He became involved in a love affair, and challenged his rival to fight a duel. As a joke upon the challenger, the pistols were loaded only with powder, and the shirt bosom of the rival stained with blood, or with a liquid resembling blood, and then concealed from sight. The parties met, Frank fired and the rival fell; as the "bloody shirt" was exposed to view, Frank thought he had committed murder, and was so frightened and conscience stricken, or else ashamed and mortified at the hoax played upon him, that his nervous system was prostrated, and his health became so much impaired, that he returned to his home in Whitesboro; afterwards he went codfishing or on a whaling voyage. Another correspondent, a former resident of Whitesboro, writes me that he well remembers Frank, when the latter was a young man and expert clerk in the office of Thomas Walker, of Utica—that Frank wrote a splendid hand, was of pleasing address and manners, dressed well, stylish and gentlemanly in his appearance. That correspondent further writes that in 1828 or 1829 Frank came to town in New York city, rather seedy in appearance, and saying that he had left the vessel upon a three years' cruise as cabin steward; that was the last that person ever saw of him. The records of the Bloomingdale Asylum show that Francis W. Guiteau was received into that institution in December, 1829, at the age of twenty-one years, his insanity caused by mortification at fighting a sham duel. He was discharged in nine months. It was stated on the trial at Washington that Francis had been

insane fourteen years; that would make him about fifteen when that sham duel was fought. Julia was the next child; she was born in Utica in March, 1802, which would indicate that the time her father moved to that place from Deerfield, was as early as 1801, or else the fore part of the year 1802. In September, 1825, she was married by Rev. John Frost, to William Sumner Maynard, a nephew and clerk of Dr. Moseley, and also a cousin of William H. Maynard. His mother was a sister of Dr. Moseley. Soon after the marriage, he moved to Oswego, and commenced the dry goods business there. In September, 1830, he moved to Ann Arbor, and there became one of the most wealthy, enterprising, public spirited and respected citizens of the place. He died in 1866. His wife, after a week's illness, died in January, 1856, of consumption, ending in an attack of pneumonia. Correspondents speak of Mrs. Maynard in the highest terms, as an active worker in the church, a lovely Christian character, a benevolent and kind hearted, and a most estimable woman. In fact, all of my information as regards the daughters of Dr. Guiteau is to the same effect; and wherever mention or allusion is made to insanity in the family, or any of its members by any of my informants, that fact is not withheld in the sketches. Mrs. Maynard had three children, all now living; one Mrs. Wilson, of Leadville, Colorado, and one Mrs. Lansing, of Michigan. The youngest, after ten or twelve years of age, became weak minded and imbecile, caused as the evidence on the Guiteau trial showed, by reason of frequent mesmeric operations upon her when a young girl.

Calvin was the next born; when a lad he was clerk for the Walcotts. Calvin afterwards learned the jeweler's trade of Mr. Wells, in Whitesboro, and about 1828 located in Watertown, Jefferson county. About 1830, he married Miss Zaire A. Romaine, whose parents resided on Carlton Island. Calvin was a very ingenious mechanic, and manufactured not only valuable time pieces, but surgical instruments and other fine pieces of workmanship. Calvin died in September, 1846, at the age of forty-one years. He was the father of five or six children, all of them dead but two—one Mrs. Corbin, of De Pauville, in that county, and the other a son, (Henry Clay Guiteau), a worthy resident of St. Louis, and for eleven years past, conductor on the Iron Mountain railroad.

Abram Bloodgood Guiteau was the next, and was born in 1807. He too was dry goods clerk, and as he grew to manhood engaged in mercantile pursuits. Not far from 1838 he married Miss Emily

Redfield, daughter of Deacon Redfield of Watertown. My information is, that about that time he was in the dry goods trade in Pulaski, Oswego county, as one of the firm of Mansfield & Guiteau, and that about 1843 he located in Sacketts Harbor, and was a merchant there from that time until about 1853, when he moved west and located at Freeport. In the early part of the rebellion, he drifted south as a soldier, and was at Little Rock and other points south, but lived to return. He is one whom counsel on the Guiteau trial spoke of as having become in the latter years of his life quite out of joint in his habits and his mind weak and imbecile. He died a few years ago at the residence of his brother Luther, in Freeport. He had four or five children, but I am not able to trace them.

Luther W. Guiteau was the youngest of the family and was born in March, 1810. He was the father of the one who, within the past year, has brought the name so prominently into notice. He was steady and conscientious, had experienced religion and united with the church. In those days the great and about the highest ambition of the generality of young men was to become merchants, and so Luther Guiteau entered a dry goods store, graduated therefrom, went west and became a merchant in Ann Arbor. About 1835 he married Miss Jane A. Howe, daughter of Major John Howe, who was for some time a partner in Ann Arbor of William S. Maynard. Mr. Guiteau took his wife to Ann Arbor, where he was in prosperous business, and there two of his children, Mrs. George Scoville and John W. Guiteau were born. In 1838 he removed to Freeport, and there, for the last six years of her life, his wife was much out of health, a portion of the time confined to her bed. Three more children were born, one of whom was Charles Jules Guiteau, in September, 1841. She died about 1847, and a few years thereafter Mr. Guiteau married for his second wife a widow who was formely a resident of Cazenovia, in Madison county. Of this last marriage two children were born, both residents of Freeport, the son named after his father, and in a bank in that place. Luther W. Guiteau died in Freeport in 1880, at the age of seventy years. All the information which comes to me of the family, is to the effect, that Luther had more of that stern and rigid morality, more of the intense religious zeal and fervor, than any of the other children. In this regard, he may have more closely resembled his father, than did any of his brothers or sisters. This element in him, with a similar spirit in his wife, may have been inherited by one or more of their children. But all accounts

agree, that whatever Luther's religious view may have been, he was a very amiable, kind hearted, conscientious, good dispositioned and upright man; that for years, he was the trusted cashier of a bank in Freeport, and universally respected and esteemed. A photograph taken of Luther a few years before his death, has been shown me, and it would indicate a person of intelligence, firm and decisive in his views, unbending in his purposes, unyielding in his convictions, yet a kind hearted and amiable man.

The widow of Dr. Francis Guiteau, and mother of the foregoing children, lived with her son Julius, at Buffalo, awhile after her husband's death, but died at Watertown many years ago, at the age of seventy or eighty years, and she is buried at that place.

Henry R. Storrs.

In 1804 there was much excitement in the "Black River Country," north of us, over the near prospect that a new county was to be formed from Oneida, and as to the location of the county seat. Champion, Brownville, Watertown, Redfield, Lowville and Martinsburgh were all sharp competitors for the prize, and each locality had its warm and influential friends. At Champion resided Noadiah Hubbard, the first settler, Moss Kent, brother of the Chancellor, and himself a strong man, Egbert Ten Eyck, (father-in-law of Judge Mullin,) afterwards member of congress and county judge; and besides, the influence of the landed proprietors was exerted in behalf of their town. In 1804, while this excitement was at its height, Henry R. Storrs graduated from Yale College at the age of seventeen years. All accounts agree that he was located for awhile at Champion village, that he read law with Gold & Sill, at Whitesboro, and that he was admitted to the bar about 1809; but I cannot learn whether he was at Champion or Whitesboro first. I conjecture, however, that he first went to Champion and read law with Mr. Ten Eyck, or Moss Kent, in the hope that that place would be selected for the county seat; but finding that two counties (Jefferson and Lewis) instead of one were formed, and that Champion became the county seat of neither, he concluded that village (even if it was the seat of his father's landed possessions,) afforded a poor field for his talents, and that he then came to Whitesboro, finished his legal studies, and became a permanent resident of that village.

At that time Whitesboro loomed up more prominently than any place in the State west of Albany. It was a half-shire town. The county clerk, treasurer and surrogate had their offices and lived

there, as did also the Member of Congress and many other leading men. In common parlance, Whitestown was then "booming," and there Henry R. Storrs located, not far from 1809. In 1810, he married Esther White, granddaughter of the pioneer settler and the first white child born in the "Whitestown Country." When Mr. Storrs commenced practicing law there, he was but a year or so past his twenty-first birthday; yet he rose rapidly to notice and to a prominent position at the bar and in politics. Fortune C. White was admitted to the bar about 1814, and the two formed a partnership, and had a profitable and extensive law business. It was the third law firm in Whitesboro whose members were brothers-in-law, and who were also influential and prominent politicians and office-holders, viz.: Platt & Breese, Gold & Sill, Storrs & White.

In 1816, Mr. Storrs was nominated for Congress. His competitor was Nathan Williams, of Utica. At that time Mr. Storrs was but twenty-nine years old. For eight years (or one-half the time since Oneida county was formed) Whitesboro had had the representative in Congress. That election resulted in favor of Mr. Storrs by 278 majority. In 1818 Mr. Storrs was re-nominated and re-elected without any formidable opposition. His course in Congress in 1820 in favor of the Missouri Compromise,* was distasteful to his constituency, and he was not re-nominated in that year. In 1822 he was picked up and nominated by the party to which theretofore he had always been opposed. His opponent was Hon. Ezekiel Bacon, father of ex-Judge Wm. J. Bacon. After a sharp contest and a poll of many thousands of votes, Mr. Storrs was elected by only fifty-five majority—the closest vote, I think, ever cast in this county between opposing candidates for Congress. In 1824 Mr. Storrs was re-nominated and elected the fourth time, beating James Lynch, his opponent, by over 1,000 majority. In 1826 he ran again against Ezekiel Bacon, and was for the fifth time elected; this time by over 2,300. In 1828 he again ran, and was elected by 234 majority over Greene C. Bronson. This was the sixth time Mr. Storrs was elected—more times than any other congressman from this county. While holding this office, March 9, 1825, he was appointed First Judge of the old Common Pleas of this county, and held that office until January, 1830, when he was succeeded by Chester Hayden.

The residence of Mr. Storrs, in Whitesboro, was opposite the

*He was to a large extent its originator and earliest and most powerful advocate.—*Bacon's Early Bar of Oneida County.*

Court House, and on the northeasterly side of Main street. Tradition has it, that it had been the early residence of Mr. Breese, and that the latter erected the house. Of this I have doubts, for it was land which Judge Hugh White had conveyed to Fortune C. White and Esther (White) Storrs, and it is doubtful if it ever passed out of the family, until Mr. and Mrs. Storrs sold it in 1833 to Rev. Mr. Coville, a Baptist clergyman at Whitesboro. The latter the next year deeded that old homestead to Fortune C. White, and the latter in 1847 to the late Thos. H. Flandrau. About 1832, Mr. Storrs removed to New York, and opened a law office in that city.

I have alluded to Mr. Storrs' political career, and have hardly mentioned his legal abilities or professional standing. It is proper to say that as a jury advocate, he had no equal in the county, and but very few in the State. He was tall, of commanding figure and presence, dignified in bearing, graceful in manners, with a voice remarkable for power, as well as for sweetness and melody. He was fluent in speech, apt and felicitous in questions and expression, classical and chaste in his thoughts, and his eloquent, ringing and well rounded sentences were well calculated to enrapture and captivate a jury. He was also an excellent lawyer, and combined in a greater degree than any other lawyer in central New York, the legal acumen of the jurist with the brilliancy of an advocate. Henry Clay told ex-Judge Foster when the latter was in Congress in 1837–8, that Henry R. Storrs was the most eloquent debater he ever heard on the floor of the House. Ex-Judge Gridley told me many incidents in the professional career of Mr. Storrs, demonstrating his great power and influence over juries. Judge Gridley said Mr. Storrs was the most brilliant advocate he ever heard. He related a summing up of Mr. Storrs in the Rome court house about 1828, in behalf of a plaintiff in a noted *crim. con.* case, wherein Mr. Storrs, in his appeal to the jury for large damages, deprecated the effect upon the community if the verdict was not among the thousands, and if it was not, he invoked the lightning of heaven to fall upon that court house and shiver it to atoms, so that not one brick or stone should stand above another, nor a vestige remain of a place where an American jury had so lightly punished such violators of law. Judge Gridley said it was the most powerful and thrilling appeal he ever heard.

Mr. Storrs had five children, all of whom outlived him. His youngest child and only daughter Eliza, was in early life in delicate health and consumptively inclined. In July, 1837, he,

with her and with his wife, were at the Pavillion Hotel at New Haven, Conn., for the purpose of improving his invalid daughter's health by the breezes off Long Island Sound. In the evening of July 29th, Mr. Storrs ascended the stairs to the cupola of the hotel to view a fire which had broken out in the city; while going down stairs he complained of faintness and sat down to rest; on recovering he proceeded on his way to the drawing room, and while walking up and down in the rooms of the hotel, in cheerful conversation, he was taken suddenly ill, fell to the floor and expired immediately. An artery was ruptured. And thus, at the age of forty-nine years, Henry R. Storrs was cut off in his prime, in the midst of his professional career and usefulness, and in the full vigor of an unclouded intellect. He was buried in that city, and at meetings of the bar and of fellow-citizens in New Haven, New York and elsewhere, and through the press, were voiced the deep feelings of sorrow everywhere felt at such a loss. His daughter died August 27, 1837, not a month after the death of her father, at the age of twenty-two, and the two are buried by each other's side. I might mention here that a sister of Mr. Storrs, was the wife Governor Joseph Trumbull, of Connecticut: a brother of his read law with Henry R. in Whitesboro, returned to Connecticut to practice law, and was a Member of Congress for six years, and Judge of the Supreme Court of that State from 1840 until his death in 1861. Of the four sons of Henry R. Storrs, Henry Lemuel graduated at Hamilton College, entered the ministry, and in 1836 became an Episcopal minister, and was located for a while at New Hartford in this county, but afterwards at Yonkers, where he died in 1852, at the age of fifty-one. His wife was a sister of Bishop Kip. Fortune K., another son, located in California, and was connected with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and died unmarried in December, 1853, at the age of forty-four. His remains are in the Yuba Cemetery on the Pacific Slope. William Champion was another son; he graduated from college, read law, and was admitted to the bar and located in Rochester and was United States Commissioner. He died July 14, 1853, at the age of fifty seven years; his remains are in the cemetery at Mt. Hope. Peyton R., another son, was a farmer and lived many years in Trenton, but many years ago moved to Wisconsin, and died at Milwaukee June 13, 1855, at the age of thirty-seven; his remains were taken to Mt. Hope.

The widow of Henry R. Storrs outlived her whole family. Toward the close of her life she took up her residence with her old

friend, Mrs Sarah Eames, in New Hartford in this county. Mrs. Eames was the oldest daughter and only surviving child of the late Jedediah Sanger. She died August 12, 1861, at the age of eighty-three years, and her funeral took place from her late residence at 3 P. M. Thursday, August 15th. That same night there was another death in that dwelling. The two who had seen this country when it was a wilderness, and had lived to witness its growth and prosperity, who were schoolmates in girlhood, companions in later years, and friends through life, and who had outlived their day and generation, were not long separated at death. Before the sun had risen on the morrow, all that was mortal of Esther Storrs had ceased to live. She died at the age of seventy-six. In that quiet rural home, within sight and sound of the murmuring waters of that busy stream where their ancestors settled, and upon which they erected so many thriving industries, the eldest daughter and only surviving child of the pioneer settler of New Hartford, and the first white born child of all of this "Whitestown Country," passed their last days together in seclusion, quite unnoticed, almost forgotten by the world; and there this aged couple died, but a few days apart. There is surely a singular coincidence and a touching appropriateness in the ending of these two lives. The remains of Mrs. Storrs were taken to Mt. Hope for interment.

SAMUEL A. TALCOTT.

Whenever Henry R. Storrs is mentioned as once a resident of this county, and as the ablest jury advocate of his day in Central New York, the name of Samuel A. Talcott comes to mind, for he was a cotemporary of Mr. Storrs, a resident of Whitesboro for a while, and the ablest lawyer in the county, and not surpassed by any in the State or nation. Mr. Talcott was born in Hartford, Connecticut, and was left an orphan at an early age. When fourteen years of age he attended Colchester (Connecticut) Academy, thence passed to Williams College, where he graduated in 1809 at the age of twenty years. Soon thereafter, he married a sister of Col. John Ledyard, of Revolutionary fame, and about the time of his marriage, moved to Whitesboro, and finished his legal studies in the office of Gold & Sill. In 1812 he moved to Lowville, in Lewis county, and formed a law partnership with Isaac W. Bostwick; the latter prior to 1800 was a tutor in the family of Livingston at Poughkeepsie, whose daughters, Arthur Breese and Judge Jonas Platt married. In 1816, Mr. Talcott

removed to Utica, and formed a partnership with William H. Maynard, who was a schoolmate of his in college, and who subsequently became a star of the first magnitude in the legal galaxy of the State. Mr. Talcott at once took front rank in the profession in this county and in the State, as evidenced by the fact that in February, 1821, at the age of thirty-one, he was appointed Attorney General of the State. This appointment, it is said, was made through the influence and efforts of Martin Van Buren, who was then an important factor in the politics of the State and nation. Mr. Van Buren had been six days before elected to the United States Senate, and as he had ambitious aspirations and far-reaching sagacity, he sought to attach to his interests the rising and leading young men of the State. About that same time Mr. Van Buren was instrumental in procuring the appointment of John Savage as Comptroller (afterwards Chief Justice) and Samuel Young and other young men to offices. Judge Platt, with a peculiar wink, said at the time to a friend: "This is an age of young men." On the appointment of Mr. Talcott he took up his residence in Albany, and the fact that he succeeded in the Attorney Generalship such a brilliant lawyer as Thomas J. Oakley, very naturally attracted towards him the eyes of the bar, and invoked criticism on the appointment. At that time the State numbered among its leading luminaries such men as Thomas Addis Emmett, John Wells, John C. Spencer, Ogden Hoffman, Elisha Williams, Daniel Cady, David B. Ogden, John V. Henry, and Abram Van Vechten; and yet, Mr. Talcott proved himself the peer of the brightest and the best of them. He was often engaged in important causes, where great principles of law were involved, and the closest reasoning and the finest discrimination were required to be made. He was not eloquent before a jury like Mr. Storrs, yet his mind was clear and logical; he was fluent in speech and expression, and forcible in language and gestures; if he did not captivate juries by appeals to their feelings, he generally won their judgments and verdicts by the superior force and great power of his reasoning. But it was in appellate courts, where abstruse legal questions, or great principles of law were involved and discussed, that he shone to greater advantage, and where he was without a superior, and some think without a peer in the land. Daniel Webster, Martin Van Buren, and others, equally capable of judging, have expressed opinions placing Mr. Talcott among the foremost lawyers in America. It was in a case in the United States Supreme Court, in 1829, that Mr. Talcott was

pitted against Mr. Webster, and came off victorious. It was the case known as the "Sailor's Snug Harbor," and it was by reason of Mr. Talcott's masterly argument that that institution has now an existence in New York, and ranks among the foremost charities in that city. That case has a traditionary history, because of incidents connected with it. As is well known, Mr. Talcott had become quite dissipated, and grave apprehensions were entertained as to whether he would be able to appear in court and argue the case when it was reached. He had been considerably irregular in his habits for a number of days previously, but the day the case was reached, Mr. Talcott strode into the court room, attired as was his wont, with scrupulous care and neatness, showing no sign of dissipation, and made one of the greatest arguments ever listened to in that court room. A gentleman, who forty years ago was a member of the Court of Last Resort in this State, informed me that a few years after the occurrence of the above argument, Mr. Talcott was engaged to argue an important case before that court. For some days before the case was reached, Mr. Talcott had been sadly tippling at some of the low groggeries in the suburbs of Albany, and it was feared he would not be present to take care of the case. But the day the case was called, he came into court dressed with great care, his face smoothly and cleanly shaven, showing no signs of dissipation, except a slight redness of his cheeks; his mind was clear and active, and he made a most masterly argument before the Court of Errors at Albany.

Mr. Talcott was about five feet ten, of medium size, erect in his carriage, of dignified manners and bearing, and rather distant and taciturn in his behavior. As before stated, he was first appointed Attorney General in 1821; he was reappointed in February, 1823, under the constitution of 1821, and in February, 1829, was succeeded by Greene C. Bronson, another Utican, and the latter in January, 1836, by Samuel Beardsley, still another Utican. About 1830, Mr. Talcott removed to New York, and died in that city March 19, 1836, at the early age of forty-seven years, in the midst of a legal career which, but for his irregular habits, would have been one of the most brilliant of any in the nation. Within a week thereafter Theodore Sill (in whose office Mr. Talcott had read law a quarter of a century before,) died at his home in Whitesboro. Mr. Talcott was twice married; by his first wife one child was born, the present Judge John Ledyard Talcott, of Buffalo.

Rev. John Frost.

There were a number of earnest and learned divines who located at Whitesboro in the early part of its history. Among the number may be mentioned Elder Stephen Parsons, who in 1796 formed the first Baptist Church of the place, and remained until 1802. He was succeeded by Elder Caleb Douglass, who was pastor from 1802 to 1815; next came Rev. Elder Elon Galusha, who was pastor from 1815 to 1831—all faithful and able divines. As has been heretofore stated Rev. Bethuel Dodd located in the village in 1794, and was the first pastor of the Presbyterian Church there; he was succeeded in the fall of 1804 by Rev. James Carnahan, (afterwards President of Princeton College,) who remained until 1812. I think no one of the ministers who located in Whitesboro, remained as long as, or had a higher standing, or was more widely known than Rev. John Frost.

Mr. Frost was called in November, 1812, to succeed Mr. Carnahan in the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church of that village. At that time he was an unmarried man of but twenty-four years of age. He was born in Williamsburg, Mass., and when eighteen years old graduated at Middlebury College, and four years later from Andover Theological Seminary. In May, 1810, he entered the ministry, and soon after engaged in the effort to awaken in the churches an interest in foreign missions, a subject in which he was much enlisted, and to which he pledged himself while pursuing his theological studies. At that work he labored in the principal places in New England and New York, and so great was his zeal and enthusiasm in that field of labor that he declined pastoral calls from Danbury, Conn., and from Braintree and Williamstown, Mass. He assisted in forming in Boston the first society (the "A. B. C. F. M.") on foreign missions; and could he have lived to this day, and witnessed the immense field now occupied by that society and the grand results worked out in foreign lands, he would have felt that his labors had not been in vain. Before his call, one minister had supplied the pulpits of the Presbyterian Churches at Whitesboro and Utica. On Mr. Frost coming the society was divided, and he supplied the pulpit at Whitesboro. Mr. Frost was ordained March 13, 1813, and I have before me the ordination sermon preached on the occasion by the Rev. Azel Backus, D. D., then President of Hamilton College. The pamphlet was printed by Ira Merrill, of Utica, and the subject was "Ministerial Fidelity," and from the text in Isaiah 58: 1.

Mr. Frost continued pastor of that church for twenty years, and during his labors several hundreds were converted, and many gathered into the Christian fold. By his advice, the Presbyterian Churches at Oriskany and Yorkville were formed, and the members of those congregations mainly taken from the parent church at Whitesboro. Mr. Frost was a ready and active co-operator with Rev. G. W. Gale in the founding at Whitesboro of the "Manual Labor School," later known as "Oneida Institute," and now as "Whitestown Seminary." He rendered valuable assistance in collecting funds for the support of that institution, and in 1833 resigned his pastorate to devote his whole time to soliciting money to carry on and sustain that educational enterprise. His extensive acquaintance in New England and in New York, and the unbounded confidence reposed in him by all, resulted in crowning his efforts with great success. When the institution came under the controlling influence of Rev. Beriah Green, whose views on the temperance and slavery questions were so much in advance of the age that the school lost the friendship of a great many of its former friends, Mr. Frost withdrew from that work, and returned to the ministry, and for four years was settled as pastor at Elmira. When he left that place, he declined a settlement elsewhere, meanwhile supplying vacant pulpits. He was supplying the pulpit at Waterville, in this county, retaining his residence at Whitesboro, when he took cold while riding on horseback between the two places, the cold terminated in pleurisy of which he died in Waterville March 1, 1842, at the age of fifty-four. His last words were, "God reigns and always has reigned." His remains are in the Whitesboro cemetery. Those yet living, who remember Mr. Frost, speak of him as a preacher, always clear, logical, forcible and convincing, and at times truly eloquent. His great aim was to enlighten and persuade, not to dazzle or amuse. He was earnest in manner, tireless as a worker, and a great friend of the cause of temperance and of the slave; and in that period of our country's history, when excitement was high on those questions, and it cost a man his place, and sometimes his life, to speak out boldly, Mr. Frost was an open and bold worker, and by pen and voice did what he could to erase from our country's escutcheon the stigma that we were a slave-holding people and a nation of drunkards. By his patient endurance, modest heroism and stainless integrity he won a name and reputation as a citizen, Christian, minister and philanthropist that will endure as long as philanthropy and piety shall be respected or reverenced upon

earth. For thirteen years he was trustee of Hamilton College and rendered valuable service to that institution. The same year that he was installed pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Whitesboro, he married Harriet L. Gold, the oldest daughter of Hon. Thomas R. Gold, a woman of excellent qualities of head and heart, and among the most cultured of her sex. She survived her husband, and died at her home in Whitesboro, August 5, 1873, at the advanced age of eighty-three years. Rev. Mr. Frost left him surviving four children. Sarah Gold Frost became the wife of Rev. Andrew Hull, D. D., of Elmira, where she died in December, 1861. Mary A., another daughter, became the wife of William Burt, of Chicago; she died in Whitesboro, in June, 1863, and her remains are by the side of her parents. Thomas Gold Frost, the only son, attended the "Manual Labor School," graduated in 1842 from Hamilton College, read law in Rome with Stryker & Comstock, became a law partner of H. T. Utley, now of Waterville, and later with J. Thomas Spriggs. About 1858 Mr. Frost removed to Galesburg, in Illinois, and subsequently to Chicago, where he was a leading lawyer, and where he died in December, 1880, universally regretted. Miss Harriet L. Gold Frost is the only survivor of the family; she is yet a resident of the village where her grandfather settled ninety years ago, and is an occupant of the homestead, which he erected for her parents more than sixty years since.

The Manns and Caprons.

Inasmuch as considerable has been said concerning the pioneer lawyers, physicians and divines of Whitesboro, it is meet and proper that something should appear regarding another class of early residents, who by their industry and enterprise contributed as much as any to give to that villiage its "Golden Age." I refer to those connected with the manufacturing interests and who started the first cotton factories in this State.

On Christmas day, 1778, when this country was in the midst of her Revolutionary troubles, the American privateer brig *General Arnold*, with one hundred and twenty men on board, hoisted sail in Boston harbor and put out to sea. Hardly was that vessel out of port before it was overtaken by one of the most tremendous snow storms within the memory of any then living. The next day it parted its cable off Plymouth harbor, became unmanageable, men froze to the masts and rigging, the captain, surgeon of the vessel and one hundred of the men perished by the cold, and sixty-

six of them were buried in one grave. An inscription upon a family monument in the burying ground at Oldtown, Mass., records the above facts and concludes with these words: "And now Lord God Almighty, just and true are all Thy ways, but who can stand before Thy cold?" That monument is to the memory of the surgeon lost on that vessel. His name was Dr. Herbert Mann, of a family noted for the many eminent physicians which successive generations have produced. His father was also a doctor, of Attleboro, Mass., a noted physician and an active participator with the Colonists in their struggles for independence. That father (Dr. Bezaleel Mann) died in 1796 at the age of seventy-four years. That surgeon had three brothers, two of whom, like himself, had graduated at Brown University, and were noted physicians, one of them settling at Newport and the other at Hudson in this State. The other brother was Newton Mann, a merchant and a business man, who came to Whitesboro. Dr. J. Milton Mann, who located at Hudson, was drowned one night while crossing the river to visit a patient; he left a widow, one son and four daughters. In 1806 that widow and her children, also Newton Mann, and Dr. Seth Capron (who had married into the Mann family) came to Whitesboro to live. Newton Mann located on the corner of Main and Westmoreland streets, where Hon. Philo White now resides; the widow Mann and family lived in the house next westerly, where a son (H. B. Mann, of Newton,) subsequently lived, and which afterwards for forty years or more was the residence of Rev. Beriah Green. Dr. Capron lived on the other side of Main street, nearly opposite the residence of Newton Mann. These three families were connected by marriage or related to each other, and were valuable acquisitions to the society of Whitesboro, while the men were among the most prominent and enterprising business men in this section. About that time President Dwight, of Yale, made a tour through this section, and made this entry in his "travels:" "Of the pretty little village of Whitesborough, the houses are about sixty in number, and for a new settlement are uncommonly good; they stand on a single street, straight, smooth and beautiful. It contains two churches and several genteel families, who are eminently hospitable and furnish each other with the pleasures of a polished society." As before stated, Newton Mann was a merchant, and for a while a partner of B. S. Walcott; he was also largely interested in the promotion of cotton manufacture and other industries of the country. About 1825, he followed his son to what is now

Mannsville, in Jefferson county, but he did not engage in business after he left Whitesboro. He died in Mannsville, April 11, 1860, at the age of ninety years; his wife died six months later, November 17, 1860, at the age of ninety-four. That couple had lived a married life of sixty-eight years, and were not long separated by death. They had one son and two daughters. The son, H. B. Mann, was an enterprising business citizen and manufacturer; his wife was Julia Doolittle, a daughter of a pioneer settler of Whitesboro. About 1824, he moved to what is now Mannsville, after whom that place is named, became a partner of and half owner with his brother-in-law Daniel Wardwell, in a cotton factory of six hundred spindles, which the latter had erected there in that year. In 1827, the factory burned to the ground, entailing a loss of $10,000 upon the owners, and soon thereafter H. B. Mann returned to Whitesboro and died there January 8, 1830, at the early age of thirty-eight years. His widow died at the residence of her son Dr. J. P. Mann, of New York city, July 18, 1872, at the venerable age of eighty years, and the remains of husband and wife are side by side in the cemetery at Whitesboro. Hetty, one of the daughters of Newton Mann, became the wife of Judge Daniel Wardwell, who read law with Gold & Sill, lived in Utica, Rome, Pulaski and Mannsville, and was one of the judges of the Jefferson Common Pleas, Member of Congress from the latter county for four terms, and in Congress a devoted friend of President Jackson all through the most stormy times of the latter's Administration. Mrs. Wardwell died in 1858, and her memory is cherished by all who knew her, as one of the best and most lovable of women. Abby Mann, the other daughter, became the wife of Dr. Roswell Kinney, a leading physician of Mannsville, and one of its most worthy citizens. He was brother-in-law of Rev. G. W. Gale, who started the Oneida Institute at Whitesboro. Mrs. Dr. Kinney outlived her husband, and died in March 1881, at the age of eighty years, revered, respected and loved by a large circle of friends. A stately, appropriate monument in the Mannsville cemetery marks the resting places of the three families of the Wardwell's, Mann's and Kinney's.

Of the family of Dr. J. Milton Mann, who came from Hudson to Whitesboro, as before stated, the eldest daughter, Eliza, married in 1810, Theodore Sill, as before mentioned. She died April 29, 1849. She was the mother of Mrs. Calvert Comstock. Eloisa, another daughter, became the wife of John B. Rumney, formerly

of England, but who resided, I believe, prior to 1848, in the western part of the State, and subsequently moved South; she died quite suddenly at or near Alexandria, Va., in October, 1849. Sarah J., another daughter, became the wife of Thomas D. Burrall, of Geneva, prominently connected with the invention, manufacture or sale of agricultural implements; she died in April, 1831. Mary E., the only unmarried daughter of that family, will be remembered even by later residents of Whitesboro, as a very intelligent and cultivated lady; she died in Rome about fifteen years ago. John B. Mann, the only son, died in Rome at the residence of his sister, Mrs. Sill, in the winter of 1848–9.

Dr. Seth Capron, although the last mentioned of those three families, was not by any means, the least in importance; on the contrary, he may be justly ranked among the first of the leading men of Whitesboro, or in Central New York. He was forty-five years of age when he moved to Whitesboro, was a man of family, and stood high in the medical profession. He had seen much service in the war of the Revolution, was at the siege of Newport, attached to the staff of LaFayette, where he came near losing his life by a cannon ball which grazed his head, that was aimed at the life of his General. He was at the battle of White Plains, and during the rest of the war, after that battle, was under Washington. It was not until the return of peace that he commenced his medical studies. He then entered the office of Dr. Bezaleel Mann, whose second daughter he subsequently married. He came to Whitesboro as before mentioned, and in a year or two afterward gave so much attention to manufactures and other pursuits that he can hardly be said, after his removal to this county, to have been a practicing physician. He was originator of the scheme, and with the co-operation of B. S. Walcott, Newton Mann, Theodore Sill, Thomas R. Gold, and a few others started on Sauquoit Creek the first works for the manufacture of cotton erected in this State. Dr. Capron had the main charge, and large numbers of merino sheep were imported from Spain at a heavy expense, some costing as high as $600 and $1,000 each. There were large fields of them kept across the river, and one of the farms was called "Mount Merino." Dr. Capron was small in stature, but he made up by his great physical and mental activity and large business capacity and ability. He never seemed more happy than when engaged in the most extensive enterprises that called into requisition all of his energies and the powers of his mind. He was as active in the peaceful pursuits of life as he had

been in the stirring times of the Revolution. For a dozen years or so he was thus engaged at Whitesboro, but at last financial embarrassments overtook him, and he lost his property. He then removed to Oriskany, took charge of the woolen mills there, but in 1825 he left the county and located at Walden, in Orange county, and there established far more extensive factories than he was able to do in this county. Ten years later, after an illness of but one day, he died at the age of seventy-four years. He had four sons. John, Newton, Seth and Horace. Dr. Seth Capron, Jr., was a physician, and Horace, the well-known General Horace Capron.* The success which attended and the grand results which followed the establishment of those cotton works at Whitestown are of themselves sufficient to embalm the memory of their founders in the hearts of their countrymen. That class of men gave to Whitesboro its golden age. Dr. Bagg has rendered a most valuable service to the whole country by the exhaustive paper read by him before the Oneida Historical Society in July, 1879, relative to that branch of Oneida county's industries.

S. Newton Dexter.

In the year 1815 there located in Whitesboro a married man of thirty years of age, of great industry and force of character, and who subsequently demonstrated his ability and capacity to undertake and carry forward more extensive, and a greater variety of business enterprises, than any other man who ever lived in that village. S. Newton Dexter was to Whitestown, as well as to every other locality where his active mind and enterprising spirit found work to do, the life and soul of thriving manufacturing industries, and an active and prominent participator in everything that tended to promote the prosperity of a place, or the culture and education of its people. He was a fit successor to the Manns and Caprons, to carry on the great enterprises they had inaugurated. The great-grandfather of Mr. Dexter was a graduate of Harvard College, and for many years pastor of a Congregational Church in Massachusetts. His grandfather, before the war of the Revolution, was an eminent importing merchant of Boston, and at his death bequeathed a handsome endowment to Harvard, the income of which went to the Professor of Biblical Literature. His father was the first manufacturer of cotton goods in

*Gen. Capron Ex-U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture, died at his home in Washington, on the night of February 22, 1885, from a cold taken at the dedicatory ceremonies at the Washington Monument, the previous day, at the age of 73 years.

the United States, and an enterprising business man. With such an ancestry, and such noble examples and worthy incentives before him, it would be quite natural to expect something worthy and of like character from the descendant. S. Newton Dexter was born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1785, and in due time entered Brown University, where his elder brother had graduated in 1801; but the activity of his mind and his restless desire for a more busy and active life, led him to leave school before he had graduated, and engage in business in Boston. In 1815 he removed to Whitesboro, where he resided, with temporary exceptions, for forty-seven years of his life. He engaged at first in a mercantile pursuit, his store being on the corner of Maine and Mohawk streets. That was on the eve of the construction of the Erie canal, and Mr. Dexter's large business capacity soon led him into other pursuits, and into much larger and more diversified fields of labor. In 1817 he had a large contract for the construction of a section of the canal which led through what is now the city of Syracuse, but then a swamp. In 1824, he undertook a heavy contract on the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, which occupied five years of his time and which involved an expenditure of over $2,000,000. That work was completed to the entire satisfaction of the directors, as evidenced by their complimentary resolutions on Mr. Dexter and his work. He was a stockholder in the Oriskany woolen factory, a company formed four years before he moved to Whitesboro, with a capital of $200,000, and having among its original stockholders Chief Justice Ambrose Spencer, Jonas Platt, William G. Tracy, Newton Mann, Thomas R. Gold, Theodore Sill and DeWitt Clinton. Mr. Dexter, subsequent to his canal contracts, took charge as agent of those woolen mills, and by his executive ability, and the use of his own funds, restored the credit of the company and brought back to it business and public confidence, at a time when it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Through his agency the Dexter Manufacturing Company was organized in 1832, with a capital of $100,000, and its location fixed at Pleasant Valley, a short distance from Oriskany, where it flourished and thrived during the rest of Mr. Dexter's life. About the same time that company was formed, Mr. Dexter became largely interested in other manufacturing enterprises in Elgin, Ill., and also in Jefferson county in this State. The little village in the town of Brownsville in the last named county, at the head of Black River Bay, and which had theretofore borne the name of "Fish Island," was made in 1837, by the means and

influence of Mr. Dexter, the seat of large manufacturing establishments. One thousand acres of land were purchased and laid out into village lots, the village in compliment to its founder was named "Dexter," and now contains some six hundred inhabitants. In 1829, Mr. Dexter was elected one of the first trustees, and the first president of the village of Whitestown. He was the first president of the Bank of Whitestown, and held that position from 1838 to 1853. In 1840 he was appointed Canal Commissioner by Governor Seward, and in 1850 was appointed by Governor Hamilton Fish one of the managers of the State Lunatic Asylum at Utica, which position he held until his death. There were many other pioneer and business enterprises in which he was engaged, the ultimate success of which demonstrated his foresight, far-reaching sagacity and business ability. In the midst of all these varied duties, and the multiplicity of his cares and labors, he was not neglectful of works of art nor of the causes of education and religion. His library was well stored with works of a standard character, and his mind with useful knowledge. His conversational powers were great, his informantion varied and extensive, and his manners easy, social and polite. Hamilton College numbered no stronger friend or benefactor among its list of supporters than Mr. Dexter, his benefactions to that institution aggregating some $23,000. The first wife of Mr. Dexter was Laura Northrup, of Athens, in this State; they were married four years before his removal to Whitesboro; she died in 1846. His second wife was the widow of Thomas R. Gold, Jr., she outlived him, and is yet a resident of Whitesboro. Mr. Dexter died November 18, 1862, at the age of seventy-seven years, and an appropriate monument in the Whitesboro cemetery marks his resting place. Mr. Dexter left two children; Andrew, the son, was with his father in the manufacturing enterprises, and lived at Whitesboro, and also at Utica. His wife was a daughter of Theodore S. Gold. I believe they now reside in New York city. The only daughter of S. Newton Dexter became the wife of Prof. North, of Hamilton College. She died in 1869, and the tender and touching address of Prof. Upson at her funeral bears witness to her high Christian character, and to those noble traits which she possessed as daughter, wife and mother, which make up the highest types of womanhood.

Is it a wonder that Whitesboro had such a golden age, when such persons as I have enumerated contributed to and made part of its history?

Lewis Berry and His Family.

In 1802, a man with a wife and several small children came from Washington county, in this State, and located at or near what is Lairdsville, in the town of Westmoreland, in this county, and there engaged in mercantile pursuits. That merchant was Lewis Berry. He was originally from New Jersey, where his father was one of the King's Justices of the Peace at the breaking out of the Revolution, but who took sides with the Colonists. The first Berry who crossed the Atlantic for America was an escaped prisoner from Sterling Castle, where he was confined under sentence of death, for the part he took in behalf of the house of Stuart in the bloody contest with Cromwell and the Parliamentary party. At the time Mr. Berry commenced his mercantile career in Westmoreland, the county was new and sparsely populated, the people poor, trade limited, and business neither extensive nor prosperous. In a few years, by reason of overtrade or lack of patronage, Mr. Berry became embarrassed in his circumstances, judgments were obtained against him, his store of goods and his real estate were sold out by the sheriff, and as imprisonment for debt was then the law of the land, he was taken into custody and placed upon "the limits" at Whitesboro. That was about 1807. This misfortune was no disparagement to Mr. Berry's abilities or integrity, nor did it serve in the least to discredit or discourage him. He seemed to be not unmindful of the fact that they are the greatest and noblest who meet life's necessities with the bravest heart and the fewest murmurs, and who do to the best of their ability whatever is given unto them to do. Out of this nettle of danger he plucked the flower of safety. He commenced keeping "tavern" in the old tavern stand of Daniel C. White, opposite the village green, a little easterly of the residence of Mrs. W. L. Wetmore, and where the first town meeting of Whitestown was held in 1789. At the time of Mr. Berry's compulsory removal to Whitesboro, that village had become an important and prominent locality. It was one of the county seats, and was the abode of some of the most influential men in this part of the State. It was a good location for a well regulated and a well kept "tavern" as hotels were styled in those days, and the place where judges, lawyers and the best class would congregate when courts were held in that villiage, and where travelers would stop on their way through the central part of the State. It was just such a stopping place as was then greatly needed, and Mr. Berry took in the

situation at a glance, and set to work to supply the pressing need. No one now living can remember how Mr. Berry kept that house, although the oldest inhabitants just remember that he did keep it for awhile; but there are many yet alive, who well remember, and have a pleasant recollection too, of the "tavern," or perhaps more properly speaking, of the boarding house Mr. Berry kept, on the site next to Judge Platt's residence, for nearly or quite forty years of his life. As early as 1795 Nathaniel Platt kept a store on that site, and in 1802 Richard M. Harrison, a brother of Mrs. Dr. Elizur Moseley, was in trade there; not far from 1810 it was converted into a tavern stand, and Mr. Berry seems to have been the first occupant and the only one so long as he lived. There are yet so many among the living who remember Mr. Berry and his well kept house that it is pleasant to refer to them and to speak in unqualified praise of both. It was a popular resort at the sessions of the court in Whitesboro and for travelers who would make a long day's journey to reach that road-side inn rather than to pass a night or take a meal at a less attractive place. It was widely and favorably known throughout the State, and was to Whitesboro what "Bagg's Tavern" and hotel years ago were to Utica, Congress Hall to Albany, and the Astor House to New York, where men of culture and of quiet habits loved to gather, because there they were sure to meet men of their own tastes, and to find a place of respectability and of home-like attractions. Mr. Berry, too, was a cultured and cultivated gentleman of genial and polite manners, social in his intercourse, and highly entertaining and instructive in conversation. He was a general favorite wherever known, and respected and liked by all his neighbors. It is handed down as one of the traditions of his times, that when he was placed upon "the limits," some thirty or forty of his farmer country neighbors made a "bee" and brought him in the winter as many loads of wood and piled it in his yard or woodshed, as sufficed for the year's use. This was repeated the next year and the next, and so on until it became one of the regular yearly customs of his country friends. Mr. Berry was too generous and kind hearted to let such occasions pass unnoticed, and so he made each one of these occasions a joyful and festive one by providing for the teams which drew the wood, and furnishing to all the persons who came a sumptuous dinner, a cordial welcome and a liberal entertainment. No doubt the expense to him of such entertainments was much beyond the value of the fuel that was brought; but he appreciated the feelings that prompted his friends

to do these deeds of kindness—yes, to keep up the custom in remembrance and as a reminder of by-gone years, and he was too kind, genial and generous to wish for the discontinuance. He had that touch of human nature which made him feel the whole world was his kin, and that each living being was a member of one common brotherhood. I am told by those who knew him best that to none was he more kind, attentive and sympathetic than to those young men of limited means, who, struggling with poverty and manfully battling with life, came to Whitesboro to attend school or to pursue their legal studies. Those he unobstrusely sought out, and invited and strongly urged to make his house their boarding place, with full permission to pay him whenever they could, or not at all, if they were never able. Mr. Berry took great interest in politics, and was a Federalist while that party was in existence, and an equally ardent Whig in later years. Although he bore a most striking resemblance, it is said, to General Andrew Jackson, yet Mr. Berry was his bitter political opponent. Henry Clay was his beau ideal of a statesman, and it well nigh broke his heart when that gallant chieftain lost the Presidential race of 1844. He lived, however, and took part in another presidential contest four years later, but not with equal heart or ardor. Time was laying its heavy hand upon him, and although he had lost four children, all in infancy, yet it had been over twenty years since death had invaded his household. It came, however, in March, 1849, and this time took the head of the family. At the age of eighty-two years, Lewis Berry was called from earth, and his remains were laid away in the cemetery which overlooked the village where he had passed over forty years of his life.

Three years later, another link of that family circle was missing in the person of the brightest, the most gifted and the most widely known of the children. Six months thereafter death came again, and this time took the youngest-born of the family. The next year another of these children died, and in 1855 she who had been for over sixty years the wife of Lewis Berry, the mother of fifteen children, passed away at the age of eighty-two—the age of her husband when he died six years before. The next year two more daughters died, and thus, within the space of seven years, the village church bell of Whitesboro had tolled for seven funerals in that family.

I have said there were fifteen children, four of whom died in infancy, and I think before Mr. Berry removed to Whitesboro. The oldest son was Wendell Berry, born in 1793, who was about

fourteen years old when his father located in Whitesboro. He attended Mr. Halsey's school, graduated in 1815 from Hamilton College, read law, was admitted to the bar, and about 1819 moved to and opened a law office in Mayville, Chautauqua county, where he died in 1828, at the age of thirty-five. Morris Miller Berry was the second son, and the fourth child. He also was a pupil of Mr. Halsey, but received from Rev. John Frost the finishing touches to his education, preparatory to entering Hamilton College, at which institution he graduated in 1817 at the age of eighteen. He read law with Nathan Williams, of Utica; was admitted to practice in October, 1820, and soon after opened a law office in Massena, St. Lawrence county; but the law was not to his tastes or likings. He had much literary ability, was well read and well informed, could and did write fine pieces of poetry, both of a serious and humorous character, contributed able articles for the press and wrote essays and addresses of fine literary merit; but he was diffident and unassuming, and could not face a court, jury or audience, although he could write articles that would sensibly touch the reader or hearer, or set them in roars of laughter.

After his admission to the bar, rather than practice law, he taught schools in the rural districts, boarded around among the patrons, as was and is customary in country districts; he also wrote considerably and very acceptably for newspapers and magazines. He was not long absent from Whitesboro, after his admission to the bar. During the "Washingtonian movement" and temperance revival of about 1842 he wrote, at the request of Rev. Beriah Green, a temperance address, to be delivered in an evening at Whitesboro. The evening came and so did a large audience; Mr. Berry arose and got as far as "Fellow Citizens," and there his tongue balked and refused to budge another inch or to utter another word; he sat down and other speakers finished the meeting. Another evening was appointed for the address, and again a large audience and Mr. Berry were there. After great effort and much halting and hesitation he went through with his lecture, but he said it was the greatest struggle of his life; and yet Mr. Green said that lecture, as to its style as a literary production, would have done no discredit to Addison, and for solid arguments and apt illustrations, was equal to the best made on that subject. He was Postmaster of Whitesboro during the administration of Harrison and Tyler, but was rotated out of office in 1845 by the administration of President Polk. From 1846 to 1866 he was in the book trade at Saratoga, and for five

years afterwards was librarian at Divinity Hall in Philadelphia; later he removed to Washington and died in that city in January, 1881, at the age of eighty-two years—the same age that his father and mother were when they died. He left a widow but no children. At the time of his death he was, with one or two exceptions, the oldest alumnus of Hamilton College, and but a few who read the notice of his death were aware that he was once one of the early residents of Whitesboro, and among the brightest and best informed of those who gave to that place its golden age. His remains are in the cemetery at Saratoga. In 1845 he married Miss Eugenia Dorland, of Poughkeepsie, who yet survives him.

Lewis F. Berry was another son; he was a bookkeeper and always a resident of Whitestown. He was trustee of the village from 1836 to 1842; he died at Yorkville in January, 1869, at the age of sixty, leaving a widow now residing West, and three daughters. John was the youngest born of Lewis Berry's children, was a machinist and was never married; he died in July, 1852, at the age of thirty-two. There were seven daughters, four of whom never married; of this four, Jane H., died in 1810, at the age of sixteen years; she is said to have been very beautiful; Wealthy Ann, died in September, 1853, at the age of fifty-five; Mary died in December, 1856; Cornelia in April, 1872, at the age of about sixty. Of the married daughters, Elizabeth was the fifth daughter, and the first one married. Those who remember her in her beauty and prime, as she was fifty years ago, tell me she was bright, fascinating, beautiful, cultivated and the belle of society. She was one of the thirteen white-robed maidens who joined in the procession that gave welcome to LaFayette when he visited Whitesboro in June, 1825. The introductions to citizens were on the grounds of Judge Platt, the reception by the committee at the house of her father. She became the wife of Hon. O. L. Barbour, who read law with Wheeler Barnes, of Rome, and whom lawyers know as the author of the sixty-seven volumes of "Barbour's Supreme Court Reports," "Barbour's Chancery Practice," and "Magistrate's Criminal Law"—the last two works, the best of the kind to be found in a lawyer's library. She died at Saratoga in October, 1856, at the age of about fifty. Frances Miriam was eleventh child in the family. In early life she was peculiarly bright and gifted, and exhibited unusual talents as a writer of both prose and poetry, and in her pencil sketches and "off hand takings" of the foibles and peculiarities of

man and womankind. In these regards she was much like her brother Morris Miller, although he never attained the reputation or acquired the celebrity she worked out for herself. She was a favorite contributor to *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Neal's Saturday Gazette*, and those periodicals were greatly sought for during the time her articles were running through their columns. Most of the "Widow Bedott Papers," of which she was the authoress, were written after her marriage in 1847, and were dramatized after her death. Tradition has it that most of the humorous characters in these papers were taken from real life, and that two libel suits were commenced by different persons, each plaintiff claiming she was the woman referred to in the character of "Mrs. Sampson Savage." No one remembers that either of these libel suits culminated in a trial. Great as was Frances Miriam's talents in this vein of writing, yet it is said she shone to better advantage, and exhibited greater strength of mind and more poetic genius in articles of a serious kind. Fragmentary poems of hers, which from time to time appeared in print, were reckoned among the sweetest and best of any which were then being published. She is remembered as among the foremost of humorous writers of that kind of humor above mentioned, and I think I am safe in saying that Whitesboro, even in its golden days, has produced no more gifted or talented lady than she. In 1847 she became the wife of Rev. B. W. Whitcher, now and for many years a resident of Whitesboro. She died January 4, 1852, at the age of forty-one. She has but one child, Mrs. W. S. Wood, of Muskegon, Michigan. Katherine Berry was the youngest of the daughters; she, too, possessed much literary ability, and for many years was a valuable contributor to newspapers and magazines. In 1855 she became the wife of Colonel H. P. Potter, for many years a resident of Whitesboro, but now a resident of Ballston Springs. She died in 1865 at the age of forty-eight years. None of the sons of Lewis Berry had a son, and hence the family name is not perpetuated among his descendants; nor are there any grandsons among his daughters except in the family of his daughter Elizabeth.

The Curtenius Family.

Whitesboro at an early day took great interest in maintaining good schools, and having as teachers therein those who were highly educated and ranked among the foremost in their profession. This painstaking gave the society and the schools of

Whitesboro a good reputation abroad, and served to induce many to settle in that locality for the purpose of enjoying that society, and at the same time reaping for their children the benefit of those schools. In 1818 there came to Whitesboro to reside a widow with five children of her own, besides two of her late husband's by a former marriage. This lady was Mrs. Peter Curtenius. Her husband had been a wealthy merchant in New York city, was the owner of many thousands of acres of land in Oswego county, which as early as 1795 had been conveyed to him by the patentee, George Scriba; he was also the owner of a large tract of land in Steuben township, in this county, and, in his day, was a wealthy and prominent merchant and citizen in New York. He was born in that city and always lived there. In 1804 he was Member of Assembly from New York, two years later was appointed by President Jefferson United States Marshall for the southern district of the State, held that office until 1811, when he was reappointed by President Madison, and continued until 1814. I learn that his first commission, bearing the autograph signature of President Jefferson, is now in the possession of his daughter at Whitesboro. Allow me to suggest by way of parenthesis, whether the Oneida Historical Society had not better make the effort to procure that document for a deposit among its archives? Mr. Curtenius died not far from 1817, and on the removal of the family in 1818 to Whitesboro, Mrs. Curtenius purchased the Arthur Breese mansion, which stood on the hill, near the cemetery, giving in exchange one thousand acres of the Oswego lands. That mansion had been the residence of Gideon Granger and family during their several years' residence in Whitesboro. As those seven children became educated, and matured, they scattered in various directions, and the sons engaged in different avocations. The two sons by the first marriage never married; the oldest one died in New York city in 1833, and the other one in Kalamazoo in 1866. The eldest son by the second marriage, was John; after completing his education he read law with Storrs & White, was admitted to the bar, and in 1820 married Mary F., a daughter of Judge Young, founder of Youngstown, Ohio, and granddaughter of Judge Hugh White, the pioneer settler of Whitestown. He removed to Buffalo, practiced law there, but subsequently removed to Utica, where he died in 1871; he was father of Mrs. Edward S. Brayton, of Utica. Alfred G. Curtenius, the next son, after his school days were over, engaged actively and extensively in business, married in 1842 Miss

Antoinette Tracy, of Utica, moved West and accumulated a large fortune, and died in Peoria, Illinois, in 1857. Frederick W., was another son; he attended Hamilton College, read law and was admitted to practice and located in Kalamazoo, where he married in 1867, and is now engaged in the practice of his profession at the age of seventy-six years. Of the two daughters of Mrs. Curtenius, one married in 1824, William Walcott, uncle of William D. Walcott of New York Mills. She died in Utica in 1846. Helen M., the other daughter, was married in 1839 to William S. Wetmore, grandson of one of Whitesboro's pioneer settlers; he was a lawyer, admitted to the bar about 1831, was County Superintendent of Schools about 1845 and died in 1846; his widow is yet a resident of Whitesboro, and has been for almost sixty-four years. None of the children were born in Whitesboro, and none have died there, and Mrs. Wetmore and her brother, Frederick W. Curtenius, are the only survivors of those seven children. To her clear, ready and active memory, I am indebted for many interesting facts concerning Whitesboro's early history.

The Stryker Family.

In 1819, there came to that village to locate, and to educate her children, another widow, with a family of sons and daughters. That family was the widow and children of Daniel P. Stryker, late of Orange, New Jersey. The schools of Whitesboro were an inducement for their coming, and another one was that the widow of Rev. Bethuel Dodd, then a resident of Whitesboro and childless, was a sister of Mrs. Stryker. Daniel P. Stryker was a merchant in Orange, but always of feeble health and of consumptive tendencies; he took cold while crossing the water between Orange and New York, was ill but a short time, and died in 1815, leaving the above family, four of the children being sons, and the eldest of them but six years of age at the father's death. This family on its removal to Whitesboro moved into the house of Mrs. Dodd and the inmates constituted but one family. In 1823 the only daughter and one of these sons died in the same week of scarlet fever; in 1831 another son died, leaving but two of that family of children. The eldest of those two sons, John Stryker, attended the school of Mr. Rawson, having for his schoolmates Charles Tracy, Henry Platt and F. W. Curtenius. He had in view mercantile pursuits, and was for a while clerk in the store of William G. Tracy. At the suggestion of Thomas R. Gold he left Mr. Tracy's store and became student at law in that noted

lawyer's office, and soon became confidential clerk and manager of his office and keeper of the law register. It was in October, 1827, while Mr. Stryker was absent in Vernon for a day to transact law business with Timothy Jenkins, that he learned on his way back that Mr. Gold, during his absence, had suddenly died. Mr. Stryker finished his legal studies in the office of Storrs & White, and in 1829 was admitted to the Oneida Common Pleas, before he was twenty-one years old. That same year he removed to Rome and formed a law partnership with Allanson Bennett, then and subsequently quite a prominent and well known lawyer in this county. Subsequently Mr. Stryker was law partner of ex-Judge Foster, of Charles Tracy, Calvert Comstock and B. J. Beach. He never appeared much in courts as an advocate, or in the argument of causes, yet he was a good practitioner and always controlled a large share of lucrative business. At an early age he had a great liking for politics, and at once embarked in its successful manipulations, its mysteries and uncertainties, and became one of the chief and leading actors and prominent factors in the democratic party. At the early age of twenty-three (in 1832) he was delegated at a meeting of citizens of Rome to go to Albany to aid in the procurement of the passage of a law chartering the "Bank of Rome;" he was eminently successful, and while there made the acquaintance and life-long friendship and respect of such magnates in the democratic party as William L. Marcy, Silas Wright, Edwin Croswell, Samuel Young and A. C. Flagg. In 1835 he was elected to the Assembly, the particular object and occasion of his going, being to secure the passage of a charter for the Syracuse and Utica Railroad Company, and to see that its location should be via Rome. In 1837 he was appointed Surrogate of the county and he held that office for ten years, and until the Constitution of 1846 made the office elective. No man in the country has been more active in politics, or has attended more State and National conventions, or had a greater influence than he in the management of and in shaping the policy and politics of his party, during the forty years and more that he was a prominent participator; and it is doubtful if there were any in the ranks whose shrewdness and tact were more generally acknowledged and followed. He has been prominently connected with railroad and other public enterprises, and I can well remember the time when a pass or a line from Hon. John Stryker would "dead head" a person over as many railroads and steamboat lines as one now would from Jay Gould or Wm. H. Vanderbilt. Mr. Stryker is seventy-three years of age,

yet his mind is as clear and as active, and his memory as retentive, as when in his prime. He can remember events and occurrences of fifty and sixty years ago, even to the minutest details, telling who were the leading delegates at a district, county, State or National convention, what the issue was, and how the vote stood, and the sides the prominent actors took, and what turned the scale, with as much particularity and exactness, as if the events were of yesterday. And to-day he takes the same lively interest as of yore in all that concerns politics and parties, and the welfare and best interest of the Government and his country, and is as well posted, as when he was an active participator in its affairs. The wife of Mr. Stryker is a daughter of Hon. Thomas H. Hubbard, late of Utica, a prominent citizen and able lawyer in his day, and who was the first Surrogate (in 1806) of Madison county, and from 1816 to 1818 Deputy Attorney General of the district, then composed of the counties of Oneida, Otsego, Chenango, Herkimer and Lewis: and from 1818 to 1821 District Attorney of Madison county, and member of Congress from that county six years, and presidential elector in 1812, 1844 and 1852.

Rev. Isaac P. Stryker was the youngest of that family of five children. He attended the "Oneida Institute" in 1834, graduated from Auburn Theological Seminary, and about 1840 entered the ministry. He was pastor of the Presbyterian Churches at Urbana, Watkins and in other places, and for some thirty years was actively and usefully engaged in the duties of his sacred calling. Rev. Mr. Stryker has retired from the active duties of the ministry, and is now leading a life of quiet retirement in the village where his widowed mother and her five orphan children located over sixty years ago. That mother died at the residence of her son, Hon. John Stryker, in Rome, about 1832. The first wife of Rev. Mr. Stryker was a daughter of Commodore Woolsey.

Gideon and Francis Granger.

Among the many notable persons who were residents of Whitesboro prior to 1820, was Gideon Granger. He was from Connecticut, and was a leading and prominent lawyer there. He was elected in 1793 member of the Legislature in that State, and was several times re-elected, and to his exertions is that State principally indebted for its school fame. In 1801 he was appointed by President Jefferson, Postmaster General, and continued for eight years, and was reappointed to the same position in 1808, when President Madison assumed the duties of the presidential office,

and continued until 1814, when he resigned. About that time he moved to Whitesboro and occupied the dwelling known as the "Breese Mansion." His son, Francis Granger, had graduated a few years before from Yale College, and on the removal of the family to Whitesboro, the son became a student at law in the office of Gold & Sill. Not far from 1818, the Granger family moved to Canandaigua, and in 1819 the father was elected to the State Senate, but on account of ill health resigned in 1821. He died on the last day of the year 1822 at the age of fifty-five. He was an able speaker and a powerful writer, and a great friend of internal improvements. He gave 1,000 acres of land in aid of the Erie canal. Francis Granger was elected to the Assembly from Ontario county as a Clintonian in 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1829. The first time he was elected, he was the candidate of his party for Speaker of the Assembly, but was defeated by Gen. Erastus Root. In 1828, at a convention of the "Adams Party," held at Utica, he was nominated for Lieutenant Governor and Smith Thompson for Governor; a little later he was nominated for Governor by the anti-Masons, but he declined that nomination and ran for Lieutenant Governor on the Adams ticket, but was defeated by Enos T. Throop. It was the same year Martin Van Buren was elected Governor. In 1830 Mr. Granger, at the anti-Masonic convention, held at Utica, was nominated for Governor and again defeated by Mr. Throop, the opposing nominee. In 1832 Mr. Granger was a third time nominated for Governor, this last time by the anti-Masons, at a convention held in Utica, and this time he was defeated by William L. Marcy. In 1834 and again in 1836 and 1838 he was elected to Congress, but resigned in 1841 to accept the same office at the hands of President Harrison, which his father, just forty years before, had accepted from President Jefferson. He died in Canandaigua in 1868, at the age of seventy six years.

Finale—Summary.

I have thus briefly sketched most of the more noted families who located in Whitesboro prior to 1820. This has been essential to show the prominence that village occupied and the part its citizens took in the affairs of county, State and Nation, and which gave to the place its golden age. A summary or brief recapitulation of its leading men, and the offices they monopolized while residents of that little hamlet, will indicate their character, position and influence, as well as the importance of the village.

General George Doolittle was the first Brigadier General of the county. Hugh White, County Judge for thirteen consecutive years, from 1791 to 1804. Jonas Platt, County Clerk from 1791 to 1802—during that time Member of Assembly and Member of Congress—State Senator from 1809 to 1813, nominee for Governor in 1809, and Supreme Court Judge from 1814 to 1823. Elizur Moseley, Sheriff in 1799. Thomas R. Gold, State Senator from 1796 to 1803, in the Assembly in 1808, District Attorney from 1797 to 1801, in Congress from 1809 to 1813, and from 1815 to 1817. William Kirkpatrick, in Congress from 1807 to 1809. Arthur Breeze, in the Assembly in 1797, Surrogate for ten years, from 1798 to 1808. Abram Camp, County Clerk from 1813 to 1815, in the Assembly in 1816 and 1817. John B. Pease, Sheriff from 1819 to 1821. William G. Tracy, County Treasurer for twenty years, from 1810 to 1812, and again from 1813 to his death in 1830. Theodore Sill, County Treasurer from 1802 to 1810, Member of Assembly in 1813, 1814 and in 1826, and Brigadier General. Henry R. Storrs in Congress for twelve years, County Judge from 1825 to 1830; Fortune C. White, Assemblyman in 1829 and in 1839, County Judge from 1840 to 1845, and Brigadier General of State Militia. S. Newton Dexter three years Canal Commissioner. Can any other locality in the State or Nation make such a showing?

There are other persons, doubtless, who resided in Whitesboro prior to 1820, who attained distinction in other localities, and I should be much pleased to pursue the narrative, so as to include not only those omitted, but that other bright array, who came later, and were prominent actors in that little village. But I leave that pleasurable task to others.

Next June it will be ninety-nine years since Hugh White planted his little colony upon the banks of Sadaqueda Creek, and doubtless, in 1884, its Centennial will be observed in a manner becoming its importance, and worthy of the occasion and the grand results which have been produced. No other similar event in history has worked out a grander problem in its effect upon the growth, prosperity and civilization of the country. Those pioneers who thereafter followed the first settler were of a high order of talent, of character and culture; they came, not for speculation, but rather to better, in an honorable way, their own fortunes, and to settle, develop and improve the country. They made a decided impress upon the age in which they lived, and did their full share in the education, civilization and Christianizing of the human race.

The good which they have done lives after them, and is remembered with respect and reverence by a grateful people. These reminiscences of the past, these brief and unsatisfactory sketches of by gone years, are but faint and feeble reminders of the excellent and sterner virtues of a pioneer life—glimpses of the thrift, enterprise, genius and culture of those who gave to Whitesboro its golden age.

APPENDIX:

The First Census of Whitestown, in 1790.

Hon. D. Willers, Jr., of Fayette, Seneca county, who was Secretary of State in 1874 and 1875, has been for some time engaged in gathering materials for a history of his own county, connected with its early history. For the purposes of the contemplated publication, Mr. Willers procured from the interior department at Washington a copy of the first census of the town of Whitestown, made by the United States authorities in 1790, showing the names of the heads of families in the town, the number in each family and other particulars. The law for that census was passed by Congress March 1, 1790, and provided that the enumeration of the inhabitants should commence on the first Monday of August, 1790, and close within nine months thereafter. At that time the town of Whitestown extended as far west as Ontario county.

It is not likely duplicate census returns were made in those days, and in all probability the one on file in the department, is the only one extant. Mr. Willers has kindly forwarded the copy procured by him, for the purpose of having the same placed in the rooms of the Oneida Historical Society, for preservation and future reference. The list commences with the name of Jedediah Sanger. The names thus enumerated are not arranged alphabetically, nor is there any indication as to who resided at "Old Fort Schuyler" (now Utica,) Fort Stanwix (now Rome,) New Hartford, Kirkland, Paris, Whitesboro and Westmoreland—those being the localities where about all of the inhabitants of what was then the town of Whitestown, then resided. A fire in the patent office in 1877 injured some of the records, and a few of the given names on this census list are disfigured, and mostly obliterated, as appears below.

I have arranged the names in alphabetical order, and (as far as I have been able to ascertain from history, records and ancient documents) have indicated where most of the persons were located in 1790, as regards the towns, mostly in this county,* as at present organized.

The orthography of the names as appears on the census returns, has been copied, and the correct spelling given in brackets. This census pretty clearly shows who were residents of Whitestown at that early period, although there is evidence there were other residents of Whitestown in 1790 not included in it. For instance: Jones' Annals of Oneida County records that in 1789 the families of Ezra Parker, Ephraim Waldo and Nathan Waldo located in what is now the town of Bridgewater; that in March, 1790, the families of John Butler, Sylvester Butler and Asa Shepard settled at or near Sauquoit; that in March and April, 1789, the families of Benjamin Barnes, Jr., John Humaston, Aaron Simmons, Adam Simmons and Abel Simmons located on Paris Hill. Clark's history of Onondaga county records that Ephraim Webster was located near the mouth of Onondaga creek in 1786; and Jones' Annals that said Webster located at Oriskany about 1784, and in 1786 removed to Onondaga. It is also recorded in the history of Onondaga county that in 1788 Asa Danforth and Asa Danforth, Jr., and Comfort Tyler located at Onondaga valley.

It is quite likely that most of the persons whose precise location is not given, resided in what is now Onondaga county.

Jacob Morris was the census enumerator. The footings are as follows:

Number of free white males of 16 years and upwards,.....	689
Number of free white males under 16,.....	443
Number of free white females,.....	749
Number of slaves,.....	3
Number not included in above,.....	7
Total population,.....	1,891

D. E. W.

*Dr. Bagg and others have since located about forty names in addition, which are here included.

Names of Male Heads of Families.

BRIDGEWATER.

Farewell, Joseph

DEERFIELD.

Damewood [Damoth], Richard
Fanning, William
Shearman, James

KIRKLAND.

Bullen, David
Bullen, John
Blodgett, Rufus
Blodgett, Elijah
Blodgett, Ludim
Blanchard, Andrew
Butler, Ebenezer
Butler, Ebenezer, Jr.
Butler, Salmon
Bristol, Eli
Bristol, Joel
Carpenter, William
Cassady [Cassety], Thomas
Curtis, Jesse
Catlin, Jessie
Cook, William
Eastman, Peter
Ellenwood, Hannaniah
Foot, Moses
Foot, Luther
Foot, Ira
Foot, Bronson
Ferguson, Samuel
Ferguson, Samuel, Sr.
Fancher, Thomas
Gridley, Abraham
Gridley, Jobe
Hubbard, Thomas
Hovey, Solomon
Kirkland, Samuel
Kellogg, Amos
Marsh, John
Marsh, Samuel
Marsh, Asa
Munroe, Theodore
Markham, Stephen
Merrell, Caleb B.
Pond, Timothy
Pond, Barnabas
Stebbens, Judah
Stebbens, Judah, Jr.
Tuttle, Timothy
Willard, Lewis
Willard, Rufus

NEW HARTFORD.

Blair, Joel
Bushnell, Stephen
Blodgett, Solomon
Beach, Ashbel
Cook, Trueworthy
Collins, Oliver
Gaylord, Jotham
Gurney, Bezelial
Hale, Memon
Haminway, Isaac
Higby, Joseph
Ives, Amos
Jennings, Joseph
Jewett, Samuel
Kellogg, Jesse
Kellogg, Jacob
Kellogg, Frederick W.
Kellogg, Freeman
Kellogg, Aaron
Kellogg, Solomon
Kellogg, Stephen
Miller. Amoch
Olmstead, Ashbel
Olmstead, Gamaliel
Risley, Allen
Risley, Elijah
Savage, Guideon [Gideon]
Staples, George
Sanger, Jedediah
Seward, Nathan
Wells, Samuel
Williams, Thomas
Williams, Ezekiel

PARIS.

Coolage, Charles
Barnes, Benjamin
Barrett, Stephen
Barrett, Benjamin
Barrett, Isaac
Davis, Elijah
Fowler, Reuben
Griffin, Kirkland
Hopkins, Elias
Kellogg, Phineas

Lummas, [Loomis] Ladoc
Plumb, Joseph
Porter, Raphel
Rice, [Royce] Amaziah
Rice, Hezekiah
Rice, William
Shearman, Levy
Thompson, Alpheus

ROME.

Andrus, David
Colbreath, William
Demont, Joseph
French, Jasper
Fellows, Roswell [Rozel]
Gilbert, Nathaniel
Knight, Daniel W.
Phelps, Jedediah
Perkins, Silas
Robbins, Ephraim
Ranney, **eth [Seth]
Ranny, **illett [Willett]
Ranny, James
Smith, Bill
Wright, ** er [Ebenezer]
Wright, ** as [Thomas]

STEUBEN.

Sizer, Samuel

UTICA.

Alberson [Alverson], Uriah
Bellinger, John
Brown, Daniel
Christman, Jacob
Clark, Aaron
Harris, Joseph
Morey, Solomon
Morey, Sylvanus
Nutting, Simeon
Post, John
Potter, Stephen
Parker, Jason
Rust, Samuel
Sailes, Darius
Saule, Joseph
Smith, Peter
Smith, Nathan
Smith, James
Wells, Arnold

VERNON.

Brownson, Solomon

WESTERN.

Beckwith, Asa
Beckwith, Reuben
Wager, Henry

WESTMORELAND.

Blackmer, Ephraim
Blackmer, Joseph
Blackmer, Joseph, Jr.
Brigham, Stephen
Brigham, Lyman
Blair, John
Collins, Samuel
Cone, Walter
Chittington, Gerard
[Chittenden, Jared]
Dean, James
Dean, Jonathan
Dean, William
Gleason, Solomon
Gleason, Joseph
Griffin, Natheeneil
Jones, Nehemiah
Jones, Joseph
Laird, Samuel
Laird, John
Lummas [Loomis], Nathan
Lummas [Loomis], Isaac
Parkman, Alexander
Phelps, Silas
Phelps, Jacob
Phelps, Joseph
Rogers, Simeon
Smith, Amos
Smith, Elijah
Stillman, Samuel
Stillman, John,
Townsend, Nathaniel
Townsend, John

WHITESTOWN.

Badcock, [Babcock] David
Barnard, Moses
Brainard, Jeptha
Beardsley, John
Doolittle, George
Ensign, Samuel
Ferguson, James
Goodrich, Rosel [Roswell]
Holt, Justice [Isaac]
Kane, Elisha

Leavenworth, Lemuel
Maynard, Needham
Pool, Simeon
Root, Joseph, Sr.
Steel, Seth
Seymour, Uriah
Towny, John
Whitmore, [Wetmore] Amos
Whitmore, [Wetmore] Parsons
Wilcox, Ozias
White, Hugh
White, Hugh, Jr.
White, Daniel C.
White, Ansel
White, Joseph
White, Philo
Wilson, John
Winch, Samuel

LITCHFIELD, HERK. CO.

Angier, John

NORWICH, HERK. CO.

Fowell, [Farwell, Dr.,] Isaac

PERSONS WHOSE PRECISE LOCALITIES ARE UNKNOWN.

Arnold, Hopkins
Allen, Gideon
Allen, John
Allen, Jeremiah
Ames, Robert
Austin, Nathaniel
Allen, Thomas
Arnold, David
Armstrong, Archibald
Ailworth, Phillip
Allen, Isaac
Atwater, Asaph
Brannan, Seabury
Barnard, Samuel
Belnap, John
Blodgett, Joseph
Ballard, Luke
Blount, Samuel
Barnes, Asa
Barker, Simeon
Brown, Levy
Badcock, [Babcock,] Jonathan
Briggs, William
Bronson, Asiel
Clary, William
Cone, Osias
Cutter, Joseph
Cook, Samuel
Cook, Selah
Cook, Samuel
Cleveland, Gardner
Cergil, James
Collister, James
Coughlin, John
Coughlin, John, Jr.
Crandle, John
Case, Benjamin
Dunn, Joseph
Drury, Josiah
Davis, Joshua
Dewey, Elias
Eno, John
Fortune, Enoch
Fisk, Abraham
Graves, Nathaniel
Groves,——tine [Valentine]
Graves, Jacob
Gibbs, Zenas
Guile, Elijah
Gridley, ——eadorus
Gillett, Timothy
Hall, Barnabas
Humphrey, Noah
Hall, Jonathan
Hale, Thomas
Hayden, Jonathan
Huggins, William
Higgins, Edward
Hulvert, Joshua
Hubbard, Baxter
Hawkins, Widow
Hawkins, David
Harrison, Elisha
Howard, Stephen
Hawley, Rice
Hammond, Benjamin
House & Pearce (?)
Ingram, Joseph
Johnstone, ***sa
Keltz, Philip
Kelsey, Nathan
King, ***us
Meyer, ———
Merriman, Christopher

Mills, Kanah
McIntire, James
Morse, Joshua
Nurse, Jonathan
Noyes, Amos
Newell, Elisha
Peters, Benjamin
Paine, Joshua
Putnam, Charles
Parks, Robert
Parmalee, Amos
Perry, George H.
Potter, Sheldon
Pryor, Azariah
Root, Simeon
Rush, Elijah
Stanley, John
Smith, John
Steel, James
Shaw, Samuel
Sails, George
Sails, Jeremiah
Scott, Ezekiel
Sheldon, Stephen
Smith, James
Sanford, Jonah
Smith, James
Smith, Benjamin
Smith, David
Smith, Ebenezer
Satchell, William
Shifferd, Samuel
Smith, Theodoric
Shurman, ——almer
Shurman, ——dediah
Tillotson, John
Thompson, Zebulon
Tryon, Thomas
Tyler, Ashbel
Tuller, James
Thompson, James
Tuttle, Samuel
Weston, Jonathan
Willy, Bezihal
Wood, Joseph
Wright, ——omon[Solomon]
Webster, Daniel
Webster, David
Whipple, Israel
Whipple, Calvin
Wood, Thomas
Wilson, John, Jr.
Wilcox, David
Wright, Gabriel
Wright, Samuel

THE WAGNER RE-INTERMENT,

At Fort Plain, October 20, 1881.

Johan Peter Wagner, born January 3, 1722, the son of Peter Wagner, a very early pioneer of the Mohawk valley, after serving for years as a patriot in the Revolutionary struggle, at first under Sir William Johnson, and later under General Herkimer, and after having been engaged in the battle of Oriskany and most of the other prominent battles of the time and region, died full of years and honors, and was buried at Palatine in a cemetery on the Wagner farm now owned by J. Harvey Smith. His eldest son, also Johan Peter, and like his father known as colonel, was born November 6, 1750, and died August 1, 1816, after a somewhat more quiet but hardly less useful life than his father's. He was buried by his side in the cemetery at Palatine. Some time ago it became necessary to take part of this old burying ground for a public purpose, and Jeptha R. Simms, the man of all in the Mohawk valley most interested in its historic events, called the matter to the attention of the Oneida Historical Society of Utica and suggested the eminent propriety of reinterring the bodies of father and son in the beautiful cemetery at Fort Plain. The Historical society cordially took up the matter and determined to show proper honor to these two men, most worthy of themselves and as founders of one of the greatest families in the Mohawk valley. The plans arranged for the interesting event were carried through October 20, 1881, and the day will not soon be forgotten by people in the region most interested.

Two special cars were attached at Utica to the 10 A. M. train, to take the members of the Historical society and the military escort from Utica to Fort Plain, and they were well filled. The society was represented by its vice-president, Hon. C. W. Hutchinson, the chairman of the executive committee, John F. Seymour, the secretary, S. N. D. North, Dr. I. S. Hartley, Dr. A. G. Brower, Leroy F. Shattuck, Dr. Charles B. Foster, J. V. H. Scovil, Dr. Edwin Hutchinson, Dr. Douglass, Max Lehmann and others.

General [illegible] was represented by a detailed staff consisting of Major [illegible], Major [illegible] and Captains [illegible] and [illegible]. The [illegible] was represented by Major [illegible] and his staff, Lieutenant [illegible], Lieutenant [illegible], Lieutenant [illegible], Lieutenant [illegible], Surgeon [illegible] and Lieutenants [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible]. The [illegible] Light Guards Company [illegible] of the Twenty-[illegible] battalion, in command of Captain [illegible], acted as military escort, and was accompanied by the battalion band. General [illegible], as chairman of the committee of arrangements for the [illegible] party, was in command for the day, and was accompanied by General W. H. [illegible], also a member of the committee.

On arriving at Fort Plain, the party was met at the depot by [illegible], William Clark, Rev. Dr. [illegible], Dr. [illegible], [illegible], Hon. Webster Wagner, [illegible] and [illegible] Tingue, the Fort Plain executive committee, and a procession was formed, President Hutchinson marching in front with the members of the executive committee, followed by the Historical Society and the Military. Two hearses bore the bodies of the Revolutionary hero and his son, a guard of honor marching with each. Arriving at the Reformed Dutch church, Rev. Dr. [illegible], all entered, and with the people from the town, it was comfortably filled.

J. R. Simms' Address.

After the reading of the ninety-first Psalm by Rev. G. L. Roof, D. D., of Troy, J. R. Simms delivered the address of welcome, in which he showed the appropriateness of such a ceremony taking place on the day selected. He said:

In behalf of the Fort Plain committee of reception on this interesting occasion, I take great pleasure in welcoming to our village this delegation of the Oneida Historical Society and its friends and escort, who have come hither on a sacred and commendable enterprise, to wit:—the re-interment in a more befitting place, of the remains of some of our heroic pioneer settlers.

The time chosen for this ceremony seems a very proper one, since we are in the midst of a galaxy of most interesting centennial events. One hundred years ago yesterday, at Yorktown, Va., the British lion crouched beneath the American eagle. One hundred and one years ago yesterday, was fought in the

adjoining town of Palatine, scarcely three miles distant, the battle of Stone Arabia; in which the interpid and brave Colonel Brown, borne down by overwhelming numbers of the enemy under Sir John Johnson, fell a most generous and willing martyr to the cause of civil liberty. One hundred years ago next Tuesday, occurred the battle of Johnstown, between the Americans under the daring Willet and the British, tories and Indians under Major Rose, in which the latter were defeated; and three days after, far up the West Canada creek, a just retribution for his damning deeds, sealed the fate of the infamous Walter Butler.

It were impossible on this occasion to notice even a few of the many thrilling and important events which transpired in the Mohawk valley, after the bloody battle at Oriskany, in which the patriots whose memory we now honor took an interesting part. But I may say that some of the most unique and noteworthy incidents that ever occurred in any place or age, transpired in the Mohawk river settlements during our seven years' war for the establishment of civil liberty. Many were the hair-breath escapes from the stealthy tory and Indian foeman; while many, very many representatives of families decimated by the tomhawk and scalping-knife, were conveyed at the end of Indian tump-lines through the unbroken wilderness, who, after suffering incredible hardships, were incarcerated for months—yes, for years, in Canadian prisons. Montgomery, Herkimer and Fulton counties were rife with such scenes of carnage and blood. I can not linger to single them out, but will barely make allusion to one of the most sanguinary.

About the 1st of July, 1781, Captain Solomon Woodworth, of the Johnstown settlements, a very brave partisan officer, went on his first expedition with his new command, in search of the foeman. Without awaiting breakfast, with a lunch in their knapsacks, himself with his command of forty brave men and six Oneida Indians, moved in the early morning from Fort Dayton up the West Canada creek, and was at the end of a few hours drawn into a defile—surrounded, and his command nearly all slain or captured. Twenty-five of his men, including himself, were the next day buried in one grave, a few miles from Eaton's corners, by Captain Putman and another company of rangers, then at Fort Dayton. But I can assure the hearer that a thousand and one of the startling and blood-curdling events, which transpired in the war on this then frontier of civilization, will, as I trust, ere long be published for their amusement and consideration.

I repeat, this is a befitting time to honor the memory and deeds of known patriots; and that country will be found the most prosperous and happy which properly cherishes and perpetuates the memory of its heroic ancestry, whether in words or on enduring marble. But I can not trespass upon time, as I anticipate that a rich feast of words is in store for us.

Again I say to our distinguished guests—you are thrice welcome to the hospitality of the village of Fort Plain.

Rev. Dr. Wortman stated that it had seemed to him becoming that the music should belong to the period in which the men to be reinterred belonged, and the choir would sing "The Dying Christian" to an old tune. This was performed with considerable spirit and with a similar lugubrious strain, sung later, formed a complete demonstration to the audience that church music has immensely improved within a half century. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley offered prayer, beseeching heaven that the liberty for which these men fought and labored, might continue always to bless their descendants.

Peter G. Webster, of Fort Plain, being introduced made a brief speech, thanking the Historical Society for its assistance, and the Utica Citizens' Corps and the military escort for their kind attendance. Mr. Webster connected the historic events which the day commemorated with the great rebellion, and called to mind the bravery shown by Utica soldiers and the readiness with which they and their comrades through the Mohawk valley took up their arms in defense of the country. Mr. Webster strongly commended every effort to bring to the minds of the present and of future generations the noble deeds done by their fathers. He spoke with feeling and force, and in closing, read a portion of a speech which he delivered on a similar occasion many years ago.

Rev. Dr. Wortman's Address.

After Mr. Webster, Rev. Dennis Wortman, D. D., spoke with force and appropriateness: We stand to-day upon historic ground. From the point where the dust of the old Revolutionary soldiers shall henceforth repose, we may gaze well about us in every direction, over valley and hill, and nowhere may we turn our eyes but they behold some spot associated with Revolutionary

suffering or heroism, or even pre-Revolutionary history. Here the old fort stood whence this town derives its name, called first Fort Plain, and afterwards Fort Rensselaer. Yonder, further on, the old church and the graveyard where, during and before that epoch, the living worshipped and the dead were buried. Some two miles further, and across the river, near Palatine church stood old Fort Wagner, home and fortress both—just as now and evermore the home is the divinely protected fortress of our national virtue, integrity and strength. It stands yet, a strong stone house, that stood in those olden days as a protection against the foe. Skirting off well to the right, a few miles, you can see the old church of Stone Arabia, its predecessor burned a hundred years last October, while many of the people all about were massacred. Further to the right still, near Palatine Bridge, you come upon the battle ground to which our veteran Fort Plain historian, Mr. Simms, has alluded, the battle ground where, under Colonel Brown, the Stone Arabians resisted so courageously the tory and Indian bands. Off toward the southwest the eye passes beyond Forts Clyde, Failing, Ehle and the Fort Rensselaer of Canajoharie on to the village of Currytown that was destroyed; and, yet further, to Cherry Valley, almost half of whose population were killed or captured by the brutal Butler, Brant being at that massacre, but an unwilling and protesting participant. I say it is historic ground. It has a pre-Revolutionary interest. All this valley teemed with a vigorous Indian population, one of the most powerful tribes on the continent. Their bones and implements of war seem so abundant as almost to make an Indian cemetery of many of these hillsides, while out beyond Ephratah a score of mounds indicate even a possibly pre-Indian occupation. Still, above all else, this is Revolutionary ground. In view of all hardships then endured in this whole region, I have accustomed myself to call it the very Shenandoah valley of that immortal conflict.

Not inappropriate were it then for us to gather here at this time to call up the memories of those days to localize and fix this valley history; to bring to the thoughts of our present and fast passing times the dangers and the heroisms of those days and gather therefrom fresh inspiration for our work and welfare of to-day. Not the less fitting does it become because we are able to localize these matters about the life of one who had a considerable prominence in the affairs of that time, and who was the honored ancestor of so many honored descendants who abide among us to this day. Meanwhile, a more beneficent use shall we make of

this occasion, if we be thereby inspired to move out unto a higher nobleness and a thorougher manhood. This, too, is a historic time—or shall be, if we so choose to make it. The Indians are no longer here. The tories are dead. The Revolution is past. But there still are foes to fight, errors to subdue, holy truths and principles to establish, grand victories to gain, honors to achieve, divine purposes to serve.

Ours is the heroism that made our fathers illustrious! Ours the fortitude that carried them to victory! And whether, a hundred years from now, the place of our burial is known, or utterly forgotten, may the goodness we shall have done be buried in many hearts, and in many lives make itself manifest in glad and everlastingly recurring resurrections.

He reminded his audience that they were seated in a church which stood on the spot where was the original Reformed Dutch church, which stood in the time of the Wagners. He showed, too, the original deed for the church lot, a very old document, "gnawed by other teeth than those of time," and which but lately came into his possession. In concluding, Dr. Wortman gave the Historical Society a cannon ball found on the battlefield of Stone Arabia, one of the few relics in his possession belonging to that period. Dr. Wortman expressed pleasure at being able to introduce "the orator of the occasion, Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, the energetic and accomplished vice-president of the Oneida Historical Society."

Address of Hon. C. W. Hutchinson.

Mr Hutchinson having expressed the thanks of his society for the relic given it, spoke as follows:

We are here assembled in the heart of the Mohawk valley, to pay proper tribute of respect to the memory of two individuals whose influence upon its history, and whose civic and military service during the troublous times of our Revolutionary war are deserving proper recognition. Circumstances having necessitated the removal of their remains from their burial place upon lands so long in the possession of the family, to a fitting spot in your beautiful cemetery overlooking those lands so many years their home. This day being so near the anniversary of the battle of Johnstown, with which their name is connected, make the ceremonies of this occasion unusually impressive. It appeals to our patriotism by recalling the history of the first settlement of this

valley by the Palatinates, and their noble Christian and patriotic deeds, of which, after a lapse of over a century, in a clear and undoubted record, has been preserved, and it is to be hoped that a more personal history will soon be written to perpetuate and record in a fitting manner the story of the lives and sacrifices of these early patriots, to whose sturdy character and invincible energy, we to such great extent owe the civil and religious freedom we now enjoy. And it is properly a public duty, for at this time, in the sixth generation the trace of family lineage is so slight, and became so diffused by collateral connection, that any tribute to their memory should be in the broadest sense public in its character.

In casually tracing at this time the lineage of some of the Palatine families, there are found at present to be between one and two thousand descendants in a single family line, and in the period of one hundred and sixty years the blood of the Palatinates permeates the veins of whole communities from Schenectady to "the crossing of the old ford" at Utica, called by the Indians Yah-nun-dah-sis.

In addressing you, therefore, we feel that any new fact which may be presented relating to the personal and historic events which have taken place in the valley of Mohawk should be received with interest.

The story of a man's life is usually written in the water. At his death a moment's troubled surface, then all becomes placid as before, and in a few years all memory of him except perhaps his name or a record of his good deeds has passed into oblivion forever.

But the history of each individual of the early settlers of this section stands out boldly in striking contrast. Their lives were constant struggles against opposing forces and adverse circumstances, but which brought out persistent determination of purpose, unity of ideas, and the closest harmony in united action, when a result was to be attained for a religious or a patriotic purpose.

The two Palatinate families of Johan Peter Wagner and William Fox removed from Schoharie to the Mohawk valley, about the year A. D. 1723, and settled in the town of Palatine, near Palatine church some two miles west of this village, Fox settling on the easterly side of the Garoga creek (a part of which is now known as the Newkirk farm), and Wagner settling about a half-mile easterly of the creek (a part of which is now occupied by Harvey Smith

and Chauncey Wagner.) The lands occupied extending from the Mohawk river several miles northerly. We find from the copy of the original deed that John Conrad Wiser, Jr., Jan Jacokop, John Jost Peters, Conrad Rigarts, Nicholas Fuller, Henry Mayor, Angerian Smith, Rutles Raving, Peter Spice, Peter Waggoner, Peter Conneaskern and Jacob Warynoo, all high Dutchmen or Palatines, took a deed from the five nations by their sachems, dated July 9, 1722, of the land beginning at Ostenrogen, or the first carrying place to the westerly end of it, to Gauerdagavien, being about twenty-four English miles upon both sides of the Mohagus river.

And this is the first recorded mention of this branch of the Wagner family. The traditional and subsequent history I now note.

Johan Peter Wagner, the Palatine and ancestral head of this family, was born at Braunsback, in Wirtemburg, October 4, 1687. He was married with Maria Elizabetha Laucs, who was born at Oehringen in 1686. They emigrated to America 1709 and settled at New Paltz, Ulster county, and afterwards, in the year 1714, removed to Schoharie county where they remained until their settlement at Palatine in 1723. About the year 1750 he built his residence the old stone dwelling, (now standing and in a good state of preservation.) It was quite similar in style with the well-known houses of Frey, Ehle, Van Alstine, and Wormouth, which were erected about the same period.

This Wagner house is said to be the oldest house now standing in the State of New York, west of Fort Plain. In early times, and during the wars, it was stockaded and was known as Fort Waggoner, and a block house was said to have been situated some fifty feet southeasterly of the dwelling, and that some of its timbers are still in the barn buildings on the farm. And a part of the old foundation still remains.

On the Wagner farm in the rear of this house is a peculiar range of hills, called by the German settlers the *Steiler-Berg* or steep hill, ranging east to west for about half a mile. These hills, on excavation, are found to contain Indian relics of the pre-historic period, and recent discovery has opened two burial grounds of different generations of the tribes.

It was upon one of the most prominent of these hills that the old burying ground of the early settlers of this portion of Palatine was situated; a very few graves having inscribed tablets, hundreds being marked with two rough stones, without other mark or record.

Colonel Wagner's family consisted of eight children, as follows:

Anna Margaretha, born April 15, 1712; married Heinrich Tillenbeck.

Maria Catharina, born August 18, 1714; married Georg Rosner.

Utilia, born August 16, 1716; married Isaac Reit.

Catharina Elizabetha, born September 10, 1718; married Johan Georg Stockenchild.

Maria Magdalena, born January 4, 1720; married John Failing.

Johan Peter, born January 8, 1722; married Barbara Elizabetha Dockstader.

Martha Elizabetha, born January 24, 1724; married Georg Saltsman.

Colonel Peter Wagner, died May 23, 1813, aged ninety-one years, four months and nineteen days. And the following receipt is still preserved:

PALANTINE, 29 May, 1813.

Received of Colonel Peter Waggoner nine dollars in full for six gallons of rum for the berriing of old Colonel Peter Waggoner.

L 3: 12 0. J. WHEELER.

This Johan Peter, was the only son of his father the pioneer. He was generally known as Colonel Wagner. And herewith we copy from the records of the Evangelical Lutheran German congregation in Stone Arabia and translated from the original German, the following record:

The Mr. Colonel Johan Peter Wagoner was born 8th of January, 1722. The godfathers were Peter Knieskerken, Gottfried Fiedler, Maria Lies Knieskerken, [Free].

Stone Arabia, March 2, 1811.

PETER WILHELM, Domeier.

He was married with Maria Elizabetha Dockstader in the year 1750. They had nine children, namely: Johan Peter, Johan Georg, Elizabetha, Maria Margaretha, Johan Joseph, Johan William, Catharine, and Helen or Laney. And it is to the memory of Colonel Johan Peter Wagner and of his eldest son also named Johan Peter, and of their remains we are now paying this tribute of respect and Christian duty.

Upon their graves no evanescent flowers are laid; a crown of laurels is the fitting tribute to the record of their lives, a brief resume of which connected with public events I shall now partially present.

The first public record of Colonel Wagner is his commission as second lieutenant in the second battalion of the county of Albany,

which was under the command of Sir William Johnson. It is dated August 25, A. D. 1748, and is signed by George Clinton, the colonial governor. He was undoubtedly engaged in the French and Indian war of 1756.

The colonel was a staunch patriot during the Revolutionary war, and unswerving in his devotion to the cause of his country. He was one of the committee of safety for Tryon county, and was present as a delegate from the Palatine district at its first meeting held at the house of Adam Loucks, at Stone Arabia, August 27, 1774.

There being present Christopher Yates, chairman, Peter Waggoner, Isaac Paris, John Frey, Jacob Klock, Andrew Fink, jr., Christopher W. Fox, George Ecker, jr., Andrew Reeber, Daniel McDougle and Anthony Van Fechten.

And he is also recorded as being present at the first general meeting of the committee in the Canajoharie district, held June 2, 1775, at the house of Werner Tygert, near the upper Indian Castle.

Colonel Wagner was engaged in the battle of Oriskany and held the position of lieutenant colonel of the second battalion from the Palatine district, of which Jacob Klock was colonel. His oldest son, Johan Peter, was second lieutenant in the first company of this regiment, and his second son, Johan Georg, was a volunteer in his command; the latter, was wounded in the forearm by a bullet, and on account of it received a pension. Joseph another son ran away from home and joined the command at the German Flatts, but being only sixteen years of age and the only son old enough to afford any protection to the family, his father promptly sent him back to look after the women and children.

Lieutenant Colonel Wagner, it is said, took command of the first battalion of the Canajoharie district at the battle of Oriskany, which was under the command of Colonel Ebenezer Cox, after General Herkimer, who was its first colonel, was wounded. He was also one of the grand jury at the first court of quarter sessions under the new State Government held at Johnstown September 8, 1788, and represented his district as a Member of Assembly at the second, third and fourth sessions, in the years 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781.

A reference to some of the local history of this portion of the State may interest some of those here assembled. Those lands upon the south side of the river were in the possession of the Mohawks, whose easterly or lower Castle was called by them Te-äh-ton-tä-ló-ga, situated near Fort Hunter. The westerly or

upper Castle was called Gä-né-ga-hä-gä, and was situate on the east bank of the How-a-da-ga creek in the town of Danube, some two miles easterly of the residence of General Nicholas Herkimer, and was the former residence of King Hendrick and Captain Joseph Brant. The village of Fort Plain was called by the Iroquois Twä-dä-a-la-há-lä, "The Fort on a Hill." The Mohawk Middle Castle being situate on the easterly bank of the O-squä-go creek overlooking the village, and was called Gä-nä-jo-hí-e, and was the junction of the great Central and Susquehanna Indian trails.

Here, near the Reformed German Church, familiarly known to you as the Sand Hill Church, lived the Indian trader John Abeel, who married for his first wife the daughter of a Seneca Sachem, and whose sons were Teh-wun-yars, who was one of the fifty hereditary Sachem of the Iroquois, and was the leading military Sachem of the Confederacy; and Gy-ant-wä-ka, John (Abeel), the Cornplanter, the great war chief, and their half brother by Indian lineage was Gä-ne-o-di-yo, "The Prophet." It was during the invasion of the tories and regulars, under the command of Colonel John Johnson, and the Indians, under the commands of the Chiefs Thä-yen-dä-né-gea and Gy-ant-wä-ka, in August the year of 1780, that the Indians took John Abeel prisoner and burned his residence and other buildings, but his son soon released him and sent his father with an escort safely home. Abeel's daughter Maria, by his second wife, married Joseph Wagner, who resided in the old Paris mansion in this village for many years.

The following correspondence, taken from the originals still in the possession of the family, relating to these incursions just mentioned are of historic interest, and while curious in style, they are imbued with a spirit of rare force and determination in their quaint expression.

PALATINE, May 28th, 1780.

A Return for Amunition for the men which are gethered at the house of George Klock—13 men.

Sir Col. Klock desired me to call upon you for Amunition, as you had trawn for all the men in his Reg't living upwards from Fox's. Remain

Sir your Humble Servt,

To Col. Peter Waggoner. JACOB G. KLOCK.

PALATINE, 26 June, 1789.

Sir, I do not doubt but you know that our scout made a discovery of, the Enemy this afternoon near our Quarters. I Emediately on the endeligence send a few lines to Col Clyde Informing him of the aproge of the Enemy, and also desired some Assistance of him, he Emediately send 18 men which arrived here.

Capt Diffendorf with his Company Lise at Cox's, which we send for to come over this Evening. now I desire you would send all the yung abble men to-morrow by day braek from all the forts from you up. In order to durn out at day braek to attack the Enemy, as all the men here mean to durn out if we could be Leetle more Ranforced. I should be glad if you desire Col Klock to send some men from Stoneraby also. No more as Remain

Sir your most Humble servt

Col Waggoner JACOB G. KLOCK.

FORT PARIS July 13 1780

Sir pleas to order twelve of the smartest men that you have in the different forts under your command to Joyn Capt John Cassalms Company with four days provition with the quickest dispatch

from your friend and humble servant

To Lt Col Waggoner. JACOB KLOCK Coll

FORT PARIS, June 5, 1781.

Sir: I this moment received a letter from the commanding officer at Johnstown, that the enemy have yesterday taken several prisoners and burnt some buildings in those quarters, and it is thought by him that they will make a stroke either at Stoneraby or else up the river, the enemy is sixty or seventy strong you'll give notice to all the Posts up above without a moment's delay. I am your

To Cols. Klock and Waggoner. PETER S. DYGERT, Major.

FORT PARIS, Sept. 9, 1781.

Dr. Col: I received your order and did according to it. I have ordered every man, except yours namely John Shull's Adam Loux, Valentine Freligh and Henry Becker, whom I have kept for scouts. I am

Dr. Col. your very hbl servt

To Col Waggoner. SEPRINUS KLOCK, Capt.

Lieutenant Johan Peter Wagner, the oldest son of Colonel Wagner, and afterwards also a colonel was a fitting scion of the sturdy old Dutch stock of his ancestry. He was born November 6, 1750, and his wife Nancy Bell was born in the year 1759. They were married in 1782 and had a family of nine children. He died at Palatine, August 1, 1816 at the age of sixty-seven years. He was appointed by General Nicholas Herkimer a special commissioner to confer with Captain Joseph Brant at the Unadilla conference in July, 1777, and as heretofore mentioned was second lieutenant in the first company of the regiment commanded by Colonel Klock, at the battle of Oriskany. He with his brothers Johan Georg, Johan Joseph, William and Johan appear also to have been engaged in several skirmishes in this portion of the valley, particularly that of Fox's Mills, situate some eight miles west of this village, where Sir John Johnson with his Tories and Indians had thrown up a small breast work, and awaited the approach of General Van Rensselaer and his militia. The Indians were first

driven from their position, and the works of the enemy would have been carried, when apparently without reason Van Rensselaer ordered his troops to fall back a mile and encamp. The young Wagners with many others of the young men indignant at the order refused to retreat and remained on the ground taking many prisoners during the night. In civil life we find the name of Lieutenant Wagner a member from the Palatine district in the convention of 1801, over which Aaron Burr presided. There is also preserved a record of some of the generous gifts of the two Colonels Wagner for public and religious purposes, to which allusion is proper.

The old stone Lutheran church at Palatine was erected August 18, 1770. Henrich Nellis gave a deed for the land necessary. The title being made to Colonel Peter Wagner, Andrew Reeber and John Eisenlord, churchwardens, January 2, 1769, and Peter Wagner, Andrew Reeber and Christian Nellis, Jr., were bowmasters in charge of the erection of the church. Colonel Wagner subscribing for that purpose £100, Mr. Reeber the same amount and Mr. Nellis giving £50, and his family are recorded as giving for the support of the minister, in the year 1797, as follows:

Peter Wagner, Sr., £1.4.0. George Wagner, £1.12.0, Peter Wagner, Jr., £1.04.0, John Wagner £1.04.0, Joseph Wagner £1.12.0, and the name of Joseph Wagner who was a member of assembly at the 29th session in 1806, is engraved upon the church bell, and the following receipt is still preserved:

To Colonel Peter Wagner, Jr:

Sir—Be pleased to pay unto Thomas Day or order the sum of eight pounds in behalf of Elihu Hall, which, when paid, will be in full for your subscription money you subscribed towards building Union Academy at Stone Arabia.

Stone Arabia, the 12th December, 1797. ANDREW FINCH.

This occasion also recalls to the memory of a grateful people the names of other patriots of the Mohawk Valley: Herkimer, Brown, Cox, Clyde, Visscher, Fonda, Snell, Frey, Dygert, Yates, Fink, Paris, Van Horne, Sammonds, Veeder, McDougle, Van Vechten, Klock, Ecker, Campbell, Diefendoff, Petry, Fox, Staring, Bellinger Timmerman and others.

The patriotic devotion of these men should be more closely studied by the present generation, and the monument at Oriskany, soon to be erected, is a fitting tribute to the memory of those who so nobly acted during times of savage allied Indian and tory invasion in the Valley of the Mohawk. They were almost undisciplined, and inadequately armed, taking all their sons able to

carry arms, marched through the unbroken forest to meet St. Leger and his disciplined army and its savage allies. Their arms were victorious, the invaders repulsed, and their righteous cause, contending for civil and religious freedom, was crowned with success.

These heroic men had all most dear to life pledged upon the success of their arms, and stood in the ranks by the side of their sons, in defense of their cause. Members of the committee of safety carried muskets as privates, and four of them of great prominence in public life, namely: Col. Isaac Paris, Samuel Billington, John Dygert and Jacob Snell were killed at Oriskany. Had they failed, in their patriotic efforts their homes would have been devastated, their property forfeited, and the lives of their wives and families left to the brutal mercy of a ruthless enemy.

In thus cursorily recalling your attention to these events of the early history of this valley in which these patriots were such active participants, if an increased interest in this subject has been produced in the minds of any who will now determine to collect and properly preserve in fitting places records and documents of historic interest, then these exercises will have wrought a fitting work and beneficent result. It was your distinguished historian and townsman, Jeptha R. Simms, Esq., who first suggested the necessity and propriety of this day's services. His life has been spent in a labor of love recording the history of the Mohawk Valley and of the early patriots. To his exertions the public owe one-tenth of the sum subscribed by individuals for the monument at Oriskany. And his life work of history should be conspicuously placed in the home of every descendant of the patriots of the Revolution. In order that the history of their early struggles may be recalled to the minds of your children that they be taught to emulate the heroism and noble character of these men to whose deeds and acts you owe all most dear to mankind, the enjoyment of free institutions and a government of the people.

The chairman introducing John F. Seymour, of Utica, he read the following letter from his brother, Hon. Horatio Seymour, the president of the Historical Society, who, to the regret of all, was unable to be present:

UTICA, Oct. 19, 1881.

DEAR SIR: I am sorry I can not go to Fort Plain to attend the ceremonies at the re-interment of the remains of Colonel Wagner. I am glad the people of the Mohawk valley are waking up to their duties and obligations to the memories of the brave and patriotic men who were once the defenders

of this region. A discredit now rests upon its inhabitants for their neglect. Elsewhere the people would be eager to give an interest to their homes in the eyes of the American people by marking and making known the spots which are connected with interesting events of American history. Those of the Mohawk valley surpass in interest and historic value the events of sections, whose people have piously and carefully preserved the histories of their fathers. I trust the work of putting up monuments and preserving history has now begun, and that the reproach resting upon our citizens will be removed, and that the descendants of these brave men of the Revolution will not permit strangers of other races and blood to do them honor.

Very truly yours,

Hon. J. R. Simms. HORATIO SEYMOUR.

The chairman introduced his friend Rev. G. L. Roof, whose father gave to Canajoharie its former name of Roofville. Mr. Roof spoke of his pride in being a native of Montgomery county and in having had one relative who took part in the battle of Oriskany and another who was with General Herkimer when he died. Mr. Roof made a pleasant speech and expressed his conviction that the future of the country was to fulfil those words of Daniel Webster, beginning. "Liberty and Union, Now and Forever, One and Inseparable," words which did the speaker more credit even than all his great orations on the interpretation of the Constitution. The exercises at the church closed with the doxology.

Forming again the procession moved to the cemetery, in one of the most beautiful and sightly spots of which the bodies were laid in their final resting places. From that point, which is high above the town and the valley, the observer can see the spot, three miles or more away, from which the bodies were taken, and turning around, his eye falls on many of the places of most interest to the father and the son, when they were alive. No better place could have been found. Rev. Charles H. Gardner, Rector of Trinity Church, Utica, the Chaplain, offered a fervent prayer at the grave, and the coffins were lowered side by side, the military escort firing last volleys.

It was now two o'clock or after, and the guests were glad to accept a cordial invitation to refreshment at the Fritcher Opera House. The bountiful lunch, kindly provided by some of the residents of the town, was served by its youth and beauty. The Utica party reached home about half-past six.

Peter Schuyler

DEDICATION OF THE SITE OF

OLD FORT SCHUYLER,

UTICA, JULY 4, 1883.

The propriety of suitably designating the site of Old Fort Schuyler, the first white name of Utica, was brought to the attention of the Oneida Historical Society by its President, Ex-Governor Seymour, at the meeting of April 6, 1881, and after some discussion in regard to the actual site and the memorial to mark it, the matter was referred to a special committee for consideration and future report. At the meeting of September 7, 1881, the question of locality was further discussed, and it was resolved to consult the older residents of the city, and also to make personal examinations of the site. Both were done, and the result was the conclusion that the site in question was near the junction of Ballou's creek with the Mohawk (Can-ne-o-ga-ha-ka-lon-non-i-ta-de) river, in the block bounded by Main and Second streets and the river and creek.

The difficulty of determining with certainty the precise location of whatever constituted this fort, is another illustration of the speed with which uncertainty gathers over the materials for history. From its construction in 1758 to the beginning of this century, the original Fort Schuyler was the chief and almost only physical fact known as to what is now Utica. It was the stopping place here alike of troops and travelers, and continued to be the only one for several years after the close of the Revolutionary war. The pioneer settlers found it here and named their hamlet after it. The real fort itself was doubtless as well known to every resident of Old Fort Schuyler in 1800, as is the City Hall to the present inhabitants of Utica. And from that time to this there has been a continuous succession here of the descendants of those early settlers, who would naturally be assumed to be reliable

witnesses to establish the site of the old fort beyond a peradventure.

That the fort was within the limits above mentioned, including a space of some six hundred feet on Main street, from Second street eastward to the creek bank and thence along the creek and river to the line of Second street, is unquestioned. Brodhead's map of 1810 shows that Ballou's creek, though some distance east of Third at Main street, turns westward and enters the Mohawk but two hundred feet east of Second street. In what section of this plat of 600 by 400 feet, at its widest, the fort stood, or whether it occupied a large share of the whole of it, is the conundrum for the Historical Society.

The printed authorities, so far as known, locate the fort near Second street. Thus, Bagg's "Pioneers of Utica," 1877, says: "This fort was situated on the south bank (of the Mohawk) a very little distance southeast of the present intersection of Second street and the Central railroad." Jones's "Annals of Oneida County," 1851, says: "It stood between Main street and the Mohawk, just below Second street." Harrington's "Utica Directory," 1828, says: "The village was called Old Fort Schuyler from a fort, the ruins of which are slightly visible, north of Main and east of Second streets, near their junction."

But the majority of the living authorities consulted, located the ruins of the old fort, (several declaring they had seen them,) further eastward and in rear of the brick Methodist Church built in 1816, on the northeast corner of Main and Third streets, and destroyed by fire after 1850.

The tracks and appurtenances of the New York Central Railroad now almost completely cover the actual site of the old fort. The nearest available ground for the proposed monument was found to be a small triangular piece, near the southeast corner of Main and Third streets, a remnant left between those streets and Park avenue, lying about opposite the site of the old church and 100 feet or so west of the tall chimney of the City Mill, now Machine Works. It was, indeed, suggested that the chimney might be designated as a ready made

and readily seen memorial of the fort. Application was made to the Common Council to devote the desired plat to the intended purpose: the application was granted and the ground formally set over to the society, as reported at its annual meeting January 3, 1882. A suitable foundation was laid and the ground properly graded, under the direction and at the expense of Vice-President Hutchinson, who donated the work to the society; and at its meeting, May 8, 1883, it was determined, that the dedication of the site should take place on the ensuing anniversary of American Independence, and constitute a part of the celebration of the day by the citizens of Utica. Invitations were accordingly issued by the special committee of the society, Generals Darling, McQuade, and Christian, of the accompanying form:

1759 *1883*

The Oneida Historical Society requests the honor of your presence at the Dedicatory Services at the site of Old Fort Schuyler, Wednesday, July 4th, 1883, at 2 P. M.

* Ruins of Old Fort.—*Jones' Annals. p.* 490.

THE PARADE.

The number of strangers who came to the city on this occasion was estimated at 20,000. Long before half-past eleven A. M. the crowd of men, women and children began to gather at Bagg's square and vicinity, and about that hour the various local and visiting organizations began taking the places in Bagg's square and Whitesboro, Genesee and Broad streets, which had been assigned to them. Everything worked like clockwork and there was not a drawback or hitch in the formation of the entire long line. John P. Vidvard at eleven forty-five A. M., the hour advertised for the procession to move, had his long line of decorated carriages systematically arranged in Whitesboro street and streets adjacent. With remarkable promptness for so long a procession, Grand Marshal Everts started the line in good order. As the procession started, cannons sent forth loud reports and the City Hall and church bells rang in unison. The line formed in the following order:

Platoon of Police.
Grand Marshal D. T. Everts and Staff.
Old Utica Band.
Utica Dering Guards—Captain Joseph H. Remmer.
Oneida Historical Society.
Orator of the Day, Rev. Isaac S. Hartley, D. D.
Officers of the General Committee in Carriages.
Reader of the Declaration of Independence,
Hon. Henry J. Coggeshall.
Little Falls Band.
Chief Engineer Thomas A. Scott and Assistants.
Little Falls Fire Department.
Waterville Cornet Band.
Waterville Fire Department headed by the Chief Engineer and Assistants.
Employés of Wicks, Hughes & Griffiths of Utica.
Frankfort Hose Company.
Frankfort Band.
Hutchinson Light Guards—Captain J. W. Gossin.
Johnstown Band.
Chief Engineer A. Philes and Assistants.
Johnstown Fire Department.
Post Reynolds, G. A. R.—O. P. Clark, Commander.

Delegates from Post Skillin of Rome, Post Ross of
New York Mills and the Waterville Posts.
Canastota Fire Department, with Chief Engineer
Benjamin Rowe and Assistants.
Adams Center Band.
Gloversville Band.
Utica Citizens' Corps, Lieutenant P. J. McQuade.
Watertown Citizens' Corps, Captain C. A. Settle.
Remington Rifle Corps—Captain Brazee.
Grand Army Drum Corps.
Chief Engineer Dimbleby and Assistants.
Utica Fire Department.
Mayor Doolittle and the Common Council in Carriages.
Utica Police and Fire Commissioners in Carriages.

SECOND DIVISION.

Colonel John P. Vidvard and Staff.
Members of the Press in Carriages.
Canastota Band.
Over Two Hundred Decorated Wagons.

The procession was nearly, if not quite two miles in length, and was an hour in passing any given point. The line of march was up Genesee street to Hopper, to Park avenue, to Oneida square, down Genesee to Court, to Varick, to Fayette, to Genesee, to Broad, to Old Fort Schuyler monument. To give some adequate idea of the length of the parade, it is only necessary to say that when the head of the procession had come down Genesee and Court streets and reached State; the rear of it had not yet crossed Genesee street bridge. That the parade was a triumphant success was manifest from the enthusiasm of the spectators. The line of march was a perfect ovation. Not only were yards filled, stoops, windows, balconies, tops of buildings and other available spots on the line occupied; but the sidewalks and even the streets were packed with human beings so that the police and members of the staff found it necessary oft times to clear a path for the procession to move.

The line of march was a long one and the weather very hot and sultry, the hot sun shining directly on the boys in line much of the way. Still all stood it bravely, and marched over the entire advertised route without a grumble or murmur of dissent.

The dedication of the site of old Fort Schuyler took place at the hour advertised—2 P. M. Before that hour Vice-President

Hutchinson, the members of the Oneida Historical Society and invited guests were at the site of the monument, and with Grand Marshal Everts and staff, reviewed the procession as it passed the site at the junction of Main street and Park avenue. It consists of a triangular plot of ground raised in the form of an embankment. At the upper corner is a tall flagstaff. At each of the corners is a large Parrot gun, presented by the State. In the center is a large square stone which marks the spot where the proposed monument is to be erected.

The exercises opened with sentences of scripture, and prayer by Rev. Charles H. Gardner, of Trinity Church.

The new flag adopted by the State Legislature last year was then raised by the Hon. C. W. Hutchinson, vice-president of the Historical Society, by whom it was bought for the occasion, amid applause. He then made a brief address, as follows:

Address by Vice-President Hutchinson.

The Oneida Historical Society has during its organization corrected many of the errors of tradition which for years had been accepted as matters of historic fact. Their official publications most carefully prepared and revised, have brought out many facts of both local and general interest pertaining to this portion of the State. Its record of the battle of Oriskany and its imposing centennial of August 6, 1877, is now the accepted historic record, and that testimonial to the patriotism and sturdy devotion of the German and Dutch pioneer settlers of this beautiful valley of the Mohawk, in their hand to hand conflict with the British and their tory and savage allies, has awakened new interest in the public mind, to the historic self-sacrifice of our ancestors, and rewritten the story of that pivotal contest of the American Revolution.

That record of 1776 was one of warfare and bloodshed, and its glorious result after eight years of the severest trials, culminated in the success of the American arms; and you most appropriately now are celebrating the one hundred and seventh anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. You have also honored, upon this occasion, by your patriotic tribute to this day, an event, which, while military with name and character, is of great local importance.

For upon the spot upon which we stand old Fort Schuyler was erected during the year 1759. It was peaceful in its history, and protective in its character. Its palisades were erected in order to

afford refuge to the early settlers, and extended from the kill or creek easterly of us, westerly to Second street; from Broad street thence northerly to the Mohawk river.

Its guns commanded the old landing for batteaux in their transit to and from Fort Stanwix, Oneida lake and the great west, a short distance from which was the junction of the great eastern and western trails of the Kamosh-i-o-ni, the confederacy of Five Nations, the famed Iroquois.

This trail crossed the river at a shoal, still distinctly observable, a short distance from this spot, which was called by them Yah-nun-dah-sis, "or the Crossing by the Old Ford." And this is the earliest historic name which designated the present site of the city of Utica.

This fort was erected during that period when the affairs of the American colonies were under the wise direction and counsels of Lord Chatham, and the English government held rule and jurisdiction over this portion of the American continent.

At that period the British ensign floated over this site denoting its nation's power, and commanding obedience to a trans-Atlantic government.

On this bright day, after a lapse of one hundred and twenty-four years, we here stand together, freed from foreign domination, representatives of this great American republic.

And that ensign we now replace by the new flag of the great State of New York, which, with its arms and noble motto, as adopted by the Legislature of 1882, floats from this flag staff. Its pure white ground and the bright emblems are most appropriately representative of the majesty and power of the five millions of people of the great empire State.

This society has now (so far) fulfilled its duty, and now delivers to the city this base, with the confident expectation that the public will feel sufficient interest in this historic spot, to erect a suitable monument to perpetuate its name and record to our posterity.

Hon. H. J. Coggeshall, of Waterville, then read the Declaration of Independence in loud, clear tones, and with good emphasis and inflections.

Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley, of the Reformed Church, then delivered the Oration, which was attentively listened to and often applauded.

FORT SCHUYLER IN HISTORY.

BY REV. DR. ISAAC S. HARTLEY.

Mr. President, Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

Beneath these genial skies and amid an atmosphere fairly laden with the music of freedom and joy, and on a day when as a people we took our place among the distinct nationalities of the world, we have here assembled to mark a spot pre-eminently historic to us, the citizens of this emerald city.

There have been periods in our history when, laying aside our usual avocations, we have been called together to consider questions bearing upon our national polity and life. And there have been seasons when, awakened by the din of war and the clash of arms, we have convened to arouse, enlist and equip brave hearts and strong arms for the conflict. But at this hour, though drums beat, bugles sound, flags wave and the measured tread of soldiers in martial array is heard in our midst, we have come to rescue from threatened oblivion the humble site, around which more than a century ago our fathers gathered, and from whence they sallied forth to glorious victory.

America, rich in fertile valleys and noble streams, has none, however, more historic than those which these wooded hills garrison, and where flow yon rapid rippling waters. The great Roman orator tells us that, when he was at Athens, he could scarcely move without meeting some record commemorative of illustrious deeds or of illustrious men. The thundering eloquence of Demosthenes and the divine ethics of Plato were floating in the air. So here; every field, every forest, every acre and yon waters suggest memories dear to every freeman's heart, and such as all true Americans should delight ever to recall.

From the time in which it was known that this beautiful valley led to the great lakes and the extensive prairies of the west, it has been the avenue along which the most valiant forces have moved, as well as the scene for struggles bitter, persistent and sanguinary. True, those of the whites who were the first to thread it from the east were our own Dutch forefathers, and like their fathers were in quest of the trade which made them the most successful mer-

chants in the world; while those who passed in from the west were the missionaries of the cross, who, as they followed its grassy level, held high in air the symbol of their faith. But though the cross and commerce so early entered its verdant gates, only a few years passed ere it witnessed scenes, than which the pages of history nowhere record any more terrible or severe. Here it was where the Five Nations made their home, whose Tekawhogea, or war captain, was always of the Mohawks. First, these confederate tribes were in league for the preservation of their own cabins and hunting grounds. Later, when strengthened by the addition of the Tuscaroras, they formed an alliance with the Dutch. Still later, they became wedded to the English; later still, they were friends of the white man of every nationality.

For more than a century the grand problem that was ever presenting itself to the more aggressive nations of Europe was, shall the vast area of the Iroquois become a dependence; or shall the red man retain his native fields and remain the sole monarch of the western world? The attempts to solve this far-reaching problem have made this valley most historic, and gave to its early people the name of "The Romans of America," while it led the Spartans of classic Greece to be called "The Mohawks of the Old World."

It does not comport with the exercises of the hour that I should sketch, even rudely, the events of which the acreage about us is so suggestive, and which these hills once looked down upon in silent awe. Yet, who in this assembly that knows where he stands can fail to recall the associations so surely connected with the spot, aside from the fact that works were here erected for safety and defense. Over the very area whereon we are now gathered lay the only frequented road through this part of the valley. Some two centuries ago could we have looked down upon this very locality, as did the eagle from his secluded nest, we might have seen Father Ioques with his associate brethren in quest of the wigwams of the Mohawks, to acquaint their dusky tenants with the story of the cross; and a little later, missionaries from our own Dutch church at Albany desiring an acquaintance with the western tribes contemplating their mental and spiritual improvement. Indeed, anterior to this, an Indian delegation went eastward asking from their Albanian friends to be taught anew the Christian truths, that by dying in the Christian faith, they might obtain the Christian reward. We might have seen likewise the brave chiefs of the Iroquois as they journeyed—now for a national council—

now to carry to their captors new tokens of their fidelity and allegiance. In truth, no warrior, no soldier, in war or in peace, no itinerant, no discoverer, nor army of any nationality could move to the right or left without passing the field about us, and thus the site we would this day perpetuate. It was the natural and traditional path. The original trail from the brambles and bushes of the Mohawk here terminated, and also the trail which led from the higher grounds and the thicker forests at the west.

Referring to the topographical features of our immediate neighborhood, in early days, two trails or paths lay on either side of the river; one leading to Fort William at the west, the other to a route by the wooded banks of the Black River and thence to Canada. Along this latter trail the French traveled in their overland incursions aimed at the expulsion of the settlers on our northwestern frontiers. As it branched off some ten miles or so to the northwest towards Fort William, it made a more circuitous route to this part of our State than the trail on the south side of the river; of which our own Genesee street, with its numerous stores and palatial houses is merely the development. A few rods to the east of us a little rivulet flowed, and it still flows bearing the present name of Ballou creek; or, as it was called by our Dutch fathers, *Schwein Fresser Kill*, making its outlet in yonder curve in the broader current of the Mohawk; while a hundred or more feet to the west, on the north bank of the river, Reels creek emptied its babbling waters. Insignificant tributaries to the Mohawk! True, but in their day though secondary streams they had a historic import quite equivalent to the early Tiber, or to the more pellucid current of the Tagus. If the waters of the Adonis were esteemed sacred by the Asiatics, and the Phrygians rendered honors to the Marsyas and the Meander, and the conquering Greek, previous to his ruffling the surface of the Sinde, poured libations into it from golden goblets, every lover of freedom should hold most dear yon streams for the services they have rendered to American growth and to American glory. The meeting of these two humble rivulets, coming down from the cooling springs born in yonder hills, laden with sand and gravel, and entering the river nearly opposite each other, made the Mohawk fordable; and I need hardly say it was the fordableness of the river that constituted the place where we are now assembled the highway of this valley. On the angle of land formed by the south bank of the river, and the west shore of Schwein Fresser Kill the Fort was located, whose site we this day would mark. Consequently it guarded not merely the river itself,

which when in repose reflects the evening star and the blush of morn, but the tortuous travel east and west that led to it. Its site then was most wisely chosen. Its position made it one of the gates of this valley, nor could a friend or enemy pass seeking the east by the Mohawk, or the west by the double trail without paying to it, if demanded, proper tribute.

Remembering, then, where we now stand, how numerous must have been the scenes to which this site has been witness! But when I speak of the scenes with which this place is so surely connected, I have not in mind so much those in which loving peace is so often eloquent, and upon which orators and poets always delight to lavish, and appropriately, their loftiest praises, when

> Buried was the bloody hatchet—
> Buried was the dreadful war club—
> Buried were all war-like weapons,
> And the war cry was forgotten—

rather am I thinking of what Avon's bard so truthfully described as

> "That son of hell
> Whom angry heavens do make their minister,"

of war, savagery, slaughter, rapine, and all that kindred terms so naturally suggest. It is said that a single mound remains, with here and there a ditch, to mark the ancient site of the old city of Verulam. But connect these debris of her former greatness with her history, and the mind instantly becomes moved, and deeply. Once she enjoyed all the rights of Roman citizenship. Here the brave Queen Boadicea defended the Roman army. Here St. Alban received his martyrdom. Here, also Britain knew British, Roman, Saxon, Danish, Saxon and Norman dynasties. So when I pause to recall where we are now met, scene after scene passes before me just as great and changing. Indeed, in imagination, I can see the moving to and fro of Indian scout, fired with revenge, learning when and where his inflamed passions shall next be given their sway. I can see the fleeing of bleeding, decimated and homeless families hurrying hither and thither, crimsoning their way with blood, seeking that protection which civilization and only civilization can give and perpetuate. I can see cruel hordes advancing from yonder marshes to scalp, to wound, to kill; and the marching of Saxon forces to check, to conquer and to tame. Nor is it difficult to recall the alternate moving and retreating of Indians, French, Dutch, English, flushed with the hope of speedy victory,

or disheartened and crushed by sudden defeat. For the Caucasian knew this spot, as did the lowly and cruel red man. No doubt it has been the passive observer of many a skirmish, and, it may be, bitter struggle. And as at yonder ford the weaker rested to bathe, so the stronger availed themselves of the pebbled path and hurrying over, sought victory beyond.

Omitting the earlier scenes with which this part of our lovely valley is fairly burdened, let me ask; was it not through the very fields whereon we stand that the sachems so often passed for their peculiar talks to the ancient place of treaties—Albany; that the adventurous Bradstreet crossed with his armament for Oswego; and when its Fort was completed that the motely brigades of Mercer, Schuyler and others marched to occupy and defend it; and that the relief corps of Webb so sluggishly journeyed? Indeed scarce had the rude posts of the stockade settled in their holes ere Prideaux and Johnson reached yon ford with the confederate troops of New England and New Jersey on their way to Niagara; breaking camp at Canajoharie on the 19th, and journeying by this site on the 30th of June. The same was true of other commanders, and other forces bent on kindred missions. As the tides rise and fall, or flood and ebb, so have valorous hosts moved to and fro before this place—now to defeat—now to victory—now to victory—now to defeat. In yonder meadow the gallant Herkimer bivouacked after his glorious victory at Oriskany—that royal struggle which turned the current of the Revolution and ended in our national birth. Beyond a doubt the first water that cooled and cleansed his mortal wound was dipped up from yonder daisied bank. The wily St. Leger also would have rested here had not the brave German assured him, by bullet messages, that the longest way round was the shortest way home. Here Arnold halted in seeking the relief of Fort Stanwix.

Numerous, very numerous, are the associations of this place; nor is there an area in all central New York abounding in memories of men more noble, in events more decisive, or in scenes more thrilling and important.

Referring, as I now am, to some of the events that have made this section of our valley so historic, may I add; few have ever estimated the strategic importance of central New York, and the bearing its topography has exerted upon our national destiny. In the line of hills a little to the south of us, no less than three streams have their rise, which with our own gently flowing Mohawk and the Hudson command nearly one-half the eastern area

of these United States; and by following the course of our streams and valleys we can invade no less than twenty States and two-thirds of the territories of the union. Streams form a nation's natural defense and are her proper highways; so have believed the mighty conquerors of the past, and much later the confederates in our recent war. In no mean sense then, New York State commands the union. Nor can there be but one government on this continent so long as our rivers, valleys and mountains remain as now. The honored President of this society, Horatio Seymour, the sage of Deerfield

Qui decori decus addit avito,

assures us that, in company with General Winfield Scott, from an elevated point near the confluence of the Mohawk and the Hudson rivers, he overlooked the range of highlands which marked their courses; and that the hero of so many battles, stretching out his arm, remarked: "Remember this has been the strategic point in all the wars waged for the control of this continent." And this is simply one of the highlands of our State. Add to it those of which I have just spoken, those wooded summits which the sun first doth gild, and from them we can pass down not merely to our seaboard cities, but to the vast, vast acres which make our reunited and prosperous country.

The Fort that formerly occupied this site was built in 1759; more than forty years after the erection of Forts Ticonderoga and Onondaga, and some forty-seven years after Fort Hunter, the latter being the first Fort erected among the Five Nations. It was merely one in a long chain of similar structures that united the waters of the Hudson with the deeper and bluer waters of our western lakes. On the west, the nearer were Forts Bull and William, with Forts Herkimer and Hendricks at the east. It had its origin in the colonies desiring to strengthen themselves in this valley, and the necessity of supplies and ammunition being conveniently located, as well as shelter for the settlers when threatened or pursued by thirsty and bloody foes.

Under date of July 16, 1755, the lords of trade wrote to Governor Hardy for an opinion as to the best system to be laid down for the defense of the frontiers; for the management of the Indians; what Forts should be built, where located, and the number of troops required to give efficiency to the colonies. Hardy, in replying to this communication, suggested that three Forts should be erected on the northern frontiers; one on the Hudson

river; another at Lake George; a third at or about where Wood creek and South Bay mix their waters; another in the Onondaga country where the general councils of the Six Nations were held; and still another some eighty miles to the west of Oswego. They were not, however, to be equal in extent, nor of the same magnitude. On the contrary, he expressly mentions that some, as Fort Onondaga, need not be very strong, as a picketed one with a number of block-houses would be sufficient. The recommendations of the governor were adopted. So soon, therefore, as authority arrived for their erection they were begun. As General Shirley at this time was in command of the north and western frontier, he undertook the construction of the more needed ones, leaving the less important to be built after the completion of those demanded for strategic purposes. To his honor and magnanimity be it said, not one was located arbitrarily. On the other hand, he not only sought the permission of the Indians, but solicited also their active co-operation. Notably was this true of the Fort built at Oneida. Ere, however, the plans of the government could be carried out, Shirley was superseded by the Earl of Loudon; it was, therefore, under his administration that this particular Fort was built, and from whom also it received, so to say, its charge. Before the Indians yielded their assent to the multiplication of defenses among them, inasmuch as they were desired for the present emergency, and their erection somewhat interfered with their fishing and hunting places, and they who garrisoned them too frequently abused their privilege, it was expressly stipulated that all minor posts should be destroyed, so soon as the war ended.

The size and shape of Fort Schuyler I have yet to learn, as well as the special character of its construction. As Fort Stanwix at Rome was erected the year previous; and at an expense of nearly three hundred thousand dollars, and upon the most true and approved scientific principles of military engineering, it is not probable that the Fort on whose site we are now met was either as costly or extensive. Rather, since the completion of Fort Stanwix gave abundant accommodations for a large garrison, and afforded complete shelter for supplies and fugitives, it is more than probable that it was a simple block-house, with openings for cannon and musket, and palisaded so as to furnish proper protection to all needing it for safety or aggressive warfare. I thus speak, for such was the character of the Forts to the east which occupied similar subordinate positions. In Barber's collection of New York, we are told that the "first building erected within the limits of

Utica was a mud fort, during the old French war. It was situated between Main street and the bank of the river a little eastward of Second street." When Fort Schuyler had accomplished its mission, or the war over, the authorities kept the promise made to the allies, and with other constructions of like character, it was given over to decay.

Following the custom of the day the Fort was named for an officer, at this very period in the active service of his country, Colonel Peter Schuyler, of New Jersey. Already had the noble deeds of Peter Schuyler, of Albany, become household words; but as the dash, bravery, heroism and philanthropy of his namesake were daily coming more and more into view, and were commanding the astonishment and admiration of his countrymen, it received his name, simply as a feeble acknowledgment of the services he had already rendered the government, as well as a reminder for further faithfulness, devotion and sacrifice.

That the Fort was called for the Jersey and not for the Albanian Schuyler, we need but recall the custom that prevailed at this day in naming every stockade or defense for an officer then in active service. Unhappily when its foundations were laid Peter Schuyler, of Albany, had been in his grave twenty-five years, while his namesake of New Jersey was in command of the Jersey Blues then garrisoning Oswego. Nor among all the officers in the army was there one more popular, self-sacrificing, or the recipient of higher honors. When others were timid and doubtful, he was bold; when they parleyed and delayed, he was nervous and anxious for action; when the State was unable to pay its troops, he advanced moneys for the same from his private resources; and more especially, when the general government could not and did not ransom her soldiers from captivity, Peter Schuyler, of New Jersey, became their deliverer by personally purchasing their redemption, and with no hope of return. Indeed his bravery, patriotism and philanthropy endeared him to the whole country. It is likewise the testimony and tradition of his descendants still living in New Jersey, that it was their ancestor for whom this Fort was called; and at this very hour their choicest heirloom consists of the sword once worn by their noble sire during his campaigns in our valley, when the old block-house first came into being. While Peter Schuyler, of Albany, had frequently given his services to his country, and enjoyed a most enviable reputation among the Indians, he was, however, more a man of peace; in fact, he was offered the honor of knighthood for his civic services. Peter Schuyler, of

New Jersey, was a man of war, and for his military dash and sagacity received the commendation of the English parliament, through William Pitt; while the colonies manifested their gratitude for his great philanthropy by frequently rendering him unwonted honors.

As in studying the early history of this section of our State, we frequently meet with the names Fort Schuyler and Old Fort Schuyler, may I observe in passing, that during the Revolutionary war an attempt was made to give the name of Schuyler to the Fort erected on or near the site of Fort Stanwix, at Rome; while the Fort which we this day would commemorate was alluded to as Old Fort Schuyler. But as these two Forts derived their names from two different indivduals of the same distinguished family, so did they occupy different cites. To repeat, our Fort Schuyler derived its name from Colonel Peter Schuyler, of New Jersey, and of Indian renown; while the Fort which supplanted Fort Stanwix was called after General Philip Schuyler, of New York, and of Revolutionary memory.

Here an imperfect sketch of the Schuyler family will not be out of place.

The family of Schuyler has always played a most important part in the history of our commonwealth. The first who appears on the historical page was Philip Pietersen Schuyler, a pure Hollander, who came to these western shores in 1650. His ancestral acres lay about the famous old city of Dordrecht. After an honored career, he died on the 9th of May, 1683, O. S. and was buried in the old Dutch church at Albany. His fourth child bore his father's name, nor was he any the less distinguished. He was born at the city of Albany, and after its incorporation became its first mayor, occupying this position from 1686 to 1694. In 1688 he received the commission of major of the militia, and before the close of the year was given command of the Fort in his native city. He was also made a member and, at a later period, became the president of his majesty's council for the province of New York; and for a while acting governor of the colony. He was chief commissioner for Indian affairs, and held that arduous and responsible position many years. To impress the government of Queen Anne with the character of its allies, in 1710 he visited England, taking with him several Iroquois chiefs with whose constituency he was on terms of intimacy. As a token of her respect for the services he had rendered the government, Queen Anne presented him on his return with a silver vase. This was the Schuyler whom the Indians loved to call "Brother Queder." He died in 1724.

The ninth child of Philip Pietersen Schuyler was John, whose son John was the honored father of General Philip Schuyler, the trusted and tried friend of America, and who fought so bravely for her independence. He was baptized, as was his friend Benjamin Franklin, on the day of his birth.

The sixth child of Philip Pietersen was Arent Schuyler, who was born in the city of Albany in 1662. He was given the name of his maternal grandfather. He married Jenneke Teller, November 26th, 1684, and commenced house-keeping on North Pearl street, Albany, as the records read, "in the house where the eagle hangs out." The notarial papers inform us that as his name Arent meant eagle, he hung out in a cage a live eagle, to mark his residence, instead of a door plate. About the year 1693, he removed to New York city. In an Indian deed dated July 13th, 1696, he is styled, "Merchant of the city of New York." Having purchased, however, an extensive tract of land in New Jersey, near Pompton, he removed there perhaps in 1706, and ever afterwards regarded this State as his home. In April, 1710, he purchased an additional farm on New Barbadoes Neck, the present site of Belleville, to which he removed the same year.

As an illustration of the surprises that await the more bold and adventurous, let me relate an incident which, as we shall see, gave him no mean wealth, as well as social influence, in his adopted State. As one of his negroes was plowing, he happened to turn up a greenish heavy stone, which he took to his master, who, discovering that it contained copper, sent it to England for analysis. It was found to possess eighty per cent of this valued metal. Desiring to reward the faithful and thoughtful slave, Schuyler asked him to name three things that he desired most, assuring him that his wishes would be gravely considered. The slave answered first, that he might remain with his master as long as he lived; second, that he might have all the tobacco he could smoke; and third, that he might have a dressing-gown like his master's, with big brass buttons. Schuyler suggested he should ask for something more. After a moment's thought, the negro replied "that he might have a little more tobacco." How true that were the loftiest ambition of some fully gratified, it would end in smoke!

The family of Arent Schuyler consisted of his sons Philip, Casperus, John, Peter, Adoniah, and his daughters Eve and Cornelia. His third son William died in infancy. Peter, his fifth son, the noble man whom we this day would honor, was born on his father's farm in 1710; whether the one at Pompton or Belle-

ville it is difficult to say. Of his early days little is known beyond his receiving a liberal education, and such as qualified him for future usefulness.

His father dying in 1730, and leaving him by his will some seven hundred and sixty acres of land near the Rahway river, on the site of the present city of Elizabeth, led him to make New Jersey his home. He married Mary, daughter of John Walter, of New York, a man of considerable influence and great wealth, who lived at this period in Hanover square in the same city. It appears he had but one child, a daughter named Catharine; to whom, as his will reads, he bequeaths all the residue of his estate, and her heirs and assigns for ever.

But rather than occupy ourselves with the biography of Colonel Schuyler, since he was quite a prominent figure in the struggle in which the colonists were now engaged, let me, though necessarily very imperfectly, review the condition of the country at this time, and as we unfold it, mark the man.

From the hour in which the French had obtained a foot hold on American soil, and had become acquainted with its general character, they coveted to make it a dependency of the French crown. For the accomplishment of this purpose, every known expedient was resorted to from actual purchase, to forcible expulsion. To add efficiency to their design, a chain of Forts was begun to extend from Canada to the mouth of the Mississippi; while later they were planted westward as far as the present city of Detroit; thus literally to hem in the colonists, and when the proper hour arrived to take possession of the country. The formal declaration of war, by the powers in Europe in 1744, added to the growing hatred of the contending parties; and laid open our frontier State wider to all the horrors with which they had become already too familiar. Indeed, the atrocities of the French rapidly assumed such proportions, that the province became most clearly impressed with the conviction that their only permanent safety lay in the conquest of Canada, and in making it a tribute to the English realm. With this in view, Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, proposed at once the capturing of Louisburg, and particularly it, since all conceded this settlement to be the key to the French occupation. At the same time aid was dispatched to Oswego, the many frontier Forts were strengthened, and measures entered upon to engage the Iroquois in the war now upon the nation. While the colonists were thus paying their attention to the invaders at Cape Breton, all the country, especially that

portion along our northern frontier, was kept in perpetual disturbance, by the actions of the French and their tawny allies.

But to attempt any history of the atrocities of the French at this time, along the frontiers of our State, would be merely a recapitulation of the massacre at Schenectady in 1690, and the still later barbarities of Wyoming and Cherry Valleys. As they were of an uncalled for character they awoke a spirit of determined resistance among the colonies, and spurred them to vigilance and action. Among other results they drew Colonel Peter Schuyler from his Jersey acres, and led him to offer his services to the country. This was in 1746. The records of the acts of the New Jersey legislature for this year contain the following: "For colonel of the forces raised in this province for the intended expedition, it is unanimously recommended his honor, Peter Schyuler, Esq., a gentleman well-known to several members of this board, of good estate and reputation, and very proper to be commissionated for the purpose." Having accepted this high and responsible position, our hero was immediately ordered to proceed to Oswego, to garrison the Fort, and make ready for any service to which he might be summoned. Surrounding himself with the troops he had been able to enlist, on the third of September he embarked at Amboy, en route for Oswego, via the Hudson river and Albany. As the government, however, had failed to furnish the necessary additional force, that was to come from England, Schuyler, after a delay of five months in Albany, was recalled. Though deeply chagrined at the failure of the home government to redeem its promise, and the inefficiency also of those who had the care of colonial affairs, this experience, however, simply brought out some of his more prominent characteristics, and led the authorities to see with whom they were dealing. During his detention at Albany, he informed the New Jersey governor that his men were in want of a surgeon, medicine, shirts, flints, colors, bread and peas. Besides this, unless they soon received their pay, they had threatened to leave; taking with them their arms and ammunition. In Governor Hamilton's reply to their communication, he complimented Colonel Schuyler for the zeal he had shown in his majesty's service; and at the same time gave him assurance that that very day he had ordered for each one of his soldiers a pair of shoes and two speckled shirts. But as the troops felt that this promise of the authorities would be similar to others with which they had become acquainted, Colonel Schuyler, fearing they might desert, advanced from his own private means several

thousand pounds, enough to meet their wants, and to silence all their murmurs. The more important needs of his men having thus been met, Colonel Schuyler was ordered to proceed to Saratoga and await the commands that there would be sent him. Unfortunately, the same experiences that had overtaken him while at Albany were here repeated; and they were met in the same way. In the mean time, articles of peace were signed at Aix la Chapelle, which bringing an end to the war, left Colonel Schuyler nothing to do but to return to New Jersey; where, after a few weeks' delay he found himself engaged once more in his former labors.

Though the war had been officially declared to be at an end, so far, however, as America was concerned, after all nothing really had been gained. On the contrary, the country had greatly suffered, and so had humanity. The boundaries between British and French possessions were yet unsettled; nor had either contestant acknowledged the right of the other to portions of Maine; but more particularly to the basin of the Ohio. With such important questions unadjusted, the opportunities for renewing old hostilities were exceedingly frequent; so much so that even an unprejudiced mind easily discovered them. The following added very much to the accumulating complications. The English government, (under the treaty of Lancaster of 1744) had permitted Virginia to assume the right of territory as far west as the Mississippi. In harmony with this treaty, a large grant of land situated on the Ohio river was given to several individuals of wealth and influence, residing in England and in Virginia. The grantees on taking possession of their property naturally adopted measures for their government and protection. The government in Canada having learned of these proceedings, and regarding them as an intrusion upon French rights, informed the governors of New York and Pennsylvania of the encroachments thus made; and warned them that in case they did not desist, such steps would be taken as the invasion of a domain demanded. His threats receiving no attention, in pursuance of his purpose, the French governor ordered his troops to the town of Picqua, in the valley of the Miami, to demand its surrender with the English traders therein and their effects. The Indians in charge, declaring that the English were their guests, refused; whereupon the French assaulted the town and destroyed the Fort; and to show, it may be, the determination with which they proposed to carry out their measures, the king of the Piankeshaws was sacrificed

and eaten. Thus, in Ohio began anew that flame whose buried fires were once more to illuminate not simply the western frontiers, but the homes and the hearths of all the colonies.

Dinwiddie, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, regarding conduct so unprovoked as tantamount to an invasion, in 1753, dispatched Major George Washington with a letter to the commander of the French forces in the Ohio, demanding that he withdraw from the territory of his majesty, and make due explanation for an act so dastardly and cruel. De St. Pierre then the commander of the Ohio, who received this letter, replied that he had acted from instructions given him by the governor general of Canada; still he would forward to him the communication. While the correspondence was progressing, the French increased the difficulties by fitting out an expedition under Duquesne to occupy the Ohio valley; learning which the Indians determined to resist. Two fleet runners passed down this very valley to the home of Sir William Johnson with belts, soliciting his assistance. At the same time an Indian envoy met the French at Niagara, and warned them back. Nothing daunted, however, they pushed on, till they came to the harbor of Erie, where they were again entreated to return. As the speech of Tamacharisson, the half king, brought a reply from the French commander that proved a hurricane to the flames already smoldering, permit me to reproduce the two in their entirety. "Father," said the Indian, "you are disturbers in this land, by taking it away unknown to us and by force. This is our land, and not yours. Father, both you and the English are white; we live in a country between. Therefore the land belongs to neither the one nor the other of you; but the Great Being above allowed it to be a dwelling place for us; so, father, I desire you to withdraw, as I have done our brothers, the English."

"Child," replied the French officer, "you talk foolishly; you say the land belongs to you; but not so much of it as the black of your nails is yours. It is my land; and I will have it, let who will stand up against it." What arrogance! What assumption! Who can wonder that such words should quicken, inflame and curdle even Indian blood.

The mission of Washington proving as fruitless as the entreaties of the Indians, on his return to Virginia preparations were immediately made to assert the right of the colonists. As soon as possible a regiment was raised, and under the command of Washington moved for the Ohio; but meeting with defeat

nothing was accomplished. Already had the French advanced as far eastward as the present site of Pittsburg; and aided by a strong force under De Contrecœur possessed themselves of the Fort the Virginians had here erected. It was at this time that the colonists were exhorted to confederacy. Accordingly, on the 19th of June, 1754, a conference of commissioners from every State north of the Potomac met in Albany, to consider a plan which their own needs and the exigency of the hour demanded. It was the opinion of every member of the council, that a union of all the colonies was absolutely required. From this hour the French discovered the English were in earnest; nor were they deceived. The States having become confederated felt their duties and responsibilities. Concerted measures were therefore prepared, not merely to check the advance of the French, but to drive them out of the country. Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia immediately voted supplies for the campaign, and many of their valiant sons were soon on the march. The resolves of the colonists quite paralyzed the home government. While, however, it was hesitating, the Duke of Cambridge, early in 1775, sent over General Braddock with a detachment of the army in Ireland, to be used by the colonies as were their needs. One of the first measures adopted by Braddock after his arrival was calling together the several governors, for the double purpose of learning the true condition of affairs, and to agree on some plan for united action. This council convened at Alexandria, in Virginia, April 14, 1755, at which the following four expeditions were agreed upon: The first was to be directed against Fort Duquesne, to be commanded by Braddock in person; the second, to capture Forts Frontenac and Niagara, under General Shirley; the third, to seize Crown Point, under the leadership of General William Johnson; while the last, under Lawrence, the lieutenant governor of Nova Scotia, was to reduce this province, according to the English interpretation of its boundaries.

It was now that the martial and patriotic spirit of Colonel Peter Schuyler became again aroused, and that he puts his sword and life at the control of his country. Since his former campaigns had made him quite familiar with frontier life, he was at once ordered to occupy with his regiment Fort Oswego, which he did, reaching it July 20, 1755. As Braddock, however, had just experienced an inglorious defeat, which exposed the State of New Jersey to the inroads of the French hirelings,

in December of the same year, he was instructed to abandon Oswego, return home and prepare for such contingencies, to which it was thought the recent reverses must lead. During the winter, he occupied a block-house on the banks of the Delaware. In the spring, on his return to the north, he was ordered back to Oswego, which, after many delays, he reached July 1, 1756. On his arrival, learning that Montcalm had determined on the invasion of the province, and that he proposed to begin by the reduction of the Fort at Oswego, Colonel Schuyler prepared himself for the threatened conflict. Meanwhile, the provincials, learning through Indian spies of the proposed attack, instructed General Webb to march with the force at his command to Schuyler's relief. He failed to arrive in time. The Fort was attacked with great earnestness and vigor. When the struggle began, Colonel Schuyler was posted with his men some six hundred yards to the westward of the Fort, in a small, unfinished redoubt, used for keeping cattle; and in the afternoon of the same day was busy in cutting down the bushes near the Fort and making fascines. The next morning, Colonel Mercer, the commander of the garrison, was killed. On learning his death, Lieutenant Colonel Littlehales sent for Colonel Schuyler, and, after a council of war, orders were issued to cease firing and prepare for capitulation. Colonel Schuyler opposed the surrender; but being overruled was obliged to yield. It would be difficult to find in all history a more ignominous submission, though it stipulated that the entire garrison should march out with the full honors of war. On razing the Fort, Montcalm immediately returned to Canada, carrying among other prisoners, the brave, uncompromising Colonel Schuyler, the hero of this happy hour.

Though in captivity and in the hands of his enemies, if caring for one's command and mitigating the hard trials of his fellow-countrymen, situated as was he, in providing for their wants, and in aiding the poor Indians who, through this and other disasters to provincial arms, had fallen into French hands, be any indication of loyalty—or true manhood, even in Canada, Colonel Schuyler was none the less active in the interests of his country than when in the field. His military abilities, social position and magnanimity of spirit were soon discovered by the French, and duly acknowledged. Liberties were accorded to him that others had never enjoyed, which he embraced; nor did he ever abuse them. As he loved his country and its flag, so did he love her sons and her wards.

Away from the noise of war and in retirement, he spent his time not in planning new campaigns, nor in devising means for escape; but in visiting, comforting and caring for the unhappy prison soldiers about him, English, American and Indian, who, through the chances of war, had become captives. Fathers and sons, who could illy be spared from their homes, he gladly and promptly ransomed from his private purse; while for the sick he procured unusual attention, knowing no nationality in his ministries of sympathy and love. In fact, during his stay in Canada, he was allowed by the authorities to have a house by himself, whose doors were ever wide open for his countrymen, all of whom were free to visit him; nor were any who sought his kindly counsel or benefactions sent empty away. At this period in his history, he advanced more than twenty thousand livres to secure the release of Indians, personally caring for them until they were able to be returned to their homes. Many provincials received advances in money, far beyond their ability to pay; and when reproved for his liberality, he informed his censors that his silver could not be better bestowed. Noble man! O generous heart! When will others, with far greater means, be moved with similar feelings for our common humanity, and learn this plain lesson, that moneys expended in the interests of those who put their lives at the service of their country, is spent most humanely, most wisely. Let those in our city, whom fortune has favored, give as freely of their accumulations or inheritance as did Colonel Peter Schuyler, for the heroes who have gone forth from the homes about us, and this very hour, not only would many a domestic want be met, but in some one of our streets we should see a monument commemorative of their sacrifice and heroism, as stately, grand and beautiful as any which the sun this day gilds, or which this night the stars silently watch and so gladly look down upon.

In the autumn of 1756, Colonel Schuyler was allowed on parole to leave Montreal and visit the city of New York, bearing a commission from the governor general of Canada to make terms for the exchange of prisoners. He arrived in New York in November; and as his reputation for sympathy, kindness and great philanthropy—all that he had done for the redemption of his captive countrymen had preceded him, he was received with unusual demonstrations of joy. The same evening the city was illuminated, bonfires were kindled on the common, and an elegant entertainment awaited him at the King's Arm Tavern, where the public generally testified their great gratification at his return.

The next day he set out for home. His neighbors and friends welcomed his arrival with cheers and the booming of cannon. On visiting Newark the following day, the roar of cannon again awaited him; the dwellings, also, of the people were illuminated, an honor which they felt pre-eminently due him for his humanity, as well as for his self-sacrifice and devotion to his country's interests. On going to Princeton, similar marks of respect and consideration were bestowed. As he entered that now classic town, the citizens went out to meet and escort him to his stopping place; and as he approached, a young lady advancing, thus addressed him:

Dear to each muse, and to my country dear,
Welcome once more to breathe thy native air;
Not half so cheering is the solar ray
To the harsh region of a winter's day;
Not half so grateful fanning breezes rise
When the hot dog-star burns the summer skies;
Cæsar's shore with acclamation rings,
And, welcome *Schuyler*, every shepherd sings;
See for thy brows the laurel is prepared,
And justly deemed a patriot, thy reward;
E'en future ages shall enroll thy name
In sacred annals of immortal fame.

Thus was it whenever he journeyed. The entire State was moved by his presence, and the distinguished in every walk of life strove to do him honor. As many of her private sons could not forget the favors which they had received, no more could the State withhold paying him, on all proper occasions, the honor which his services had so often and nobly won.

But the days of his parole soon passed away. In obedience to his promise, should no exchange be made in his absence, he prepared to return to the city of his captivity. William Pitt, and even the king himself, complimented him for the zeal he had manifested in the service. Still, on the expiration of his parole, neither was able to redeem him. Even his jailer, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, referred to him as "the brave old Peter Schuyler." Leaving, therefore, his home he set out for Montreal, July 1, 1758, arriving there late the same month. Before his departure from New York, General Abercrombie invested him with full powers for such an exchange of prisoners as the interests of the country demanded. To what extent he was able to carry out the commands of his senior officer is not known; but it is known that shortly after his arrival at Montreal he was exchanged for M. De

Noyan, the commandant at Fort Frontenac. Once more then at liberty, he returned home, having been absent nearly six months. But he did not journey thitherward alone; on the contrary, he gathered up such English prisoners as he had been able to exchange, and many also whom he had purchased from their captors with his private funds, paying for the same a very high price. Indeed, it is said on his arriving at Fort Edward, he had in his company no less than eighty-eight men, women and children; among whom was Mrs. Howe of New England, afterwards the heroine of a romance styled, "The Fair Captive." Mr. George W. Schuyler of Ithaca, N. Y., in furnishing me with this interesting incident adds: "while a prisoner Mrs. Howe was sought but not won, by two Canadians, father and son. Her situation was embarrassing, but Colonel Schuyler came to her relief. He secured her from her suitors by buying her of her owner." Unhappily during Colonel Schuyler's captivity the war lost none of its virulence, nor had the nations come to any better understanding of their rights, than if a sword had not been drawn. True, several attempts had been made at invasion, and numerous plans had been proposed for attacking the French and dispossessing them of their lands; but owing to serious disagreements among British and American or provincial officers concerning rank, and the breaking out of small-pox in the army, nothing permanent had been accomplished. The recent advent, however, of William Pitt to the premiership of England gave the colonists new hope, and inspired them with new purposes. On his accession, three expeditions were immediately proposed, one against Louisburg, the second against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, while the third was directed against Fort Duquesne; resulting in the reduction of Louisburg, the occupation of Fort Duquesne, but defeat at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. Though the events of the year did not equal the expectations which had been entertained, from the joy and enthusiasm the change in the English ministry had put into the heart of the colonists, the advantages gained were marked and decisive. The acquisition of the island of Cape Breton opened the way to Quebec and up the St. Lawrence; and the success in the west enabled a stronger force to be brought against Canada. It was, therefore, determined to attempt by an overwhelming force once more the subjugation of Canada; and thus close a war which had been so detrimental to the interests of both nations. Now it is that the brave Colonel Schuyler is called again to the front with his Jersey Blues, and with the combined forces of the provinces advances northward.

in this expedition, he shows the same care for his soldiers, and exhibits the same devotion to his country's welfare as in his former campaigns. But without following the army as it moved for the Canadian lines, it need only be said that, this last invasion resulted in the colonists, under Lord Amherst, finding their way to Montreal; in De Vaudreuil surrendering all Canada; and in our hero, Colonel Peter Schuyler, entering victoriously the city, and seeing the flag of St. George float in glorious triumph on the very gates which but a short time before had kept him in captivity. It need hardly be said that peace soon followed, though the treaty for the same was not signed till November, 1762. On the capitulation of Canada, Colonel Schuyler immediately returned to his home on the banks of the Passaic, where after a brief rest, he died, March 7, 1762, in the fifty-second year of his age; leaving behind him a reputation for loyalty, bravery, benevolence and chivalrous honor, unexcelled by any who had been engaged in the conflict now triumphantly closed.

In person, Colonel Schuyler was tall and hardy, rather rough it may be at first view, yet, after a little acqaintance revealing deep and genuine sincerity. In conversation, he was above all artifice, or the traffic of forms; yet he enjoyed friendship with a true relish, and in all the relations, what he seemed to be, he was. A newspaper of the day concludes its reference to his character in these words: "Wherefore, by their fruits ye shall know them."

Such, friends and fellow-citizens, is a rapid outline of the man, and of his relation to our country, for whom this old Fort was called; nor could it have received a name more honorable, or one that could awaken throughout the entire country more real, genuine love and enthusiasm. It may have been, some officer gave it this name because Colonel Schuyler had ransomed him, and thus returned him to his home. Be this, however, as it may, it was the tribute of the province to a bold, brave, determined, kind and faithful soldier and citizen. I greatly rejoice that our loved city has blended with its origin a name so noble and so historic, and one so free from stain and reproach, that other generations, as well as our own, will delight to respect and invest it with that accumulating glory which at all periods is so fully its due.

I have dwelt too long upon the events with which Colonel Schuyler was associated to think of commenting upon the suggestiveness of the exercises in which we are now engaged. There come to me thoughts upon which I should love to dwell, and that

never can be too frequently alluded to, or too plainly expressed. My friends, we but too feebly estimate the struggle in which many of our honored sires were engaged, the price, the fearful price, that has been paid for our country's liberties, and the great courage, devotion and sacrifice they represent. A nation knows nothing of abiding peace till nerve, muscle, heart, soul, all we hold most dear, have been taxed to their utmost, and its altars have been made crimson with blood. Under a benignant and overruling providence, the peace and prosperity we this day enjoy come from the zeal, faith, courage, consecration and suffering of those who have gone before. In this world, beautiful as it is, peaceful acres represent the price of blood. Would to God that we might remember this truth, not for vain glory, but to honor such as we this day recall, to thank, to reward, to perpetuate. I trust that the time has forever passed when the tread of marshalled men shall again shake this continent, and this beautiful valley shall again resound with the notes of war, either for aggression or defense. Our inheritance to-day is peace. Being therefore peace, our only ambition should be to keep it, guard it most jealously and sacredly; to be known and remembered for the multitude of our virtues, and for the noble aspirations of sanctified and cultivated genius. And the more so, since to attain this no city need be sacked, no fields devasted, nor blood shed, not even a tear fall. Next to suffering and dying for freedom, is the noble duty to preserve it. The old Jewish rabbi was right when he said that, were the sea ink and the land parchment, the former could not be able to describe, nor the latter to comprise all the praise of liberty. Liberty is the mother of every virtue and the best nurse of genius. The immortal Burke, in one of his impassioned sentences, asks, what is liberty without wisdom and without virtue? We answer it is nothing. It is a vessel without a rudder, a charter without a seal. Virtuous liberty should be our aim, as it has been the desire of all who have coveted its wealth, and who have sought its establishment. Every country that submits to be a land of slaves, deserves to be a land of ruin. An Italian poet once signalized his love of imperial Rome in these noble words: "Eternal gods! may that day be the last on which I forget the happiness of Rome." So should we think, and so should we say. He who is unwilling to imperil his life, if need be, at the summons of holy freedom, does not merit life. He who sincerely loves his country leaves the fragrance of a good name to many ages. But I can not say what I would. I close, then, by remarking that it

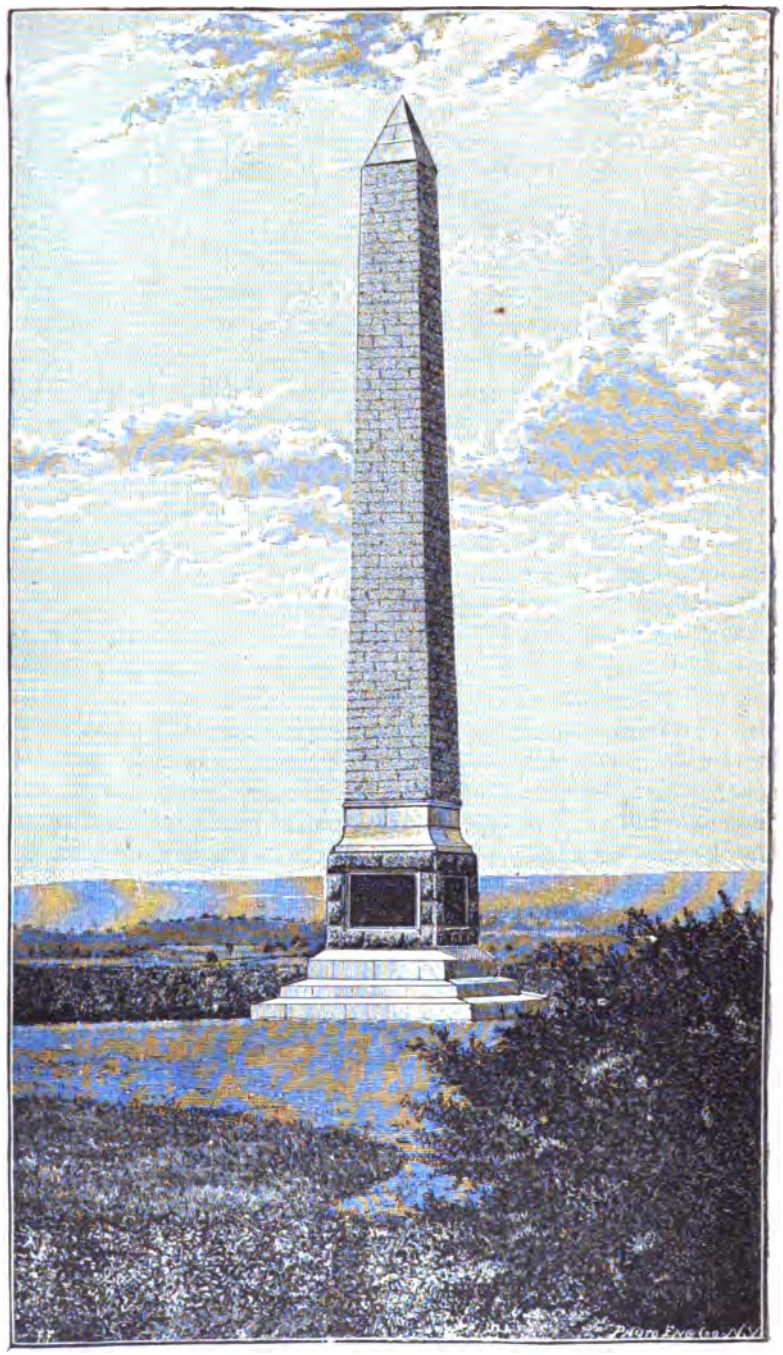
tten of Cicero, when he arrived at Athens, he desired to be diately led to the tomb of Archimedes, no doubt to abandon elf to the inspirations which such a classic spot would so ally excite. Let me say, however, at this hour, to all such as e to lend themselves to the higher inspirations of valor, age, faithfulness, zeal, philanthropy and all that goes to make he honored citizen, the noble patriot, the brave soldier, the est and unassuming philanthropist, come and visit this gular site; and as you walk about its grassy sides, and gaze these warlike trophies that are to mark it, remember, it is that a grateful people would hallow the memory of their tried ants; and especially, that this city would forever embalm in purest affections and patriotic memories the name of Colonel er Schuyler; he for whom its first structure was called, and ch had it received his good old Dutch name would have stirred proudest remembrances in every loyal heart, and such, in truth, no African city, though rich in narrative and radiant with ssic fame and glory, could possibly awaken.

One more period and I shall have finished. As a most fitting quel to my remarks, and to commemorate also this happy casion, there will now be flung to the breeze the first flag, bear- g on a swan white field the original State arms, as reconstructed der the laws of 1882, and now the adopted insignia and banner of r noble commonwealth. As it rises up yonder staff, and folds itself to be caught and waved and kissed again and again the passing wind, let it receive with its suggestive emblems, at joyful salutation from you and from me also, which its first ppearance in our midst, and among the broad acres in our State, properly merits.

> Hail imperial Banner! speed thy virgin way,
> Utica first doth greet thee—this thy bridal day.

The benediction was pronounced by Rev. J. J. Emmegahbowh, n Ojibway Indian missionary, in his native tongue.

Throughout the exercises, there were black clouds in the sky, nd frequent flashes of lightning, but no rain fell, and at 3 P. M. he sky was again bright and clear.



THE ORISKANY MONUMENT.

DEDICATION OF

THE ORISKANY MONUMENT,

AUGUST 6, 1884.

The monument erected by the Oneida Historical Society to mark the spot where one hundred and seven years before the battle of Oriskany was fought and General Herkimer fell, was dedicated August 6, 1884. The exercises were appropriate and successful in every way. The day was fine, and the attendance good.

The little village of Oriskany and people living in the neighborhood joined in the spirit of the day and welcomed the visitors by numerous and profuse decorations of bunting and evergreen.

When the exercises began there were about six thousand persons present. They came not only from Utica and Rome and intermediate points, but from points east of Utica and in the northern part of the county. They came in the cars, in canal steamboats, carryalls, hacks, carriages and wagons. They came on foot, on wheels and on horseback by hundreds and thousands. The fences surrounding the fields in the neighborhood of the monument, were lined with vehicles of every description. As the sun shone brightly, every tree and bush was surrounded by a group eager to enjoy the shade.

The monument is fully described in the address of Hon. John F. Seymour. It stands on a hill naturally terraced, which commands a most beautiful view of the Mohawk valley for ten or fifteen miles east and west, and nearly as many miles north. Directly opposite the monument is the little village of Floyd Corners, and the white spire of its church gleams from among the trees. Many of the visitors came early in the morning, and as the exercises did not begin till 2 P. M., they seated themselves at the foot of the monument or on the edges of the terraces enjoying the view up and down the valley. To the dwellers in cities whose

range of vision is hemmed in by brick walls, the scene was a very inviting one. The elevation is so great that although there was but little shade, a cool breeze mollified the effects of the heat. In the foreground the boats on the canal, the numerous trains passing on the Central road, and the long line of visitors trudging their way up the hill from the boats and cars, formed a scene of animation. The green hills on the opposite side of the valley, thickly sprinkled with shady groves, and studded here and there with the white of farm houses and the red of farm barns, formed a fitting back ground to this scene of life. The blue hills on the extreme right and left completed the picture. From the railroad or canal where many of the visitors landed, the picture was scarcely less grand. On the top of the hill 100 feet high, rises the massive monument, its tall obelisk piercing the sky.

In the immediate vicinity of the monument the scene was a stirring one. Near the road the ladies of St. Peter's Church, Oriskany, had a large tent, in which they served refreshments to the hungry crowd.

The exercises were held on the north or shady side of the monument. Two large American flags were draped above the roster tablet, and bouquets ornamented the tables on the platform.

At 2.30 P. M., in the absence of Hon. Horatio Seymour, president of the Oneida Historical Society, Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, its vice-president, called the assemblage to order.

The exercises were opened by the singing of "Des ist der Tag des Herrn," (It is the Lord's own day,) by the Utica Maennerchor, under the direction of Professor C. Sutorius.

An appropriate prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. James H. Taylor, of Rome.

Mr. Roberts then introduced Hon. John F. Seymour as the chairman of the committee on the building of the monument, who, he said, had labored with zeal, persistence and discretion, and to whom more than to any other single person, the credit is due for the finished work.

PRESENTATION ADDRESS.

BY JOHN F. SEYMOUR,

Chairman of the Committee on Monument.

Mr. President and Members of the Oneida Historical Society:

Soon after the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany, in 1877, the Oneida Historical Society took measures to buy land, prepare plans and make contracts for the building of a monument to the memory of General Herkimer and his compatriots who were engaged with him in that battle.

For this purpose a special committee was appointed by the Society consisting of Alexander Seward, S. N. D. North, C. W. Hutchinson, S. G. Visscher, and myself, as chairman.

Many of the facts connected with this undertaking have already appeared in an interesting "Story of a Monument," from the pen of Mr. S. N. D. North, published in the present August number of the *Magazine of American History*. It is not my purpose to repeat them but to commend the August number of that magazine to your attention for its pleasant and instructive reading.

As some of you may not see that magazine, I must mention some facts which are essential to an understanding of our report.

You have before you the result of our efforts, in a monument, the top of which is 190 feet above the level of the water in the Erie canal in the valley below you. The pedestal and shaft of this monment are 85 feet high, built upon a foundation which is 105 feet above the level of the canal. This foundation was built by Mr. William Jones, of Utica, a master mason, who has had the supervision of the whole of the work. Large as the pedestal and shaft appear, they contain less stone than the foundation beneath them. This foundation has a base of 24 feet and 4 inches square, with a top 20 feet and 2 inches square, and is laid in Portland and Howe's Cave cement 13 feet deep in the ground.

The stone used for the foundation, for the shaft and for the backing of the granite pedestal is the limestone of the valley of the Mohawk and of Onondaga county, the gift of the people of this State to your Society for the purposes of this monument. It is all laid in the best of Portland and Howe's Cave cement and

with Schoharie sand. The pedestal is of granite, from the Mt. Waldo Granite works of Maine. It is 19 feet high, 20 feet square at its base and 8 feet 3 inches square at its top. Upon this pedestal rests an obelisk 66 feet high. All of the masonry above the foundation is the work of Alexander Pirnie, of Remsen. On each side of the die of the pedestal is a bronze tablet six feet wide and four and a half feet high. Two of the bronzes, in bas relief, tell their own story, of the wounded general directing the battle, and the mortal conflict between the Indian and the white man. Of the two remaining tablets, one is a dedication written by Professor Edward North, of Hamilton College, and the other is a roster containing the names of all those engaged in the battle on our side, as far as we can ascertain them—only 250 out of 800—thus telling the deadly character of the conflict.*

These tablets are the work of the National Fine Art Foundry, of the city of New York, carried on by Judge Maurice J. Power, who united with the Mt. Waldo Granite Works in the design and contract for the monument, dated July 4, 1882, and that contract was approved by the Society and ordered signed by your Recording Secretary, October 11, 1882.

The Mt. Waldo Granite Works and the National Fine Art Foundry, have been paid in full, save a small sum kept back to secure the fulfillment of their contract. We bought of Mr. William Ringrose five acres, (lacking thirteen rods,) of this battlefield, including the site of the monument, and have paid for the same; but by our contract we are under obligation to fence it, and there are some unsettled accounts, and the accounts of the committee have not been audited, so that we can not state that everything is closed up. The cost of the land, and material, and labor, and fence, will not be less than $12,000.

We are ready to give an account of our stewardship, and our work is so nearly completed that we think this anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany should mark the dedication of this monument, and of the park which surrounds it.

It is proper to state that the resolution of the Continental Congress of 1777, was the foundation of our success in obtaining assistance from the General Government, as well as from the State of New York. That resolution was in the following words:

"*Resolved*, That the Governor and Council of New York, be

*For the accompanying engravings of the pictorial tablets, we are indebted to the courtesy of Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, the accomplished editress of the *Magazine of American History*. For Roster see Appendix.

HERKIMER DIRECTING THE ORISKANY BATTLE

DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION ON BRONZE TABLET.

HERE WAS FOUGHT

THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY,

ON THE 6TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1777.

HERE BRITISH INVASION WAS CHECKED AND THWARTED.

HERE GENERAL NICHOLAS HERKIMER,

INTREPID LEADER OF THE AMERICAN FORCES,

THOUGH MORTALLY WOUNDED KEPT COMMAND OF THE FIGHT

TILL THE ENEMY HAD FLED.

THE LIFE-BLOOD OF MORE THAN

TWO HUNDRED PATRIOT HEROES

MADE THIS BATTLE GROUND

SACRED FOREVER.

THIS MONUMENT WAS BUILT

A. D. 1883, IN THE YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE 107,

BY GRATEFUL DWELLERS IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY,

UNDER THE DIRECTION

OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AIDED BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

AND THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

desired to erect a monument at Continental expense, of the value of five hundred dollars, to the memory of the late Brigadier General Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county, in the State of New York, and was killed fighting gallantly in defense of the liberties of these States."

There was no Oneida county then, and nothing here save a wilderness. When we recall the poverty of that Continental Congress, its empty treasury, its worthless paper, its half-clad, half-fed soldiers, the destitution of women and children, in which New York shared, we do not wonder that this resolution effected nothing at that time.

Dire necessity and the struggle for the living, compelled a postponement of this tribute to the dead, until, at last, our independence won, the tide of emigration crowding into and through this valley, compelled the making of stage roads, the grand Erie canal, the New York Central Railroad, and the telegraphic lines, all of which you see in the valley below you, monuments themselves of the enterprise of the people who constructed them, but not monuments for the dead. Congress slept over the resolution of 1777, and for many years resisted all awakenings in that direction. But after a time Historical Societies were formed, and among them, in 1876, our own appeared, and united her efforts with those of others in arousing the attention of our people to the important military history of New York.

The approach of the Centennial years of the Republic gave power to these efforts, and early in the year 1877, at the request of citizens of Rome, this Society called a public meeting at Utica to organize a proper celebration of the Battle of Oriskany, upon its hundredth anniversary.

This celebration was instituted by our Society, and invitations to it sent out broadcast, and such a response came up from every direction as was never before heard in this section of the State. Seventy-five thousand people appeared as by magic, and covered these hills "to honor the courage and devotion displayed here one hundred years ago." The speakers who addressed this great crowd of people, appealed to them "to see that the graves of dead patriots were marked by monuments."

In answer to these appeals and in compliance with the wishes of our citizens, the Oneida Historical Society undertook to build the Oriskany Monument. Brief as the time has been since our successful undertaking commenced, there were those present at the Centennial who were greatly interested, but who have now passed

away. I will mention two councilors of the Society, the venerable Pomroy Jones, the Historian of Oneida County, who has died within a few days—and the benevolent Theodore S. Faxton—who, immediately after the Centennial, volunteered a contribution of $200 to the President of the Society. Also, the lamented Senator Webster Wagner, whose sad death is still fresh in the memory of our people, and whose generous subscription of $250 is the largest of the contributions obtained by the indefatigable Simms.

Through the efforts of our representatives and friends in and out of Congress, the General Government finally honored the resolution of the Continental Congress of 1777, by appropriating $500 with interest, making $4,100, which sum was placed in the hands of this Society. The Legislature of our State seconded this movement by appropriating $3,000 conditional upon the raising of an equal sum by private subscription, and added the gift of the limestone in the Utica weigh lock.

There was collected by J. R. Simms, $1,024. Other private subscriptions amounted to $3,743.37, making a total of receipts paid to the treasurer, $11,867.37, and there are some accounts not collected. With this money your committee purchased and paid for the land upon which we are assembled to-day, including the site of the monument.

We broadened the purpose and scope of this monument, as in our subscription paper we had promised to do. It is not only a monument to the memory of brave General Herkimer, but also to the memory of his brave associates in the Battle of Oriskany. And now when the morning sun gilds the church spire in the village of Floyd, which you see on the hills across the valley, the roster of men of the Battle of Oriskany salutes the memory of General Floyd, and may well say you are justly immortal as one of the signers of the declaration of independence; we also are immortal as among the makers of that independence. Our people were not ungrateful; they were poor, but they stamped upon their homes the names of their benefactors—look beyond Floyd and you will see the town of Steuben; look south and you see the town of Kirkland, and its college named after General Hamilton.

I dare not attempt to mention the names of those whose patriotism and generosity have enabled us to build this monument. They will be found in the records of the Oneida Historical Society. To all we return our sincere thanks; but I am sure I shall be pardoned if I make mention of the late Jeptha R. Simms, of Fort Plain, who, before others had moved in this matter, commenced soliciting

dollar subscriptions, and with great pains and many steps gathered one thousand and twenty-four dollars, and paid them over to our treasurer, Mr. Robert S. Williams. A record of the names of the dollar subscribers, with a statement of larger sums, was filed by him in the library of the Historical Society.

And I must not fail to mention here that when we found ourselves in want of money to pay for the roster tablet and for the bas-relief tablet of the combat between the Indian and the white man, an appeal was made by your President to some of our German citizens in New York. They at once sent him more than the sum required. We no longer call those tablets bas-relief, but *high* relief.

Before closing this imperfect account of our work, I desire to thank the people residing in the vicinity of this monument for their uniform kindness and interest, and I only make known the wishes of you all when I express the hope that they may continue their interest, and be with you the protectors of this monument.

And now, Mr. President, it only remains for us to commit to you and to the Oneida Historical Society the sacred care and keeping of this monument and these grounds.

Mr. Roberts in accepting the monument, spoke briefly as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. ELLIS H. ROBERTS.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

A duty and privilege long since recognized are now consummated. The battle of Oriskany is commemorated by a lasting token on its historic site, and the heroism of those who fought and fell on this ground, is told to all whose eyes shall turn hither while time records the passing years. For a century the story of the share of the Mohawk valley in the creation of the Republic, was preserved chiefly in local tradition and in the sybilline leaves of personal narrative or buried in ponderous chronicles. Seven years ago the scenes of the bloodiest battle of the Revolution were strongly drawn upon the original stage, and the actors took their place forever as real and as enduring as the river which flows yonder, as the valley which stretches beneath us, as the hills which crown this landscape.

This monument stands at the gateway which nature has provided on the pathway across the continent. It overlooks the

waters which mark the channel of traffic and of power. This is our Thermopylae, our Marathon. No sturdier courage, no more profound consecration, no nobler cause decorates the historic pass of Thessaly, or that scene where

> "The mountains look on Marathon
> And Marathon looks on the sea."

Here are the gates where foreign invasion received its first vital check when the fate of the continent was trembling in the balance. This is the sacred altar where one of the earliest and bloodiest sacrifices was made for American independence. Along this valley the red men had kept their confederacy, born of their necessities and their aspirations, and prophecy of a grander union yet to be. Into this valley flowed the tides of migration from all the chief countries of Europe. They formed the complex ranks of the brave army which Herkimer held against the flower of the British forces and their savage allies. The distinction of our commonwealth has its roots just here. To its soil union as well as freedom is native. Its population has always been the resultant of various streams with the strongest qualities of different races. They gathered where the Almighty had placed the channels of movement for traffic and for peoples, and the seat of commanding power. This was not Virginia and it was not New England. It was the embryo of the Empire State. It was the natural key to the original union, formed by its rivers and by its mountains. Strife and battle followed its waters; victory perched upon its hills and national life was nurtured in its valleys.

In the center of New York this monument rises, solid, impressive, majestic in its memories and its teachings, in honor of some of the earliest and most useful martyrs to national independence, to blood precious both as sacrifice and as pledge of the broad humanity which must include all races—English and German, but also whatever else is best and richest in the old world or the new. Yonder at its feet run the messengers of the commerce of this continent not only but of all lands. The industry of millions passes daily along these channels. The lightning flashes upon these wires whatever wealth or progress or prosperity or power thinks or purposes or dreams. Nature laid deep foundations, and drew its loveliest background, as if to make the place and scenery befit the grand event which was here enacted, and add to this granite structure rare comeliness and grandeur.

The battle of Oriskany was one of the turning points in the

military operations of the Revolution. St. Leger's defeat led to the surrender of Burgoyne. Both together encouraged the French to become our efficient allies. This proud shaft proclaims the profound and far-reaching meaning of that original conflict in the wilderness. It was a struggle, often hand to hand, for an independent Republic, now by the grace of God, free, great, continental, challenging the respect and admiration of mankind.

On far eastern plains great events have been commemorated by like columns,, by

> "The tapering monument, the Egyptian's pride,
> And wonder of the world, whose spiky top
> Has wounded the thick cloud."

The waves of change have carried three of Egypt's imperial obelisks to three chief cities of modern nations. Paris, London, and New York study the strange characters traced upon the historic monoliths. The monuments survive the dynasties which erected them. The events, the men, even the nation live anew in alien lands in the records of the sculptured rock.

This imposing structure recalls the valor and the virtue of the common people. It crystalizes an initial chapter in our national life into this beautiful landscape. Like the event which it commemorates it is here the dominant feature. It rises above the signs of industry and commerce and intercommunication. So may patriotism, so may devotion to humanity, so may far-reaching regard for the future to remote generations, stand supreme in the breasts of the hundreds of millions who in and through the Mohawk valley are to sustain the pillars of the Republic.

Not here and now can fitting thanks be rendered to the members of the committee who have so diligently and wisely and tastefully performed a task which has awaited a century for such architects. They have well used the contributions of nation and State and generous citizens. Their work is their best commendation.

And now, Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the Oneida Historical Society, in the absence of that eminent statesman and beloved citizen who has himself done so much towards the achievement we now celebrate, it is my official duty, as it is a profound pleasure, to accept the costly and precious gift which you commit to its care and keeping.

> "Time shall not sweep this monument away,
> Time the destroyer; no, nor dank decay.
> This not alone heroic ashes holds;
> Our country's glory this earth-shrine enfolds."

Mr. Roberts closed by reading the following letter:

LETTER FROM EX-GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

CAZENOVIA, August 2, 1884.

DEAR SIR: I am sorry I can not attend the meeting of the Oneida Historical Society on Wednesday next, when the Oriskany monument will be given over to its care, by the committee which has had charge of its construction. It will be an object of great interest for many reasons. It will be in full view from the great line of travel between the eastern and western sections of our country. It will recall to a multitude of minds an event of peculiar interest, not only on account of the character of the combatants, but of its great importance, as it was the first check to the invasion of Burgoyne's army, which threatened such disastrous results to our fathers in the Revolutionary struggle. The defeat of the British in this campaign has ever been regarded by historical and military writers as the turning point in the Revolutionary war. It will excite hereafter other interests. It was deep in the forests which overshadowed so much of our country when the battle with savages was fought. Its scene could only be reached by toilsome marches through a rude wilderness. Now the vast expanse between the Atlantic and Pacific coast is traversed by thousands of miles of railroad, which unite our great country by swift methods of intercourse. This monument not only reminds our people of past events, but it will also be suggestive with regard to their growth and greatness in the future. It will quicken feelings of patriotism through many coming years. I think there are but few monuments in our land which will recall more interesting memories of the past, or which will excite more interest with regard to the future. I congratulate the society upon the successful completion of the monument. I am sure all of its members feel that they have been more than repaid for their exertions to secure its erection.

I am respectfully yours,

HORATIO SEYMOUR.

To Hon. E. H. ROBERTS, vice-president of Oneida Historical Society.

The announcement was made that the only special invitations issued for this gathering were to the President of the United States and the Governor of New York. Mr. Cleveland's response, which was read by S. G. Visscher, of Rome, a member of the committee, was as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, ALBANY, July 24, 1884.

S. N. D. North, Esq., Secretary, &c.

DEAR SIR: I have received your invitation to be present at the dedication of the Oriskany monument on the 6th day of August next.

I should be very glad to be present, but expect about that time to leave the city for a short and much needed vacation, and up to the time of leaving I must be closely confined to the capital by official duties.

Yours, very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Mr. Visscher also read the following dispatch from Maurice J. Power, contractor for the tablets of the monument:

NEW YORK, August 6, 1884.

Hon. John F. Seymour:

I greatly regret my inability to be present at the dedication of the monument. Please present my congratulations to the committee on the successful achievement of their undertaking which completes Governor Seymour's long patriotic endeavor to erect an artistic and enduring memorial on the ground made sacred by the infinite sacrifice of Herkimer and his men.

MAURICE J. POWER.

The Utica Maennerchor then sang "Wo ist das Deutschen Vaterland?" (Where is the German's fatherland,) with good effect.

The dedicatory oration was then delivered by Hon. William Dorsheimer, of New York, and evoked frequent and hearty applause.

DEDICATORY ORATION.

BY HON. WILLIAM DORSHEIMER.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

You have assembled here to day to witness the completion of an undertaking long contemplated. On the 4th of October, 1777, the Continental Congress, then in session at Yorktown, Pennsylvania, passed a resolution in this language:

"*Resolved*, That the Governor and council of New York be desired to erect a monument at Continental expense, of the value of five hundred dollars to the memory of the late Brigadier Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon county in the State of New York, and was killed fighting gallantly in defense of the liberty of these States." This resolution was transmitted to George Clinton, Governor, and to the council of the State of New York by John Hancock, President of Congress. In his letter Hancock said: "every mark of distinction shown to the memory of such illustrious men as offer up their lives for the liberty and happiness of the country, reflects real honor on those who pay the grateful tribute; and by holding up to others the prospects of fame and immortality, will animate them to tread in the same path." The resolution of Congress was not acted upon by the government of the State.

In 1827 Governor Dewitt Clinton in his annual message to the legislature called attention to this matter. After reciting the resolution of the Continental Congress he used the following language: "At the most critical period of the Revolutionary war, when the State was nearly surrounded with hostile forces, and when destroying armies were penetrating it in various directions, the gallant Herkimer fell on the field of battle, at the head of his patriotic neighbors. This exhibition of heroic virtue attracted the distinguished notice of Congress, but the situation of the times presented obstacles to an immediate compliance with their resolve. As there can be no reason for further delay I hope that this subject will occupy your early attention."

A bill was reported in accordance with the governor's suggestion, but the legislature adjourned without taking final action upon it. The following year, 1828, Governor Clinton renewed the subject, but a number of similar projects were suggested so that probably the bill became loaded down, to use a somewhat technical phrase, and it failed to pass.

Here the matter rested until after the celebration of the centennial of the battle of Oriskany. Soon after which event the Oneida Historical Society was organized, and the work of collecting the necessary funds was begun. As I understand it, some assistance has been given by the federal government and some by the State, and a considerable part has been subscribed by the residents in the Mohawk valley, in whose history the battle of Oriskany is the most memorable event. Last autumn Mr. Horatio Seymour, of whose connection with this and other patriotic undertakings I shall have further occasion to speak, wrote to a gentleman in New York, who, although not descended from the German settlers in this region, was still of German origin, and asked him to present the subject to the German citizens of New York, with the view of obtaining subscriptions to complete the fund which was needed. The suggestion of Governor Seymour was acted upon and substantial subscriptions were promptly made by prominent residents of New York. Among those to whom application was made was Oswald Ottendorfer editor of the *Staats Zeitung*. Mr. Ottendorfer at once exhibited a great interest in the matter. He placed himself in direct communication with the committee and gave all the additional money that was necessary to complete the work. In this generous act Mrs. Ottendorfer took part. This lady has since died, but she has left in New York the memory of many acts of benevolence and patriotism.

It was appropriate that the Germans, now active in the life of our State, should take part in the erection of this monument, for, as has been before remarked, it was upon this field that the colonists of German descent made their most important contributions to the cause of American independence. It is agreeable to the pride of men to find that their kinsmen have wrought out great deeds in the past. The acts done here; the suffering here endured; the deeds of valor here performed; the sacrifices here completed, are of an importance second in value to no other achievements in the war of the Revolution.

It was the aim of the English cabinet to cut off New England from the other colonies. The New England provinces were the

most populous and the wealthiest. The settlers there had all or nearly all been of the same race, and there was, perhaps, less difference of opinion there as to the merits of the controversy than in New York and in some of the southern colonies. If Lake Champlain and the Hudson could be seized, intercourse between New England and New York and the regions to the south would, considering England's command of the sea, be difficult, and for the purpose of military operations, perhaps impossible. The plan of campaign was that the main army should descend Lake Champlain, and that an auxiliary force under Colonel St. Leger should enter the Mohawk valley at its head and gather to it the warriors of the Six Nations and the English sympathizers among the inhabitants of the region. St. Leger was then to march to Albany and make a junction with Burgoyne. It was a part of the plan that Lord Howe should ascend the Hudson and unite his troops with the other columns. Burgoyne swept in triumph through Lake Champlain. Ticonderoga fell almost without a blow. He reached the upper Hudson. All that was needed was a victory here.

It is now seen that the success of all the operations depended upon the success with which St. Leger should perform his part of them, for there was no way in which the British army could be secure of its supplies unless it could draw upon the resources of this fertile country. The British ministry, it appears, fully realized this, and General Burgoyne afterwards indicated that he might have succeeded if St. Leger had come to his aid. But Congress and colonial generals seemed to have but a slight appreciation of the importance of St. Leger's movements. No reinforcements were sent to Fort Stanwix, which was the principal defensive position in the valley. It had been permitted to fall into decay. Its garrison consisted of seven hundred and fifty men commanded by Colonel Peter Gansevoort, who was a native of Albany and only twenty-eight years old, but who had served with distinction in Montgomery's expedition to Quebec. This force was stationed at Fort Stanwix with no reference to St. Leger's expedition, for when it occupied the fort in April no one in the colonies knew the British plan of campaign. Even after the enemy's purpose was known, Congress took no further action to defend the valley. General Schuyler understood the situation, but when after the battle of Oriskany he sent Arnold here in command of a considerable detachment, his officers accused him of treason. There was, however, inducement enough for the patriots to defend their homes. They were threatened with the

familiar horrors of Indian warfare and also with the hatreds of civil strife. The greater part of the Indians sympathized with England, and a large part of the settlers were either English or of English descent. Sir William Johnson had passed his life here, and had long exercised a potent sway over all the inhabitants, both whites and Indians. Therefore, many of the people stood to the British crown. But there was in the valley a body of men who naturally were enemies to the English king. These were the Germans. They had come from the Palatinate, and had been driven from their homes by the armies of Louis the Fourteenth. They settled here about 1725. It was thought desirable that they should be located on the upper Mohawk, in the Indian country, to defend the settlements at the east, because they were accustomed to have their houses burned.

A leader among these emigrants was a certain John Jost Herkimer. His name was properly spelled Herchheimer, the ending of the name clearly showing its Rhenish origin; but it had been anglicized, a process to which many other German names have been compelled to submit. He was the father of General Nicholas Herkimer. The year before, on the 5th of September, General Nicholas Herkimer had been appointed brigadier general of the militia of the county of Tryon. This commission was issued by the New York convention then in session at Fishkill. Upon Herkimer therefore depended the resistance which the inhabitants were to make to St. Leger's advance. He was about forty-eight years old. He was a man of substantial character, sound judgment and of general popularity. He had no military knowledge or experience whatever, but the event proved that he had the valor and coolness which are the very foundations of soldierly qualities.

As soon as St. Leger appeared at Oswego, Herkimer issued a proclamation to the people of the Mohawk valley calling them to arms. They gathered together at Fort Dayton near the mouth of West Canada creek. When one reads the roster of Oriskany he learns that most of those who obeyed the call were the children of the German emigrants, but among them were men of English, Irish, Welsh and French blood and a considerable number of Scotchmen who lived in Cherry Valley. St. Leger invested Fort Stanwix on the 3d of August. Under his command were Sir John Johnson, a native of the valley; Colonel John Butler, brother-in-law to Sir John; and more important, Joseph Brant, chief of the Mohawks, and a man of remarkable endowments both

of mind and character. There was no delay in the patriot camp, they knew it was better to meet the savages at the gate. On the 4th of August, Herkimer began his march at the head of eight hundred men. That day he crossed the Mohawk river, near where Utica now is, and on the afternoon of the 5th he reached Whitestown. An Indian woman, the widow of Sir William Johnson, had seen the gathering at Fort Dayton, and sent St. Leger timely notice of Herkimer's expedition. He at once sent forward the tories and Indians to arrest Herkimer's progress. According to the method of Indian warfare they made an ambuscade here in yonder ravine, and in the woods which then covered these slopes. On the morning of the 6th, Herkimer's men were marching in careless order, not apprehensive of peril, when suddenly the forest was filled with savage shouts and ablaze with the deadly flames of battle. One can imagine how dismayed those farmers were. But they did not give way as Braddock's regulars had done. Better that those shouts of hell should fall upon men's ears; here in the forest far away from the women and children on the farms below. Better to fight here, to die here, if only the tide of war could thus be stayed and those they loved saved from torture, and a fate far worse than death, and so the German farmers set themselves to work. It was well they had so little knowledge of the usual methods of war. They knew no discipline the loss of which could embarrass them. They took post behind the trees and fought as their enemies fought. Herkimer was wounded soon, his white horse was killed, and so he told them to put his saddle across a fallen tree, and he sat upon it and smoked his pipe and directed the fight. A few fled, a few were captured, but most remained. For five long hours the contest lasted. In the midst of it a thunder storm burst upon the struggling hosts. More than two hundred of the patriots were wounded or dead, and still the Mohawk settlers held their ground. At last the savages lost heart, and suddenly gave way, leaving the field in Herkimer's hands. In truth those steadfast Germans had wrought a noble deed. They had shown the qualities of their race. They are brothers of those who have followed Gustavus and Frederick and Blucher and Moltke.

The farms below were safe; safe were wives and children, and the land, too, was saved, for here a blow, fatal to the invader, had been struck; a blow of far reaching and world wide consequences. The battle was destructive to St. Leger's purpose. It excited the enthusiasm of the country. The news came to Washington and

to Congress, giving them encouragement at a time of depression and anxiety, and a strong column, under the command of General Arnold, was dispatched to the valley to raise the siege of Fort Stanwix. St. Leger did not wait long for Arnold's coming, and on the 22d of August he raised the siege and retired to Oswego. His expedition had ended in complete disaster. He lost his equipment and most of his artillery.

I have briefly and summarily brought to your minds events, the details of which have been lately presented to you with complete clearness and learning. I have done so in order that they may appear in their proper relation to other events.

A few days after the battle of Oriskany, Bennington was fought; on the 6th of September at Stillwater, Burgoyne's advance was arrested, and on the 17th of October, at Schuylerville, he surrendered. The capture of Burgoyne led to the most important results. Franklin had for some time vainly urged the cause of the colonies at the French court; but France was not too eager to encounter England's power. These victories gave new force to Franklin's diplomacy, and presently his persuasions and the generous example of LaFayette prevailed. France became our ally and sent both fleets and armies to our aid. The queen, herself a German princess, was specially interested in our cause, and under her patronage the first French fleet was fitted out. You who live here, therefore, are thus associated with the history of one of the greatest of the European states.

The American alliance brought grave consequences to France. The Frenchmen learned from us lessons which they soon sought to apply at home. Forces were introduced into the politics of France which caused internal dissensions, overthrew the monarchy and brought the king and queen and the chiefs of the nobility to the scaffold. Just as the waters which flow from these hills contribute to the floods of the Hudson and the sea, so have the historic acts of your ancestors added to the mighty and destructive tides of European revolutions and wars.

The people of this valley have ever since lived in the path of memorable events. The Hudson and the Mohawk open the only pass south of the St. Lawrence through the Alleghany mountains. Here began the internal commerce of the country. The statesmen of New York soon realized the duty which their situation devolved upon them. The future of the State could not be accomplished through the imperfect channels of lakes and rivers, and so an artificial waterway was designed and constructed. Many of the men

who did this work lived here. Prominent among them was Henry Seymour, the first of his family to win the distinction in our State which the name has ever since worn. This enterprise was not conceived in any narrow or in any merely utilitarian spirit. It was announced in the act of the Legislature which called it into being, as a work which would strengthen the union of the States and contribute to their strength in war as well as to their commerce in peace.

But the most hopeful imagination could hardly have foreseen the results both material and moral which the construction of the Erie canal produced. It has been a source of wealth to our cities. As soon as it was finished New York sprang from the second to the first place. It has ever since poured into her lap the harvests of the west. One might compare its waters to those fabled springs which the Spanish adventurer sought and which were to give mankind perennial youth. But the moral results have been far more remarkable. The Mississippi empties into the Gulf, and when sectional divisions arose between the States and divided them sharply into north and south by a line which ran from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, it was the common opinion in the rebelling communities that the States of the northwest were firmly bound by the Mississippi to a confederation with the south, which could not be broken. But the Mississippi no longer flowed to the Gulf. The genius of New York had turned it out of its channel, and its waters found the seas through the highlands and the palisades, and when the hour of trial came, the northwest was seen to be bound to the east by bonds stronger than any which nature had made.

Through this valley potent influences have gone out to all the Western countries. Not only throngs of emigrants, Americans and foreigners, but other forces more powerful perhaps than living men. You have sent to them examples of government; methods of creating great corporations and forms for their management; new modes of legal procedure and new systems of judicial organization.

There is now no English speaking community which has not upon its statute books the very language of laws which were first framed here. The most distinguished of your citizens is fond of calling to mind that the waters which fall upon the hills divrence, York flow into many States. Some into the St. Lawod the others into the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Delaware an ation Mississippi. And so those living waters which carry civiliz.

and freedom with them, have gathered here and flowed forth to remote lands and distant peoples.

New York has never been contented nor much occupied with interests exclusively her own. Her representatives in the national councils are never called upon to protect her interests, nor to ask that her welfare shall be regarded at the expense of other communities. She has found her prosperity, as she has found her greatness, in the general good. No harvests will ripen upon the upper Mississippi, no cotton will mature at its mouth, no herds of cattle will grow fat in Colorado or Dakota without adding to her wealth. No disaster can come upon the most distant of the sisterhood without injury to her.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I will not conclude my observations without reference to a topic which seems to me to be peculiarly appropriate to this time and place. It used to be remarked that New Yorkers were indifferent to the history of their State. Our writers did not seem to be interested in our annals as the men of letters in New England were in their history. This had not always been the case. At the beginning of the century, Washington Irving had delighted his countrymen by a humorous narrative of early Dutch history, and he had afterwards peopled the banks of the Hudson and the recesses of the Catskills, with quaint characters and attached to the mountains and the river weird and fantastic traditions. Cooper had found new fields for romance upon Lake George and in the neighboring county of Otsego. Among the Indians of this region he had also found characters new to letters, which have excited and which still excite, the wonder of young imaginations in every civilized country.

But afterwards, there came a time when local interest seemed to fade away. Whether this was because of the immigration of strangers from New England and from Europe, or whether because we were occupied with business, it is difficult to say. It suffices for my purpose to point out the indifference which New York showed to her history, by far the most eventful of any American community. Lately the public feeling has greatly changed. There is no longer any reason to complain of a lack of appreciation by the people of New York of the events in which their ancestors took part. I think this change is mainly due to the efforts of a gentleman who lives in this county, and who certainly has been the leader in the revival of historic interest. It is hardly necessary for me to mention the name of him whom I have in mind. Horatio Seymour has in his own career perpetuated

the influence and the command which the people of the Mohawk valley have always had. He has recounted with an eloquence and learning which no one else possesses, the events of which this country has been the theater. He has impressed the lessons of them upon your minds by powerful and beautiful illustrations. He remains among you to-day a sharer in the patriotic enthusiasm which he has done the most to evoke. God grant that he may long be spared to enjoy the respect which is felt for him everywhere, but especially here where it has grown up despite the adverse influences of party strife and political differences. Your pride and affections are not with the dead alone. You are inspired by the eloquence and taught by the example of living men.

Gentlemen of the Oneida Historical Society: Your work is completed. To-day you dedicate this structure to the memories it perpetuates and the lessons which it teaches. May it realize the wish that Hancock expressed, and "by holding up to others the prospects of fame and immortality animate them to tread the same path." It will be for the people of the Mohawk valley to remember the trials endured here, the triumphs won here, and to emulate the example here wrought out. May this people be always in the van as their fathers were, and may there always be among them great leaders in the history of our land.

The Old Utica band then played a medley of national airs, "Hail Columbia," "The Star Spangled Banner," and "Yankee Doodle."

The Utica Maennerchor followed in a pleasing selection, "Schlaf Wohl."

Otto E. C. Guelich was then introduced as the representative of the German societies of the Mohawk valley. He was cordially received and spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF O. E. C. GUELICH.

Supreme peace reigns now on these hills. From this monument of the brave deeds of those who more than a century ago, laid the foundation of the liberty, the symbols of which now tower at our side, we now look down upon a scene of peaceful quiet and thriving industry.

And these are the same hills and yon is the same romantic Mohawk valley where once brother fought against brother, and

this brother in union with savage tribes. Here brother spilt the blood of brother, and on this same spot pioneers of liberty broke the yoke of the proud Briton, and if they had to purchase it with their lives, still undaunted they fought, and the banner of liberty which now protects these realms, was the glorious result. In vain would it be, even if time permitted us, to repeat what history tells us about the bloody feuds which commenced in the Revolution in Tryon county. Let us only briefly refer to the declaration which in the spring of 1775 was conceived at Johnstown and widely distributed and circulated by the tories, in which their opposition to the Continental Congress became evident; and how, soon after, the committee of the Revolutionary party at Palatine on May 18th, directed a letter and petition to Albany, in which they expressed their fears and mistrust against the sentiments of the declaration of the tories, referring in strong terms to the spirit of strife and murder awakened by this declaration in the breasts of their allies, the Indians—and requesting, nay begging, urgently for ammunition and guns.

It is not our aim to describe the events, which in consequence of this declaration crowded upon history: the bloody feuds, the deeds of horror, murder and arson, the sufferings and endurances of the heroes of the Revolution up to the time of the engagement at Fort Stanwix and Oriskany. All these events we will have to pass, and can only remember their actors in brief as the heroes of liberty, animated by the highest impulses.

These men of the Mohawk valley, mostly Germans and Dutch, or of German and Dutch descent, did not ask how great the sacrifice. They knew the bloodthirsty, cunning and treacherous deceit of the savage hordes. They knew of the union of their chief Brant with Guy Johnson, whose deeds of horror hardly find their equal in the annals of history. They were well aware of the fact that England's powerful money, distributed by English agents, tried to overpower the whole Six Nations.

They knew all this, and still their valor did not pale, but with prophetic eye looking toward victory they overcame all difficulties. Therefore, we Germans born from these heroes, feel our bosoms swell with just pride, and our hearts fill with glad gratitude in remembrance of the brave deeds of our ancestors, who were willing not only to sacrifice all their possessions but their very lives on the altar of liberty. Their guiding star was justice and right; and their actions showed that wise counsel and good judgment were mingled with the enthusiasm of the heroes.

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Time does not permit us any attempt to describe the heroic endurance of the champions for liberty during the next bitter two years. Here were Sir John Johnson with his family, Colonel Claus with his family, with 700 Indians, 400 regulars and 600 tories, awaiting Butler's arrival from Niagara, to open the high council of war, which in their estimation, should destroy the last ray of hope for the Revolutionists. Already the arrival of General Burgoyne, with his numerous army of 7,500 well disciplined men, a host of Canadians and a great number of Indians from Ticonderoga, had compelled the Americans, under General St. Clair, to forsake the fort and to retire with their few 4,000 to Fort Edward.

It was the intention of General St. Leger to take possession of this fort, as well as of Fort Stanwix, while both were protected by only a small garrison, and from there to push on to Johnstown, there to make his headquarters, and in unison with General Burgoyne to make flank movements, and thus to cut off the American army.

This was the decree of the high council at Oswego, and the plan of action was diligently and secretly communicated to those of the inhabitants who favored the British cause. Amidst these difficult surroundings General Nicolaus Herchkeimer issued on July 17, 1777, his proclamation for calling out recruits to defend liberty's sacred rights.

Every male of sound health between the ages of 16 and 50 was called upon to take up arms for the good cause, and all weak and aged to also equip themselves and remain behind for the protection of the women and children, and those who did not obey the proclamation were to be placed under guard, and arms given to them, that they might be attached to the general army and brought against the enemy. Not much time was to be lost, because already on the 30th of July, Thomas Spencer wrote: "Within four days the royal troops expect to be before Fort Stanwix. The time is short and precious; rise and come to the defense!" They knew not the regular training of a soldier, they had no experience of war, but were full of love for liberty and animated by the highest impulse to protect their homes and their loved ones. Such were the warriors which General Herchkeimer led against the enemy. Fraught with sufferings was the way he led them through forests and ravines, through the Mohawk valley, which we see down below us, up to the theater of war. Civilization had not progressed so far yet, and all these fields and valleys were then still in their original state of uncultivation, only well known to the

Indians. They knew every nook and corner of the Mohawk valley, every ravine and every hiding place from where they could break in upon the unsuspecting, bringing death and destruction with them.

Under these difficulties General Herchkeimer and his small body of men traversed the valley before us, till he came to this spot.

Scarcely had the first division reached the hill, when from out the surrounding thicket, as if ascending from the depths of the earth, arose Brant's savage hordes. With their terrible war-cry, which chilled the blood in the hearts of the bravest, these dusky devils, in all their naked wildness, broke upon the army of General Herchkeimer, like a horde of demons broke loose from Satan's kingdom. Armed with tomahawk and battle-ax, they fell upon the unsuspectingly advancing body of our ancestors.

Colonel Visscher's regiment at the time of this attack, was still on the east side of the hill, so that the army was divided into two parts, and before the troops could be rallied together the Indians were upon them. Their only alternative was to fight the best way possible. And they did fight, the soldiers seeking protection behind the trees in the thickets of the forest, from where they could reach the Indians with their bullets. But these, when they noticed that their antagonists were all posted singly, waited their opportunity, when the soldiers were loading their rifles, and broke upon them unawares, cutting them down with their tomahawks. As soon as General Herchkeimer noticed this, he ordered his men to go in parties of two and alternately load and shoot.

This stratagem had soon the desired result, for already the Indians began to fall back before the steady and well directed fire of the soldiers, when suddenly Major Watts with a detachment of "Johnson's Greens" appeared on the scene. The arrival of these former fugitives from the country stirred up the blood in the heart of each of our German heroes, and with renewed strength and fresh valor, they seek vengeance, and as if inspired by some heavenly power they throw themselves in the battle. And now louder and louder roars the battle, hotter and hotter waxes the strife, but above the howling and roaring, God, the Almighty, hears the prayer of his children bleeding for liberty and fighting to break the bonds of slavery's shame.

"Urgeist des Lebens, des Weltballs Regierer,
Der die milliarden der Sterne schuf,
Du der Nationen Allmachtiger Fuehrer,
Hoer Dein Kinder Verzweiflungs-ruf."

This was the prayer of the poet who filled the hearts of our forefathers with that spirit of liberty, which led them to overcome all difficulty, in liberty's sacred cause; and with sword and fire to break tyranny's bonds, not caring, whether like Samson, in its fall, it would crush them also. Onward! Onward! was their cry, if to destruction! Liberty is dawning through the cloud. Is it not true, that on the same spot where we stand, brother had to fight brother in league with savage hordes—and we, who are standing now on the ground where the ashes and bones of our forefathers rest, slain in their struggle for that liberty in which we glory, let us remember the blood that flowed on these green fields, and while we glory in that supreme feeling of liberty, let us think of those whose valor and spirit saved us from bondage. Their names, engraved upon this monument, will live in the hearts of the thankful people of these realms long after our own spirits have flown to those unknown grounds from whence there is no return.

The Spartans were ready to fight in the shadow of the arms of their enemies—but was the valor of these warriors for liberty less than that of the Spartans?

Can history show a braver man than General Herchkeimer, when his horse having been shot from under him and his leg shattered to pieces by a ball, he sits calmly on the saddle, which from the back of his valiant charger has been transferred to the ground, smoking his pipe and giving his orders to his little troop of heroes, whose valor and bravery brought the turning point of the great Revolution? Let us therefore remember their endurance and their victories, for they created for their children and their children's children, for the oppressed of all the universe an asylum of liberty.

Himmelhoch sei der erhoben
Der Beim Krachen einer Welt
Bei der elemente Toben
Wie ein Gott sich aufrecht haelt.

The exercises concluded with the singing of "The Star Spangled Banner" by Williamson Spruce, whose ringing voice was heard by all. The crowd then slowly dispersed.

EXTRACTS FROM S. G. VISSCHER.

The following appropriate and suggestive passages by Mr. Visscher, one of the monument committee, are taken from an article published at the time of the dedication, in the *Roman Citizen:*

The monument which we have erected will speak to coming ages a mass of useful truth, such as no other mode of transmitting facts can furnish. Its foundation, laid deep in the soil, and cemented with ingredients which, when applied, are as yielding and pliable as man's generous nature, have become as hard and unyielding as the stones which they unite; and furnish a fit emblem of the government which is of the people, for the people, and by the people; but which will resist any encroachments upon its rights, as rocks resists the billows and the sky.

This is the first memorial in the Mohawk valley which is erected to mark a battle field. Not far to the north of us is a pile, standing in the midst of the rocks and shades of its forest home, which speaks with quiet but eloquent force to the upturned face, of one who came to us from the army of Frederick the Great, with its splendid equipage and matchless discipline, to partake of the hard fare, and labor in the unequal conflict, which gave us our liberty. Like a large proportion of the men who fought at Oriskany, he was a German; and the modest mausoleum which covers his remains is a fit companion of the one whose foundation is under our feet. Green be the memory and honored the name of Baron Steuben.

Away back in the distant ages, when the morning stars sang together, some of the striking and important events of history were commemorated in the land of the chosen race by the erection of monuments. In the book of Genesis, we have two accounts of Jacob erecting them, and subsequently Joshua and Samuel did the same, to commemorate a signal victory over the Philistines. We can very appropriately quote the language of Israel's Great Judge, to show our warrant, if one is needed, for performing the pious as well as patriotic work which is before us this day. "Then Samuel took a stone and set it up between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of the place Eben-Ezer, saying, hitherto hath the Lord helped us."—*1st Samuel vii.* 12. And Egypt, old Egypt, the land of mystery and the cradle of the race, now a dismembered fragment of its ancient glory, and until quite recently

held in the grasp of a rapacious and revengeful mob, how numerous and stately are her landmarks, which everywhere rise in gloomy grandeur in the land of the Nile. One of them, a stately old link which connects the present with the long past, has been brought to our shores, and stands upon our own soil; an imperishable monolith, whose curious but interesting hieroglyphics reveal to us something of the heart of the Pharaohs, and the polity of the most remarkable people of antiquity. And over other lands, the highest civilization, the broadest culture, and the truest patriotism, are told us by the voiceless but stately sentinels, around whose apex the eternal sunshine settles, as the halo about the head of the divinity whose sleepless eyes witnessed their erection.

The contemplation of this work animates anew the interest we all feel, in the memory of the fathers of the Revolution. We can never tire of the story which gave us our freedom, and established a government which challenges the admiration of the world. We love to think of the eight hundred who braved the dangers and endured the sufferings which make the spot we stand upon so sacred to us all. We will not sit in judgment upon their military skill nor criticise mistakes which true hearted men may make, by yielding to hasty and impulsive counsel; nor recall the heated colloquy which perhaps led to some disaster; but look back of all that, to the patriotism which prompted, and the impetuous chivalry of the commander who moved onward regardless of consequences, at a critical juncture, to relieve the gallant little garrison which was holding its own against the merciless horde of savages, and tories worse than savages, which invested Fort Stanwix.

* * * * * * * *

The patriotic spirits who watched and waited for seven long years for their enemies to withdraw from the land, did more by patience, forbearance, and suffering, than by agressive violence on hotly contested battle fields. Indeed there were very few sanguinary conflicts, although the battle of Saratoga is classed as one of the fifteen decisive battles of the world. It was Putnam leaving his plow in the furrow, seizing his weapons, and jumping upon his horse to take part in the erection of works upon Bunker Hill; and Washington at Valley Forge, with tracks of blood from shoeless feet upon the snow crust; and hunger and want on every side, with a worthless currency, added to the constant apprehensions of treachery, which ended finally in the treason of Arnold. It was Marion subsisting upon roots in the forests of the

Carolinas, and Sumpter bivouacking in the swamps of the Santee. It was the spirit of the brave Herkimer, with Gansevoort and Willett, and the families of Sammons, Klock, Fonda, Snell, Veeder, Wagner, Wemple, Dievendorf, Vrooman, Starin, Bellinger, Clyde, Clemmens, De Graff, Dunkel, Frey, Fox, Gray, Merkley, Roof, Seeber, Woolover, and others, more than space will allow me to mention, whose names, however diverse from modern orthography, appear upon one of the tablets of this monument, furnishing imperfectly but substantially the Roster of Oriskany; families who flew from one stockade fort to another, went to church with their guns and ammunition ready for any emergency which might call for their use, in a struggle hand to hand with their oppressors, who finally achieved our independence.

And now, having achieved it, and for so long a time enjoyed its blessings, what shall we do to perpetuate and strengthen it? These stones laid one upon another will finally crumble to dust, and the thousand memories of this and the years past, filled as they have been with patriotic utterances, will be forgotten. But the monument of Horace, who sang the praises of the golden age, will live while time lasts. "I have builded a monument," he wrote, "more lasting than brass, and more sublime than the regal elevation of the Pyramids, which neither the wasting shower, the unavailing north wind, or an innumerable succession of years and the flight of seasons, shall be able to demolish."* Was he forecasting in this singularly prophetic language the destiny of our Republic? If so, we have something to do to make good his words and give practical shape to these stirring sentences.

*Exegi monumentum aere perennius, Regalique situ pyramidum altus. Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens. Possit diuere aut innumerabilis, Annorum series et fuga temporum.

APPENDIX.

THE ORISKANY ROSTER,

AS INSCRIBED ON THE BRONZE TABLET.

Brigadier General.

Nicolaus Herchheimer.

Colonels.

Peter Bellinger,
Ebenezer Cox,
Jacob G. Klock,
Frederick Visscher.

Lieut. Colonels.

Friedrich Bellinger,
Samuel Campbell,
Peter Wagner,
Heinrich Walrath.

Brigade Major.

Johann Frey.

Majors.

John Blevin,
John Eisenlord,
Enos Klappsattel,
John Newkirk,
Wilhelm Sieber.
Harmanus Van Slyck.

Surgeons.

Dr. Wilhelm Petry,
Dr. Moses Younglove.

Captains.

Jacob Baumann,
George H. Bell,
Johann Brodbeck,
Adam Copeman,
John James Davis,
Wilhelm Deichert,
Johann Demuth,
Heinrich Diefendorf,
Andreas Dillenbach,
Christoph P. Fox,
Christoph W. Fox,
Jacob Gardinier,
Christian Haus,
Friedrich Helmer,
Georg Herchheimer,
Samuel Pettingall,
Nicolaus Rector,
Jacob Sieber,
John Visscher,
Robert Yates.

Lieutenants.

Joseph Bailey,
Robert Campbell,
Samuel Clyde,
Samuel Gardinier,
Samuel Gray,
Peter Groot,
Jost Haus,
Georg Helmer,
Peter Loucks,
Daniel McMaster,
Dietrich M. Petrie.
Han Jost Petrie,
Wilhelm Petrie,
Richard Putman,
Abram D. Quackenbush,
Johann Jost Scholl,
Jeremiah Swart,
Heinrich Timmermann,
Martin C. Van Alstyne,
Jacob Voltz,
Peter Wagner, Jr.

Privates.

Jacob Alter,
Abram Arndt,
Melchert Bauder,
Jacob Baumann,
Adam Bellinger,
Johann Bellinger,
Wilhelm P. Bellinger,
George Henry Bell,
Joseph Bell,
Nicholas Bell,
Peter Berge,
Samuel Billington,

Johann Boyer,
Major Blauwaldt,
Naome Brooks,
Jacob Clemens,
Samuel Cone,
Peter Covenhoven,
Isaak Covenhoven,
John Cook,
William Cox,
Jacob Collier,
Andrew Cunningham,
Benjamin Davis,
Martinus Davis,
Thomas Davy,
Johann Dachstadter,
Heindrich Decker,
Emanuel DeGraaf,
Georg Deichert,
Johann Deichert,
Peter S. Deichert,
Johann Diefendorf.
Peter Dorn,
Garret Dunckel,
Nicolaus Dunckel,
Peter Dunckel,
Peter Ehle,
William Ehle,
Jacob Empie,
Johann Eyster,
Jacob Fehling,
Heinrich Fehling,
Heinrich N. Fehling,
Conrad Voltz,
Peter Voltz,
Adam Fonda,
Karl Fox,
Christoph Fox,
Friedrich Fox,
Peter Fox,
Wilhelm Fox,
Valentin Froelich,
Samuel Gardinier,
Georg Goertner,
——— Graves,
Nicholaus Gray,
Silas Gray,
Lorenz Gross,
Conrad Hahn,
William Hall,
Marcus Hand,
Heinrich Harter,
Johann A. Harter,
Johann Adam Helmer,
——— Hiller,
Christian Hufnagel,
Abel Hunt,
John Huyck,
Judah Jones,
Andreas Keller,
Jacob Keller,
Solomon Keller,
Adam Kessler,
Jacob Kessler,
Johann Kessler,
Conrad Kilts,
Peter Kilts,
Jacob Klapsattel,
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Robert Kraus,
Francis Lighthall,
George Lighthall.
George Lindner,
Heinrich Lohnus,
Solomon Longshore,
Conrad Mauer,
——— Mauer.
——— Mauer,
Jacob Merkel,
Wilhelm Merkel,
Jacob Meyer,
Jost Meyer,
Adam Müller,
Heinrich Müller,
Jelles Müller,
Johann P. Müller,
David Murray,
Christian Nellis,
Johann D. Nellis,
Phillip Nellis,
Peter Nestel,
Garret Newkirk,
Friedrich Eyer.
Isaak Paris, (Member Prov. Congress,)
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Johann Petrie,

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Joseph Petrie,
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Nicolaus Pickard,
Adam Price,
Martinus Putman,
Jacob Radner,
Georg Raspnor,
Friedrich Rasbach,
Marx Rasbach,
Jacob Ritter,
Willard Rose,
Johann Roth,
Johannes Ruf,
Jacob Sammons,
Samson Sammons,
Henry Saunders,
Wilhelm Schaefer,
Johann Schell,
Christian Schell,
Christian Scherer,
Pedagogus Scherer,
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Heinrich Scholl,
Georg Schultz,
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Thomas Schumacher,
Heinrich Seitz,
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George Van Deusen,
Cornelius Van Horn,
Henry Van Horn,
Nicholaus Van Slyke,
Hendrick Veeder,
Harmon Visscher,
Georg Wagner,
Jacob Wagner,
Johann Wagner,
Johann Wagner,
Garret Walrath,
Jacob Walrath,
Georg Walter,
Jacob Weber,
Peter J. Weber,
Peter Westermann,
Michael Wiedrich,
Abram Wohlhoefer,
Johann Wohlhoefer,
Peter Wohlhoefer,
Richard Wohlhoefer,
Lorenz Wrenkle,
Robert Yates,
Nicholaus Yerdon,
Jacob Yonker,
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Jacob Zimmermann,
Conrad Zimmermann,
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Lt. Colonel Louis Atyataronghta, Indian officer.

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Amount brought forward,		$6,873 50
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Amount carried forward,	$771 00	$6,887 87

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877.
2. Historical Fallacies regarding Colonial New York, by Douglas Campbell. Annual Address: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome, by D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society and Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida County, by William Tracy. Annual Address: 1880.
6. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, Paris Re-interment and Papers read before the Society from 1878 to 1881: 1881.
7. Semi Centennial of the City of Utica and Supper of Half-Century Club: 1882.
8. A Long Lost Point in History, by L. W. Ledyard. Annual Address: 1883.
9. Col. John Brown, by Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof: 1884.
10. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, Wagner Re-interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885.

ADDRESSES BEFORE THE SOCIETY SINCE APRIL, 1881.

1881. May 31.—Early History of Mohawk Valley: Rev. Dr. Lintner. Read by C. W. Hutchinson.
December 7.—Golden Age of Whitesboro: D. E. Wager.
1882. January 10.—New York Historical Society. Annual Address: Dr. M. M. Bagg.
February to May.—Golden Age of Whitesboro: D. E. Wager.
1883. January 9.—A Long Lost Point in History. Annual Address: L. W. Ledyard.
April 10.—Extracts from Journal of a first Sandwich Island Missionary: Mrs. Maria S. Loomis. Read by A. Seward.
May 8.—Political Poem: John H. Lothrop. Read by M. M. Bagg.
June 5.—Antiquities of Onondaga: Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.
September 11.—Eulogy on George P. Marsh: Rev. Dr. S. G. Brown.
October 9.—Familiar Talk about Mexico: Dr. E. Hutchinson.
November 13.—The Streets of Utica: L. M. Taylor.
December 11.—Cannibalism: C. W. Darling.
1884. January 15.—Social System of our New York Indians. Annual Address: Rev. Dr. Charles Hawley.
February 12.—Ancient Utica: Geo. C. Sawyer.
March 31.—Memorial of S. Wells Williams: T. W. Seward.
Extracts from Military Journal of Col. Frederick Visscher: S. G. Visscher.
April 28.—Col. John Brown: Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof.
November 24.—Fort Stanwix and other Forts at Rome: D. E. Wager.
1885. January 13.—The Greek Idea of the State. Annual Address: Prof. Edward North.

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1886.

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EARLY PROTESTANT MISSIONS AMONG THE IROQUOIS.

BY PROFESSOR A. G. HOPKINS OF HAMILTON COLLEGE.

[DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JANUARY 12, 1886.]

Gentlemen of the Oneida Historical Society:

I am to attempt this evening to tell the story of early Protestant missions to the Iroquois. The facts are meager, scattered and often obscure. No series of detailed reports like the relations of the Jesuit fathers has preserved the story. The fragments of it that are left are scattered and buried in a mass of mercantile and political documents. The story of the Jesuit missions has been already told, and so long as hearts are capable of being thrilled by the record of noble deeds, that story can never lose its interest. There was Brebeuf, the founder of the Huron mission, a very lion for courage, of noble birth, heroic temper and ardent piety. There was Garnier, also of noble birth; gentle, pious, mystical, a martyr, like Brebeuf, to his self-sacrificing zeal. There, too, was Jogues, a gentle nature and a finished scholar; naturally timid, but bold under the inspiration of his faith, going back to his savage torturers with a courage nobler than that of Regulus, to found the "mission of the martyrs," and to meet a cruel death. These men and others like them form a galaxy of heroes which will not pale in comparison with any other catalogue of patriots, saints or martyrs. The story of the Protestant missions furnishes no such heroic record of suffering and death. Indeed we must admit at the outset that it is a story in which the prelude and the promise are abundant, but the results very meager. We must also admit that the considerations which gave birth to Protestant missions were not of the noblest and most inspiring order, but were largely commercial and political. And this was true also to a certain extent of the Jesuit missions. At the outset, the Jesuits undoubtedly entered upon their labors prompted only by a holy and religious zeal. But afterward the missions were prosecuted with a political purpose, and the French government made use of

the Jesuits to fasten their grasp upon the Iroquois and upon the country south of the lakes. The Five Nations were the stake for which the French and English, during nearly a century, played their desperate game. The stake was a noble one. A superior intelligence, a marked political and military instinct, an insatiable passion for conquest and a merciless spirit in the conduct of war, had rendered the name of the Iroquois dreaded wherever it was known, and had made them the dominant power in North America. By a series of aggressive wars, they had exterminated, or rendered tributary to themselves, or incorporated in their own body, all of the native tribes east of the Mississippi. In 1663, when the Mohegans wished to build a fort, they first obtained the consent of the Mohawks. In 1751, when the Susquehannas wished to receive a missionary, they first asked permission from the Mohawks, and for years the sight of a Mohawk in New England was followed by a shout of terror, "A Mohawk! a Mohawk!" and the frightened natives fled for shelter. They were for years the terror and the scourge of the French settlements in Canada, and had their anger been aroused against the Dutch or English, they might have swept the whole colony into the Atlantic. To gain the Iroquois, therefore, was the end that taxed the powers of the rival nations. The French played their game with patience, adroitness and courage, availing themselves of every influence, appealing to noble and ignoble passions, and enlisting in their service even the terrors of the unseen world. The English, on the other hand, acted with stupidity, irresolution, procrastination, deserving to lose, yet fated to win.

The Jesuit fathers had labored among the Iroquois for at least half a century, before the English made any definite attempt at mission work; and it was the political influence of the Jesuits which first aroused the colonial governors to the necessity of exerting some counteracting influence upon the Iroquois. In 1687, Governor Dongan in his report, speaking of the Five Nations, said: "I suffer no Christians to converse with them anywhere but at Albany, and that not without my license." He adds that the French for many years had had missionaries among the Iroquois; had converted many to the Christian faith; and had induced six or seven hundred of them to remove to Canada, "to the great prejudice of this government." Governor Dongan is spoken of as "a man of integrity, moderation and genteel manners, though a professed papist." He was the nephew of the notorious Tyrconnel, deputy governor of Ireland under James the Second, and

Dongan was appointed to office by James with the express purpose of extending the Catholic religion in the colonies. But though a zealous Catholic, Dongan was also a loyal Englishman, and he saw with indignation and alarm the encroachments of the French on the territory south of the lakes. In the year 1686, Governor Dongan and the Marquis De Nonville exchanged frequent letters, in which, under cover of courteous language, strong rivalry and bitterness of feeling were shown. They each asserted with considerable warmth, that their royal masters were extremely zealous for the progress of the true religion among the pagans. The question of spiritual good to the natives, however, was largely a subterfuge. The real interests at stake were first, the control of this powerful and warlike confederacy, and second, the question of territorial rights. The French denied that the English had any claim whatever to the land or the people of the Five Nations—a statement which Governor Dongan treated rather cavalierly. "You tell me of your having had missionaries among them," he writes to De Nonville. "It is a very charitable act; but I suppose that gives no just right to the government of a country. Father Bryare writes that the King of China never goes anywhere without two Jesuits with him. I wonder why you do not make a like pretense to that kingdom."

The persistent intrigues of the French and the constant desertions of the Iroquois to Canada finally led Dongan to attempt to prohibit all intercourse on the part of the Iroquois with the Jesuit fathers. He urged upon the committee of trade the absolute necessity of having five or six English priests sent over at once. He also wishes the Canadian governor to caution Lamberville—the Jesuit missionary to the Onondagas—to confine his activities strictly to his priestly functions, and that those of the Iroquois who had become Catholics and were living in Canada should not attempt to draw others after them, "for if they do," said he, "and I can catch any of them, I shall handle them very severely." But that which terminated the Jesuit missions to the Iroquois was the treachery of the French themselves. The ceaseless wars of the Iroquois with other tribes, and their inveterate hatred of the French—dating from their first conflict with Champlain in 1609—had exposed the Jesuit missions in other quarters to the wrath of the confederacy, and had caused their ruin. The constant cry on the part of the French, both officials and ecclesiastics, was, that the mission could never succeed until the Iroquois were either completely humbled or destroyed. As

tributary to this end, a thoroughly organized campaign was meditated, and Louis XIV had directed that prisoners taken from the Five Nations should be sent over (Shades of the Iroquois!) to labor in his galleys. De Nonville, in his zeal to carry out his majesty's orders, anticipated the verdict of war, and treacherously seized a number of the chiefs of the Five Nations who had been induced to attend what they supposed to be a friendly interview. At this act of folly and treachery the wrath of the Iroquois burst forth. Lamberville, the Jesuit father, had lived for twenty years among the Onondagas. He had won their confidence, and they were willing, generously, to believe that he was not implicated in the treachery of his countrymen. And instead of dispatching him with the tomahawk, as belonging to a faithless and a hated race, he was conducted by trusty guides through the forest, and sent on his way in safety. "Thus," says Brodhead, "the French missions among the Iroquois were closed, by an act of the Canadian governor, the insanity of which was hardly relieved by the self-denying virtues of those faithful devotees, who had labored so long to spread Christianity through western New York." For twenty-five years the Iroquois were left without any regular religious instruction by resident missionaries from either Catholics or Protestants. Yet during all of this time the necessity of Protestant missions to the Iroquois was constantly before the minds of the public. The question is a prominent one in all the correspondence of the time. It was emphasized in the letters of the colonial governors by Fletcher, and the Earl of Bellamont and Nanfan, by Robert Livingstone and Lord Cornbury. It was discussed by the assembly of New York and by the lords of trade. Nothing apparently was of more urgent interest or importance. Among the instructions to the Earl of Bellamont was this: "To devise the best means to facilitate and encourage the conversion of the Indians to the Christian religion." It was not, as we have seen, a mere question of pious interest in the spiritual welfare of a savage. It was a question for the soldier and the statesman, as well as for ecclesiastics. The two bribes constantly presented to the Iroquois to secure their quiet and confidence, were first, presents, and second, the promise of a teacher of the Christian religion. In 1696 the lords of trade in their report, say that "the converting of the Mohawks and others of the Five Nations is of the greatest importance imaginable." In 1698 the Earl of Bellamont urged that three hundred pounds per annum of the money paid on the charter corporation for the conversion of infidels,

might be used to encourage Protestant divines to instruct the Five Nations. In the same year Messrs. Schuyler and Dellius, after an official visit to Canada, reported that "if the court of England do not take to heart the instruction and conversion of the Indians the Five Nations will not fail to be lost." In 1700, Robert Livingstone, in giving his opinion as to the principal causes of the desertion of the Iroquois to Canada, mentions, "Our neglect of sending missionaries among them to instruct them in the Christian faith." One important end aimed at by the English was the return of the Iroquois—several hundred in number—who had been tempted away to Canada by the Jesuits, and were known as "praying Indians;" and to secure this object also the religious teacher was the bribe which was offered. These "praying Indians" promised Captain Schuyler in 1698 that "they would return to their former habitations if my Lord Bellamont would take care that they might be furnished with good teachers or ministers to instruct them in the Christian faith, that having been the only cause which did induce them to desert this government."

In 1700 some of the "praying Indians," in an interview at Albany were urged by the commissioner to return to their homes. The Indians replied in substance and with suitable irony, "When we were with you we heard no talk of converting us to the Christian faith. We are glad that you are now so piously inclined. If you had begun a little sooner we might never have deserted our native country."

Meanwhile the Iroquois were clamoring for missionaries. How genuine this interest may have been will of course admit of a liberal doubt. Still they felt that they had not been fairly treated. The missionaries had been promised, and they wanted the promise made good. The Mohawks expressed to Colonel Schuyler their surprise that the English could not send one minister to instruct them, while the French could send so many Jesuits to their Indians. The Earl of Bellamont was probably doing the best that he could to make good his promise. "The want of two ministers," he wrote in 1700, "has done us a vast deal of prejudice with the Indians. I can find none in this country that will go among them, and that are qualified for such a charge." A few months later Bellamont wrote to the lords of trade urging them "to send over two ministers as soon as possibly can be, or we shall hazard the loss of our Indians; they press for ministers above all things whatsoever." Bellamont was also very clear and intelligent as to the kind of men who were needed. "They ought to be young men,

or they never will be able to learn the Indian tongue. They must be men of sober and exemplary lives and good scholars." Yet the difficulty was to find men of any kind for the service. There was no Church of England minister at Albany, and only one in New York. Even a quarter of a century later Governor Burnet wrote that in the province of New York there were not Church of England ministers in half the counties, and that no record of christenings or burials was possible. But while all of this agitation and urgent correspondence was going on, some feeble and perhaps doubtful efforts were made in other quarters toward missions among the Iroquois. During the last decade of the seventeenth century, the Rev. Godfrey Dellius, the Dutch minister at Albany, is said to have been very successful in converting many of them to the true religion, "in which," says a document of 1691, "they are very devout and desirous to have a minister settled among them for their pious comfort and instruction." The real name of this gentleman seems to have been Dell, but in accordance with the scholastic customs of the times, he had given a classical termination to his name, and was known as Dellius. There is nothing to indicate that the labors of Mr. Dellius were very zealous or very successful among the Mohawks. He was unwilling to live in their country; he had little familiarity with their language, and he doubtless contented himself for the most part with baptizing and teaching the children, and giving what Christian instruction he could to the Indians who resorted frequently and in considerable numbers to Albany. Indeed there were grave suspicions that Mr. Dellius was quite as shrewd in the management of worldly as of spiritual affairs. He forfeited the confidence of the people of Albany; the Earl of Bellamont did not hesitate openly and constantly to denounce him as a rascal, and when Joseph and Henry, two of his own converts, came forward and charged him with intrigue and deception in getting possession of some of their lands, he discreetly abandoned his ecclesiastical labors and fled over sea.

After the departure of Mr. Dellius, the Indians, by no means discouraged by their experience, continued to affirm their preference for the Protestant faith and to urge their request for a resident missionary. The Earl of Bellamont was eager and active in his efforts to bring this about. He was affluent in promises. He had sent to England for ministers; he was expecting them very soon. The case was one which required constant vigilance and delicate management. The French were ceaseless in their intrigues.

The arguments which they used were food for the hungry and clothing for the naked. Against these powerful attractions and temptations, the colonial governors had nothing to oppose but hopes and promises, and the miserable, exasperating policy of the British government which doled out its presents to the Indians in the most niggardly manner.

But until these promises could be made good, another Dutch clergyman was to stand in the gap and carry on the work which Dellius had in a manner begun. This was Rev. Bernard Freeman, of Schenectady, who was apparently settled there by the Earl of Bellamont in 1700. His lordship was hopeful of much good from this arrangement. Mr. Freeman would be near the Mohawks; and as the Indians passed through Schenectady on their way to Albany he would take pains to teach them. He was diligently applying himself to learn the language, and Bellamont hoped that in a year's time he would be able to preach to them. He also promised that another minister—a learned and able young man—would settle in their country before winter. For about five years Mr. Freeman labored with the Indians faithfully and with some success. He was spoken of in after years, as having "acquired more skill in the language of the Iroquois than any Dutch minister that has been in this country." He translated a great part of the liturgy into the Indian tongue—in particular, morning and evening prayers, the litany, the creed of Athanasius, besides several portions of the Old and New Testaments. When he read the litany to the Indians "they were mightily affected with it." By his fidelity he won the approval of the Earl of Bellamont, and shortly after he began his work he wrote to Bellamont that there were thirty-six of the Mohawks who had embraced the Christian faith, "ten of whom by the grace of God are brought over through my means, for I found but twenty-six." Mr. Freeman also won the confidence and regard of the Indians, for in 1710, when there seemed to be an immediate prospect of the appointment of two missionaries to the Iroquois they begged that Mr. Freeman, who was then at Flatbush, might be one of those sent. But even while Mr. Freeman was at Schenectady the Indians were hardly satisfied with the provisions made for their religious instruction. Schenectady was only a place of transit; Albany was the terminus of their travels, where they remained some time to trade. They asked, therefore, that a minister might be established at Albany, also. In response to the request Bellamont promised that he would engage Rev. Mr. Lydius, the Dutch minister at Albany, who would

study their language "that he might the better serve them in the work of the gospel." He hoped in a short time to have the Bible translated for the Five Nations, and their children taught to read. Mr. Lydius was allowed by the council of New York a salary of sixty pounds a year for his work in instructing the Indians, and apparently labored in this way for about eight years. His death in 1710 left the Five Nations without any one to act as their teacher or missionary. Though Mr. Lydius is spoken of as a good and pious man, and though he seems to have labored with commendable zeal, yet the number of converts had apparently not increased. In 1700 Mr. Freeman had reported thirty-six. In 1710 Rev. Thomas Barclay wrote to the society for the propagation of the gospel that there were among the Indians "about thirty communicants, and of the Dutch church, but so ignorant and scandalous that they can scarce be reputed Christians." Indeed, as we might expect, both Catholic and Protestant missionaries had discovered that the assent of the Indians to the truths of the Christian religion was too often formal and meaningless. With a stolid indifference they nodded or grunted their acceptance of whatever was said to them, too indolent to argue or object.

We have noticed that mission work has thus far been carried on only upon the skirts of the Five Nations, or as the Indians came to Schenectady or Albany for the purpose of trade. The inducements for a permanent residence in the Iroquois country were anything but flattering. The perquisites of the position were not only the most offensive surroundings, but also constant peril to life from violent and drunken Indians, as well as from the French. The fastidious Earl of Bellamont affirmed that the Indians were not tidy in their persons; that their table manners were not nice; and that their food was loathsome to the last degree. Without a fort it was impossible to prevail upon a minister to live among the Indians. So Bellamont told the lords of trade; so he told the Five Nations. The same state of affairs, however, continued for several years longer. The Iroquois kept asking for resident missionaries, and missionaries were promised with unfailing regularity. In 1709 Robert Hunter received his instructions as colonial governor of New York, and among them there appears the traditional and familiar item, that he is to "make provision for the maintenance of some ministers to inhabit among the Five Nations of Indians." From this time on, there seems to be some growth in the project of sending Protestant missionaries to the Iroquois. I have given no account in this narrative of the Mission of Rev.

Mr. Moor to the Five Nations, because though heralded at considerable length, it was utterly fruitless. Mr. Moor came to this country in 1704. His services had been secured, as we are told, "not without a great deal of pains and time spent to that purpose." He was to have one hundred pounds a year; a little house was to be built for him; twenty pounds beside were allowed to furnish the house, and ten or fifteen pounds for books. He was also to be provided with the luxury of two servants to attend upon him. The queen herself was to allow him twenty pounds, and to encourage him and all similar volunteers, there was held out the prospect of a benefice in England after a certain number of years' service. Mr. Moor, on his arrival, was directed by Lord Cornbury to proceed to Albany. He visited the Mohawks in the autumn of 1704. They were not ready to receive him, and with his return to Albany his mission came to an end. The failure of his enterprise was charged upon the fur traders. They were opposed to the introduction of religion among the Indians, probably because it tended to wean them from the hunter's life, and so to interfere with the trade.

In 1710 an incident occurred, which, though its purpose was entirely political, seems naturally to have awakened some interest in the minds of the English, in the attempt to civilize and Christianize the Five Nations. The Indians were somewhat disposed to compare the English and the French to the disadvantage of the former, saying that the King of France ruled part of a continent, while the Queen of England governed only a small island. Colonel Peter Schuyler was a man whose influence over the Indians and knowledge of their character has never been surpassed, and in order to impress the natives with the wealth and power of the English government, in 1710 he persuaded five of the Iroquois sachems to accompany him, and sailed with them to England. Their appearance and the impression which they produced has been described by many writers. Their visit was commemorated by Steele in *Tattler* and by Addison in the *Spectator*. They were stared at by the crowd; they were feted and dined; they had an audience with the queen, and in fine, they produced a sensation which has not been surpassed by any of the savages of later times, not even excepting Cetewayo himself. The Indians seem to have taken advantage of this visit to make a personal and public application that missionaries might be sent among them. And though the delegation was composed only of Mohawks, yet on their return the application was ratified by the sachems of the

Five Nations in an interview with Governor Hunter. In 1711 the contract was made for building forts in the countries of the Mohawks and Onondagas. Several months later Governor Hunter wrote that the buildings were well advanced, and that it was high time to think of missionaries for the service. In October, 1712, the missionary for the Mohawks had arrived. The theory was pretty well established by this time, as Colonel Heathcote had expressed it, that the missionaries to the Indians must be men who could endure hardship, who were able and willing to live with the Indians, in their own country, and according to their way and manner. On the 14th of November, 1712, an interview was held between the commissioners of Indian affairs and the sachems of the Mohawks. Rev. Mr. Andrews, the newly arrived missionary, was also present, and Rev. Thomas Barclay, minister of the English church in Albany. Mr. Andrews told the Indians "that in response to their request he had left his dearest friends and relatives and undergone a very tedious and dangerous voyage to come over to them and instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion." The sachem of the upper castle of the Mohawks welcomed Mr. Andrews with thanks to the queen, and taking his hand pledged him protection and encouragement in his work. Hendrick, the great Mohawk sachem, who had been to England with Colonel Schuyler, and who afterward fell bravely fighting in the battle of Lake George, was also present. He welcomed Mr. Andrews cordially, and thanked him for his coming. With a little apprehension, which was doubtless born of past experience, he begged that none of their land should be clandestinely bought from them, and that they might not be subjected to the hardship of paying tithes, like the converts of the Jesuits in Canada. Indeed the Iroquois had heard strange stories of the treatment of the Catholic Indians, and they had an amusing though pathetic fear of ecclesiastical power. "When we are instructed in the Christian religion," they said, "let not such severities be used as the Jesuits do in Canada, who whip their proselytes with an iron chain, cut the women's hair off, put the men in prison, and when the men commit any filthy sin the priest takes his opportunity, and beats them when they are asleep." Mr. Andrews assured them that he had not come to take their lands, nor to lay any burdens upon them, but to instruct them in the true religion. The commissioners promised to provide sleighs and horses to convey the goods of Mr. Andrews to the Mohawk country, and to pay the charge for transportation.

The Mohawks already had a little chapel made of bark, and as early as 1701 they had petitioned the Earl of Bellamont for a larger and more substantial building, which he had promised. It had never been built, however, and Mr. Andrews doubtless conducted public service with the meager advantages which the bark shanty afforded. What his success or what his discouragements may have been, we can only imagine. We are told in one place that "he had not greater success among the natives than his predecessor." The statement seems to refer to Mr. Moor, whose ludicrous missionary campaign among the Mohawks we have already noticed; and if such be the comparison intended, the success of Mr. Andrews was of a character so doubtful and microscopic that it was scarcely worth recording. He doubtless experienced the same difficulties which were so formidable half a century later, and which ever since have operated so unfavorably to any attempts to educate or Christianize the Indians. One of these difficulties was their unsettled condition of life; the fact that they were wedded to the roaming life of the hunter, so that during considerable portions of the year the men were absent from home. A second obstacle was their insatiable passion for strong drink. It may be also, that "the lust of the eyes and the pride of life," even as within the borders of civilization, were a bar to the best results. Governor Hunter urged them in 1714 to give ear to the "good and pious man" who was laboring for their welfare; but when they considered what fine clothes the Christians have when they go to church, and that "we can not purchase Sunday clothes but would be obliged to go to church in an old bear skin or a deer skin," some of them concluded to put off going to church until goods were cheaper. Mr. Andrews remained among the Mohawks until the year 1719. Rev. John Stuart, "the last missionary to the Mohawks," speaking of Mr. Andrews, says that "he soon abandoned the place." Yet Governor Hunter writing to the lords of trade in 1718, nearly seven years after the contract had been made to build the forts says: "The fort was built and there has been a garrison and a missionary there ever since it was built." It is possible that the fort was not built at once after issuing the contract, and that therefore Mr. Andrews' term of service was relatively shortened, and as he was the first, so he was for many years the last Protestant missionary who resided among the Mohawks. For many years afterwards the society for propagating the gospel was content with imitating the policy of the government and allowing a small stipend to their clergyman at Albany,

to act as missionary to the Mohawks, in which capacity he did them very little good. In the year 1712 Rev. Peter Van Driesen became pastor of the Dutch church at Albany. Soon after entering upon his work, he was requested by the Mohawks to continue in the same service toward them which his predecessors, Dellius and Lydius had rendered. In a petition to Governor Burnet in 1722 Mr Van Driesen claimed that he had performed this service ever since his settlement with the exception of the time when Mr. Andrews was in the field; and he begged his excellency to assist him in his services, the cost of which he had thus far borne himself. Governor Burnet was the son of that large-minded and eminently distinguished English churchman, who is best known perhaps as the author of the "History of the Reformation" and the "History of His Own Times." His predecessors such as Sloughter, Ingoldsby, Fletcher, Cornbury, had been military men. William Burnet had been bred to civil life; is said to have been polite, sociable and intelligent, and we may fairly suppose that some portion of the devout and Catholic spirit of the father had fallen upon the son. We know but little of what his influence may have been upon mission work among the Iroquois; but in his order, granting a license to Mr. Van Driesen to build "a public meeting house in the Mohawk country for the solemn worship of God," we may recognize a spirit at least somewhat different from that of the trader or mere soldier. When Mr. Van Driesen ceased his ministration to the Mohawks is not exactly clear; but so far as appears they were left without any religious instruction for a period of nearly fifteen years. In the conferences with the Indians during this period, nothing is said on either side with regard to missionaries. They ask for the blacksmith and the armorer, but not the preacher. They complain that goods are too dear; that the traders swindle them; and that rum, which is their ruin, is altogether too abundant and too poor. In a report on the state of the British plantations in America in 1721, the commissioners lament that "our zeal for propagating the Christian faith in parts beyond the seas, hath not hitherto, much enlarged the pale of the British church amongst those poor infidels, or in any sort contributed to promote the interests of the state in America." In a memorial to Governor Burnet in 1724 Mr. Colden took occasion to contrast the indifference of the English with the missionary zeal of the French. The zeal of the Jesuits overcame all obstacles. They were beginning to regain some of their former influence among the Five Nations. The Mohawks had again begun to desert their homes

and to live near Montreal, and sachems of the Iroquois appeared in Albany, wearing the crucifix upon their breasts. Although Robert Livingstone had written as early as 1703 that not only the Mohawks, but also the Senecas and Onondagas were ready to be instructed in the Christian faith, yet among the poor savages themselves there was some confusion and uncertainty on the subject. Among the Onondagas in 1702, half of the tribe were inclined to have a French Jesuit for their teacher, and the other half opposed to it, and rather inclined to have a Protestant minister. The chief sachem of the Onondagas, in his bewilderment, said to the French and English: "You both tell us to be Christians; you make us so mad we know not which side to choose." And then, with a practical inference that the tree may be known by its fruits, he adds: "I will speak no more of praying or of Christianity, but we are come to this conclusion; those that sell their goods the cheapest, whether English or French of them we will have a minister."

After the close of Mr. Van Driesen's occasional ministrations to the Mohawks, we hear no more of mission work among them until 1736. In this year, in Lieutenant Governor Clark's report to the lords of trade, among the acts reported as approved by him is this: "An act for paying sixty pounds to Mr. Barclay." This was Rev. Henry Barclay, son of Thomas Barclay, the first Episcopal minister in the city of Albany. Governor Clark adds that Mr. Barclay "had applied himself to the learning of the Indian language; had taught the Indian children to read and write and brought many others over to the Christian religion." He was appointed catechist to the Mohawks in 1736; shortly afterward he went to England and took orders; was appointed missionary to Albany and Fort Hunter in 1738 and continued his labors there and among the Mohawks until 1746. He had many difficulties to contend with. He had no interpreter; his support was scanty; his life was frequently in danger and the Jesuits were constantly intriguing with the Mohawks. Yet at his departure his congregation consisted of five hundred Indians of whom more than eighty were regular communicants, which was more than double the number he found at his first coming. Chief Justice Smith in speaking of the labors of Mr. Barclay and of what he regarded as a mistaken policy of the missionary society, said: "If the English society for propagating the gospel instead of maintaining missionaries in rich Christian congregations along the continent, expended half the amount of their annual contributions on

evangelists among the heathen, besides the unspeakable religious benefits that would accrue to the natives, such a proceeding would conduce greatly to the safety of our colonies and his majesty's service." During the residence of Mr. Barclay among the Mohawks and in return for his services in "daily preaching good things" to them, the tribe presented him with a piece of land "very conveniently situated near the garrison." This piece of land Mr. Barclay claimed he had purchased, and he laid out a considerable sum of money in building upon it. Probably the claim was true. But unfortunately, on the departure of Mr. Barclay, some question arose as to the title of the property. The Mohawks insisted that they had no intention of alienating the land, but designed it as a "glebe for his use while he lived among them as a missionary, and afterwards, for the use of his successors." The complaint was still standing and the case unsettled at least eight years later. Such cases of misunderstanding, which were certainly very unfortunate in connection with the growing jealousy of the Iroquois at the intrusion of foreigners, must have contributed somewhat toward nullifying the effect of Christian instruction. Yet the Mohawks begged Governor Clinton to furnish them at once with another teacher, but to provide "that no person whatsoever be admitted to buy one foot of our flats either at the Mohawks or at Canajoharie."

In the year 1748 the people of New England became interested in missions to the Iroquois, and Messrs. Spencer, Woodbridge and Hawley visited the Mohawks. Mr. Spencer, who went among the Mohawks in 1748, remained but a short time, and it is only recorded of him that he could not surmount the obstacles which he encountered. In 1752, in the "old south meeting house" of Boston, Rev. Gideon Hawley was publicly set apart to the work of an evangelist among the western Indians. He entered upon the work at Stockbridge under the patronage of Jonathan Edwards. A few families of the Iroquois from the Mohawks, Oneidas, and Tuscaroras were in the habit of coming to Stockbridge for the sake of Christian knowledge and the schooling of their children. Mr. Hawley was their schoolmaster and preached to them on the Sabbath. Even the great theologian sometimes addressed the simple children of the forest. A strange sight it must have been to see that profound and extraordinary man, accustomed to grapple with the most abstruse problems in philosophy and religion laying aside the language of the schools and speaking the truths of the gospel to untutored savages in the simplest terms. "To Indians,"

says Mr. Hawley, "he was a very plain and practical preacher. His sentences were concise and full of meaning, and his delivery was grave and natural." Mr. Hawley made a short visit to the Mohawk country in the fall of 1752. After being deserted by his Indian guide, and losing his way in the midst of a dreadful storm, he arrived at Albany; pushed on from there to the homes of the Mohawks; spent apparently but one night with them, gave a few presents to the children, invited the Indians to Stockbridge and started home. At Albany he found Rev. Mr. Ogilvie, the successor in the Episcopal church of Rev. Henry Barclay. Mr. Ogilvie held the title of missionary to the Mohawks, and as such a salary was allowed him. He made his residence however in Albany, being regarded as chaplain of the fort. He spent little of his time with the Indians, and therefore he could do them but little good. Mr. Ogilvie is described by a lady who had often seen him at the home of Colonel Schuyler, as a man singularly prepossessing in his appearance, his address and manners entirely those of a gentleman, his reading extensive, his powers of conversation fine, and his knowledge of life thorough. He was a man of letters and society, and evidently more at home in the atmosphere of Albany than on the Mohawk flats.

After Mr. Hawley's return to Stockbridge and in view of the evident desire of the Mohawks for Christian instruction, it was agreed that he, together with Deacon Timothy Woodbridge, should set out again for the Indian country. Their departure on a mission to plant Christianity in a wilderness, "one hundred miles beyond any settlement of Christian people," awakened the interest of the whole town, and Jonathan Edwards, with his wife and others, accompanied them some distance into the woods. They left Albany on Friday, May 25, 1753, intending to pay their respects to Colonel Johnson and obtain his approval of their mission, and on the evening of the same day they were welcomed by the colonel in person at the gate of his stately mansion, which stood on rising ground, a little distance from the river. On Sunday, the 27th, they held a meeting at the Mohawk village, where Mr. Hawley preached. It was hardly a New England Sabbath, and the good parson was a little shocked at what he saw. "Those who are in the meeting behave devoutly in time of service; but without, they are at play. I have been at their meetings when the boys through the service, and even, at the celebration of the Lord's supper, have been playing bat and ball around the house of God. Coming out of the meeting we observed the lower orders at all sorts of recreation."

About this time, or a little earlier, the colonial officials began to urge once more the appointment of missionaries to the Iroquois. In 1751 Mr. Colden wrote to Governor Clinton saying that it would be of "great use to have missionary preachers settled in as many places as there can be funds found for their subsistence;" and he hoped that the societies in England for propagating the gospel would contribute to their utmost abilities. In 1754 Lieutenant Governor De Lancey wrote to the lords of trade that the Mohawks of the upper castle desired a church; that he should try to raise the funds, and if successful, would order a church built, which would serve as a fort also. The Mohawks wanted a church with a bell in it, "which, together with putting a stop to the selling of rum, will tend to make us religious." Colonel Johnson, in 1754, was also of the opinion that young men of learning should be sent to reside among the Onondagas, Senecas and Mohawks, to serve as interpreters, school masters and catechists. William Johnson was appointed by Governor Clinton to the charge of Indian affairs in 1746. No man since the time of Colonel Peter Schuyler had understood the Indian character better, or been able to manage them with more adroitness. No one ever enjoyed the confidence of the Indians more completely. He adopted their dress and used their language. No person before him, said Mr. Colden, had ever gained such influence with the Indians. His residence among the Mohawks had given him peculiar advantages in many respects. He had become the most considerable Indian trader, and since his appointment, most of the Indians who formerly came to Albany to trade got their supplies from Colonel Johnson. Though receiving no salary he had grown wealthy, like his great army of successors in modern times; and and when Rev. Gideon Hawley visited him in 1765, he found him living like a mediæval baron in a "very superb and elegant edifice," surrounded with little buildings for the accommodation of his Indian clients.

Though hardly a man of practical religious life himself, yet both from a political and religious point of view he appreciated the necessity of securing and encouraging missions to the Indians. He insisted from the outset on "a steady and uniform method of conduct and a religious regard to our engagements with the Indians." He urged that "every castle should be provided with a worthy person in the character of a minister of the gospel." "Two proper persons of unblemished characters" should be sent to the Oneidas and Onondagas, and from the success achieved

among the Mohawks he argued that much could be done among the other tribes. The French influence was still a source of great alarm, and "missionaries of approved character, abilities and zeal" should be sent to subvert that influence. It was charged that the French told the Indians that "the English were the people who crucified Jesus Christ;" and that "the books used by our missionaries were written by the devil." It was naturally true that the French made much of the failure of the English to send missionaries to the Iroquois, and claimed that it was due to indifference and irreligion. Much was expected from Sir William Johnson's interest in this matter. Colonel Babcock, in language somewhat rhetorical as well as biblical, thought that the career of Johnson was quite as remarkable as that of Joseph in the Old Testament, and that the preservation of his life was a clear proof that he was intended by Providence to lay the foundations of civilization and Christianity among the Indians. Falling into the biblical, historical and rhetorical strain once more, Colonel Babcock likened the labors of Johnson to those of Peter the Great among the Muscovites, and thought that like Solomon he might lay in the Mohawk country the foundations of a temple more useful than the splendid temple at Jerusalem; and that the queens of the Senecas, Oneidas and Mohawks might join with the Queen of Sheba in exclaiming that the half had not been told them.

But these pictures were rather highly colored, and there were serious difficulties in the way of making any progress in matters civil or religious. Not the least among these was the inordinate passion of the Indians for strong drink. It was the same condition of things which caused a protest against the English opium trade, and which has recently evoked an indignant remonstrance from the missionary societies of Germany. As far back as 1686 the difficulty was a serious one, and the Governor of Canada remonstrated with Governor Dongan as follows: "Think you, sir, that religion will progress while your merchants supply rum in abundance which converts the savages into demons?" Dongan parried the thrust for the time by deploring the evil of drunkenness, "Though certainly," he said, "our rum doth as little hurt as your brandy, and in the opinion of Christians, is much more wholesome." He admitted that to keep the Indians temperate was a "good and Christian performance; but to prohibit them all strong liquors seems a little hard and very Turkish." But the evil had since then grown to frightful proportions. Johnson pro-

tested against it. The Indians begged that the sale of liquors might be prohibited except at Albany or Oswego, since they were powerless to resist it when brought to them. The traders went everywhere and always took rum. Some took nothing but rum, and their profits were enormous. In Samuel Kirkland's journal for 1769, speaking of the manner of celebrating Christmas day on the Mohawk, he says: "They generally assemble for reading prayers or divine service, but after, they eat, drink and make merry. Drinking, swearing, fighting and frolicking are not only allowed, but seem to be essential to the joy of the day." In 1755 Johnson urged upon Lieutenant Governor DeLancey the passage of an act of legislature prohibiting the sale of rum to Indians. Even as late as 1770 Johnson "knew of no law for restraining the sale of that pernicious liquor even during public business," and thought that the matter required immediate attention of the American legislature.

But while the Indians were complaining that rum was too abundant and missionaries too few; and while Sir William Johnson was saying that from the scarcity of clergymen or of funds, the society was unable to send any missionaries to the Iroquois; and while Dr. Inglis and the lords of trade and Sir William Johnson and others were corresponding and suggesting and devising; and while, above all, various men of wisdom and of rank were employing their valuable time and their superior abilities in the consideration of such gigantic schemes as the appointment of a bishop for America, a plan which, according to our biblical authority, Colonel Babcock, would shut out the Presbyterians, "those splenetic and frightened enthusiasts," who were "tucking and squeezing in every possible crevice they can, their missionaries to the Indians"—while all this was going on, a young man from Princeton College had undertaken on his own behalf, to carry the gospel to the Six Nations.

Samuel Kirkland had pursued his preparatory studies at the school of Dr. Wheelock at Lebanon, where he doubtless had as his companions a number of Indian youth, and learned something of the Mohawk language. In 1761, at the age of twenty, having apparently just finished his studies at Lebanon, he visited Sir William Johnson, who approved of his purpose of learning the Mohawk speech, in the hope that he might be "of vast service to them as a clergyman." In 1764 Kirkland started on his mission to the Senecas—the most distant of the Iroquois—the most numerous and powerful, and almost if not entirely lacking in any

knowledge of Christianity. After spending a year and a half among the Senecas—a period of hardship and danger, in which his motives were misinterpreted and his life threatened, barely escaping the fate of Jogues and Garnier—he returned to the borders of civilization. At Lebanon he was formally set apart to the work of the ministry, and by the Connecticut Board of the Scottish Missionary Society was sent as missionary to the Oneidas.

In the year 1768 David Avery is found engaged in missionary work at Fort Stanwix. He interested himself actively in the temporal as well as the religious welfare of the Indians. He joined his fellow missionary, Jacob Johnson, in a letter to Sir William Johnson, remonstrating against any action on the part of the officers of the crown which would tend to dispossess the Indians of their lands, since this would largely frustrate the design of propagating the gospel among them. He urgently solicited the coöperation of Sir William in recommending the gospel to the chiefs of the Five Nations as he met them for consultation at Fort Stanwix. Mr. Avery's remonstrance, which certainly seems well intended and philanthropic, aroused the ire of Johnson, since he found the Indians animated by the same spirit as that which prompted the letter, and this caused great difficulty in gaining their assent to the boundary line which was then under discussion. Sir William's anger blazed forth in a letter to General Gage, in which he denounces the missionaries in substance as intruding meddlers—a letter which makes us somewhat skeptical as to the genuine nature of Sir William's religious zeal. He refrained, however, from any violent measures with the mission work, lest the Indians should resent such a course, and therefore treated them, as he says, with "silent contempt." After his return from Fort Stanwix Mr. Avery was graduated at Yale College, and in 1771 was sent to assist Samuel Kirkland in his labors among the Oneidas. But after spending one year with Mr. Kirkland, the state of his health made it necessary for him to abandon the field.

There is much in this period which it would be interesting to dwell upon; upon Dr. Wheelock's school at Lebanon, which played such an important part in missionary work among the Iroquois, which attracted so much interest in England, securing the practical sympathy of Lord Dartmouth and the Countess of Huntington, a school which finally grew into Dartmouth College, though at one time it seemed likely that its permanent home would be in New York State; upon Joseph Brant, his education, religious work and military exploits; upon Sampson Occum, the

Indian preacher—the first Indian, probably, who had visited England since the Mohawk sachems with Colonel Schuyler. Surely the English must have noticed some progress between 1710 and 1766; some difference between the Indian sachems of the time of Queen Anne and the Indian clergyman of the time of George III. All of this, which it would be interesting to dwell upon, must be omitted. The labors of Kirkland have been too often the subject of eulogy and are too much a part of our local history to require, in this connection, any detailed narrative. For forty-four years he labored with the Oneidas as their pastor, their teacher, their guardian and friend. His name is to be grouped with those of Brainerd and John Eliot—one of the brightest exponents of the missionary spirit which the history of the church can furnish. Were Kirkland's labors successful? We can not measure the good he may have done, nor is such a life of self-denial to be narrowly estimated by tangible result. A writer in 1792 takes a pessimistic view of the Indian, and says that "he was never intended to live in a state of civil society." "Rev. Mr. Kirkland," he adds, "who acts as missionary among the Oneidas, has taken all the pains that man can take; but his whole flock are Indians still, and like the bear which you can muffle and lead out to dance to the sound of music, becomes again a bear when his muffler is removed and the music ceases. The Indians will attend public worship and sing extremely well, following Mr. Kirkland's notes, but whenever the service is over they wrap themselves in their blankets and either stand like cattle on the sunny side of a house, or lie before a fire." We must estimate life somewhat by the noble purposes which it has in view. Mr. Kirkland's services, both to the church and to the state, were manifold, and not extravagantly has it been said of him, that considering his varied labor and services during the revolutionary war, he "seems deserving of no less honor from his countrymen than many a military hero crowned with blood-bought laurels."

But we have anticipated a little, and I must tax your patience a few moments longer in order to recite the last act in this somewhat uneventful drama. The society for propagating the gospel had had no missionary resident among the Mohawks since the time of Mr. Andrews. The constant and urgent representations of Sir William Johnson and others finally culminated in an elaborate memorial, in which the matter was brought to the attention of the English government, as well as the society for propagating the gospel. This paper, which was drawn up by Rev. Charles Inglis,

with the coöperation of Sir William Johnson, enters with great detail into the importance of mission work among the Indians. In view of the claims of humanity; in view of political advantage; in view of the dangers from French intrigue; in view of the frequently expressed desire of the Indians for religious teachers; the memorial urges that the society should enter upon the work. The great expense connected with the scheme, and the great advantages to be reaped, made it desirable that the "government should interfere in this matter and attempt the conversion of the Iroquois." The paper touches casually upon the condition of things among the Oneidas, "many of whom," we are told, "profess Christianity, being instructed partly by French Jesuits, partly by a dissenting teacher lately sent among them, but chiefly by the society's missionaries to the Mohawks." In his zeal for the spiritual good of the natives, Mr. Inglis very naturally did not fail to discover in the Indians a decided preference for clergymen of the Church of England, as compared with dissenting ministers. "The solemnity of our worship is more pleasing to them." "The gloomy cast of the dissenting teachers and their mode of worship, are forbidding and disagreeable to the Indians." Mr. Inglis admits that this is a "delicate point," but yet is decidedly of the opinion that the Iroquois should be converted by clergymen of the Church of England. In response to such appeals as these, in 1770 Rev. John Stuart was appointed missionary to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter. He reached Johnson Hall in November, 1770, and learned of one obstacle to his work before he had even begun it. "The Mohawks," wrote Sir William Johnson, "are almost all abroad on their winter hunt, and he can not enter upon his mission with effect for some little time." The time of his enforced delay, however, was spent in acquiring the language. On Christmas day, 1770, he preached his first sermon at Canajoharie. In April, 1771, he was "learning the Indian language;" was "much esteemed by the white people;" and "the Indians seemed pleased with his work." "In 1774 he was able to read the liturgy, etc., to his flock, and converse tolerably well with them on common subjects in their own language." He found, however, great difficulty in conveying to them "any distinct ideas on divine subjects," since he had no interpreter; and for the same reason "could but seldom preach to them." He undertook a translation of a part of the New Testament, and with the assistance, it is said, of Brandt, prepared a Mohawk translation of St. Mark's gospel, an exposition of the catechism, and a history of the Bible. The work of in-

structing the Indians was attended with great difficulties. There were no elementary books. The alphabet was taught by means of little scraps of paper, since the primer of Colonel Claus had not then been prepared. Mr. Stuart won the respect and confidence of all who knew him. Sir William Johnson often spoke of him in terms of high regard, and that large-hearted and noble-minded woman, Mrs. Schuyler, felt for him the "utmost veneration." Mrs. Grant, in her memoirs, says that he "labored among the Indians with apostolic zeal, and with the same disregard for the things of this world." "Perfectly calculated for his austere and uncourtly duties, he was wholly devoted to them, and scarce cast a look back on the world which he had forsaken." But in the year 1775, only five years after Stuart had begun his work, there were heard the first rumblings of that convulsion which was to result in sundering the colonies from the mother country, and in the upheaval of a new republic. Like most of the clergy of the established church, Mr. Stuart was uncompromising in his loyalty to the crown. Amid the hostilities which followed, his work among the Mohawks was interrupted, his residence destroyed, and his removal became necessary. In those times of excitement, suspicion fell upon him, and he finally left the country and established himself in Canada. Mr. Stuart enjoyed the distinction of being known as "the last missionary to the Mohawks." At the close of the war in 1784 Mr. Kirkland resumed missionary work among the Oneidas. But the war had left ruin in its train. Whatever habits of industry the Indians had formed were broken up. The schools and churches were in ruins. The Indians were losing heart at the rapid increase and encroachments of the whites. Their numbers were diminished; their morals corrupt; their prowess and importance very much broken. Civilization had been "instrumental in multiplying their miseries by teaching them vices they knew not before." In 1792 the Iroquois were living on reservations, and their whole number was estimated at but six thousand, of whom but one thousand were warriors.

It has been a pleasing fancy with some historians to trace resemblance between the native American Indians and the early Germans. Yet such parallels are too often deceptive and superficial. The Teutonic race has proven its vigor and dominant power by a constant and wonderful increase; while the Indian tribes have constantly tended toward extinction. And now that the descendants of the early Germans had come upon the stage, the mere

hunter and warrior was righteously doomed to abandon has rude home and his broad but unproductive hunting grounds, and make room for a race possessing in the highest degree a genius for labor, for law and for civilization. And so the curtain falls upon the story of early Protestant missions to the Iroquois. Though the labors of the Protestant missionaries can not bear comparison with those of the Jesuits, yet they were marked by great hardship and self-denial. And now we shall raise the question, "what did it all amount to?" Very little truly, if we measure it by the number of converts, or the founding of schools and churches, or the establishment of civil institutions. So far as the foreign missionary societies were concerned, it was a history of indifference and procrastination and famous illustration of how not to do a thing which was all the time clamoring to be done. The Dutch clergymen Dellius, Lydius, Freeman preaching to the Indians as best they could at Schenectady or Albany; Thomas Barclay preaching once a month to the Indians at Schenectady; Mr. Andrews, spending seven years in faithful labor .in the Indian country; after fifteen years Henry Barclay working for eight years with some success; twenty-four years later Mr. Stuart spending five years with the Mohawks. The time covered is nearly one hundred years and the clerical procession which files down through the century is in point of numbers, a feeble one we must admit. Freeman, Andrews, Stuart and possibly Henry Barclay are the only ones whose example seems at all inspiring. And above them all in the voluntary and apostolic character of his labors, we must place Kirkland. True, neither Kirkland, nor the others made many converts. Yet we must remember that their purpose was "to wean the savage from his barbarism and penetrate his heart with the truth of Christianity." What was said of Eliot was true of Kirkland: "If he had been disposed to hurry the Indians to baptism, as the Catholics in South America had done, or had bribed them to a profession by giving them coats and shirts, he could long ago have collected hundreds or thousand under the name of churches." "But" said he "we have not learned as yet the art of coining Christians, or putting Christ's name and image upon base metal." What did it all amount to? Great deeds and noble lives are not to be weighed like merchandise, nor does any man do a truly heroic deed, by sitting down first narrowly to calculate the profit and loss. He flings himself with a noble self-forgetfulness into the place where danger or duty call. "They wrong man

greatly," says Carlyle, "who say that he is seduced by ease. Difficulty, abnegation martyrdom, death, are the allurements which act on the heart of man. Not happiness, but something higher." The history of Protestant missions to the Indians has added a luster to many a page of our annals. Our history is brighter and more inspiring—our ideals of manhood nobler, because of such names as Eliot, and Brainerd and Kirkland. Perhaps it was all a miserable failure, if measured by results; yet who would blot out those pages from our history? The work is largely undone, or perhaps was never fairly done; yet the record of those noble lives remains a permanent and blessed inheritance.

THE STREETS OF UTICA.

BY L. M. TAYLOR.

The daring pioneers who penetrated the dense wilderness which once covered the surface of the State of New York, and having reached the spot where our fair city now stands, proposed to settle, lay their hands upon the forest, subdue it, and make homes for themselves and their descendants, found themselves confronted by a pressing need—the need of roads. After the log cabin, a practicable road became an absolute necessity.

The region round about—indeed the whole State—was traversed by paths or trails which reached from point to point by routes more or less direct, as direct as possible, consistent with the obligation to keep on firm land, skirt swamps, and reach streams at points where they could be most easily forded. The great labor required to transform a bridle-path into a tolerable road-way was quite beyond the resources of the first settlers. Those of them who had come to stay, who fully meant to transform a patch of this wild forest into arable land and a productive farm had really, whether they realized it or not, consecrated themselves to life-long toil, endurance and privation, so exacting and severe as to be almost inconceivable to this generation. Having really no time to devote to making or improving the approaches to their several "plants" they did as little as could be made to answer. To this end these paths, where it was possible, were appropriated, cut out, cleared of underbrush, trees felled, where it was not easier to go around them, their bodies trimmed and laid side by side, making the inevitable "corduroy" across the bog and morass, and thus an open way was secured, wide enough and level enough to permit the rough, strongly built wagon of the period to be pulled through without other mishap than an occasional "*set*," after a rain, or the slightly less occasional *upset* if the load proved a little top-heavy.

From year to year as new comers increased the number of workers these roads would be improved by paring down the stumps which were still standing in the middle of the traveled

way, grubbing out roots, and sometimes, though rarely, doing a little earth work. In their best estate these were miserable apologies for roads, tolerable only under stress of dire necessity, but for long years they were the only ones possible hereabouts.

At the advent of the present century the territory embraced within the corporate limits of the present city of Utica, had few roads of any sort, and those were mainly of the kind just described.

There was the "River Road" skirting the Mohawk, keeping far enough from it to be safe from its inundations. There was a road leading from the River Road back into the Slayton Bush region, now known as East street. There was another leading off southerly from the River Road not quite identical with the present position of Third street. There was the "Genesee Road" absorbed bodily afterwards by Genesee street. Another reaching off southwesterly, and now, with slight alteration, known as York street. Still another, which now, as the "Champlin Road," forms part of the western boundary of the city; and one forming part of our southern boundary which was known as the "Slayton Road" until the city made it "Pleasant street." This River Road, with the four roads leading southerly from it, from East to York street, inclusive, constitute the frame, upon, over and between which the present city has been built, and let us see how it grew.

Starting with the year 1800, when Utica was part of Whitestown, and had been living two years under its first village charter. Perhaps the act of incorporation itself may have contributed to give it an impetus, which from some source it seems to have received—for the little hamlet clustered mainly around the foot of Genesee street began to put itself on record as an enterprising community.

On February 23d of this year, "A map of Lot No. 95, Cosby's manor, made for Gerrit Boon, Esq., and others," was filed in the County Clerk's office. It had been surveyed in 1798, and was the first map of real estate placed in the office. It represented the property bounded east by the Genesee road, north by the Whitesboro road, and westerly by a line running one hundred feet westerly of Seneca street, or the westerly line of Lot No. 95. It had delineated upon it a street identical with Seneca street. Another parallel with this which would have been a little east of where Hotel street is now, and a pair of cross streets uniting these two, but extending no farther either way. None of these streets

were named, and no part of the plan survives and has come down to us except Seneca street. December 19th of the same year "A Map of Town Lots at Old Fort Schuyler, Herkimer County," &c., made for John R. Bleecker in 1797, was filed. It represented the Bleecker property from Division east to Third street, and as far south as Broad street, having Water and Main streets, and First, Second and Third streets, the three last being unnamed. John street does not appear at all. Although this map is subsequently supplanted by another, its allotment is essentially maintained.

This year too, the Seneca Road Company was incorporated to construct a turnpike from Utica to Canandaigua. They were required to clear a road six rods wide of all trees, except such as were left for ornament, to turnpike a roadway twenty-eight feet wide, with twenty-inch crown, covered with broken stone or gravel twenty feet wide fifteen inches deep in the centre, and nine inches at the side, with numerous requirements calculated to secure a good road, and to complete the same within five years. They did it, and did it well. A good-for-nothing, or very poor road, was speedily transformed into what was for the time an extraordinary highway. Its achievement was an extraordinary performance. It tapped the stream of travel and transportation which passed up the river to the Portage at Rome, and thence by water to and up the lake west. It was by far the shorter, quicker, and pleasanter route. It took hold on popular favor, and became speedily notorious. It was *The Great Seneca Turnpike.* It was dotted with hotels, swarming with post coaches, traveling carriages and loaded wagons, and from end to end alive with business. Utica from a way station became the terminal and distributing point. I often wonder whether the architects of the Seneca road had any idea of how well they were building for the village of Utica. We should erect a monument inscribed with the names of Benj. Walker, Jedediah Sanger and their associates in the Seneca road, as "The men who made Utica possible."

In 1805 the village of Utica attained its second charter. The streets or roads I have mentioned would seem to be still rambling around at their own sweet will; mentioned in deeds as being the boundary lines of real estate—dotted along their course with private residences, but unsurveyed, undefined. But in 1806 the whole subject was taken properly in hand, and surveys were ordered of all the roads in the town of Whitestown, which of course embraced Utica. These surveys included the River Road

and those just mentioned as running southerly from it. Let us retrace, as a curiosity, this survey over the present map of Utica. It began at the Herkimer county line, and its lines remain to-day unchanged to near the Starch Factory bridge. From this point to the Mohawk Valley Mills its lines have been entirely obliterated, first by the encroachment upon it of the Erie canal, and again by the removal of Broad street quite away from the canal to create a frontage available for manufacturing purposes. The Skenandoa Mill is built largely in the old River Road, as is also a portion of the main building of the Mohawk Valley. From this mill to the east line of the residence of the late A. E. Culver, the south line remains; from the same point to the east line of the Bleecker property, within the premises now occupied by LeRoy, Shattuck & Head, the north line remains. From this point the north line ran northerly of the present northerly line of Broad street, through the little boat-yard, across what is now the mouth of the "big basin," but was then a deep ravine, turned northerly at Third street, and thence westerly, the south line reappearing in the present southerly line of Main street; proceeding westerly it crossed Genesee street, and continues as the present southerly line of Whitesboro street to Seneca street, from which point the lines of Whitesboro street to Potter's bridge, Varick street to Court, Court to Whitesboro again, and Whitesboro to the city line, are identical with the lines of the old River road. The record of this survey is illustrated by frequent reference to buildings with which and with whose occupants the admirable work of Dr. Bagg has made the present generation familiar. How far the line passed from Schwartz's house—from N. Butler's shop—from Daniel Budlong's house—from Barnard Coon's, David P. Hoyt's Apollos Cooper's and William Smith's houses—and from an apple tree "near J. S. Kip's"—is duly set forth. A curious thing about this record is, that between East street and the Champlin road no mention is made of any other road or street which it crossed or passed, although five such were included in the general survey Mr. Gifford was at the time making—and the Seneca road had been two years open its entire length—and he proceeded right along from Genesee to Seneca street as if in crossing the deep bay in Whitesboro street opposite the old York house, his road, uniformly sixty-six feet wide, could have a northern side. It seems hardly possible to account for its extreme "crookedness." Bleecker and Fayette streets stretch in a straight line a distance which from parallel points, the old Road takes sixteen courses to accomplish.

Beyond the evident purpose, in making the detour from Potter's bridge to the Globe Mills, to secure a favorable crossing of Nail creek, the reasons for the general waywardness of this road are not apparent.

In this year, 1806, Hotel and Seneca, from the River road to the Seneca road were regularly laid out; Washington, from the River road to a point opposite the southernmost corner of the Presbyterian meeting-house, and Third street from the River road to Slayton's Bush; Liberty street from the Seneca road to Seneca street. The same year James S. Kip filed a map of part of Lot No. 96, in Cosby's manor, which started Broadway and carried it to within a few feet of Fayette street, and carried Liberty street across the property. You see Whitesboro street and its neighborhood are preparing to receive a brilliant future with open arms.

In 1809 the representatives of Rutger Bleecker filed another map of their property, which set it out to one tier of lots south of Catharine street; from Genesee to Third street, on which John street first appears south of Broad. In this year the Commissioners of Highways laid out Broad street from Genesee to Third, First street from Broad to the river, Second street from ——— to the river, Third street from Main to Broad, and Water street from First across Genesee street to a short distance west of Division street.

In 1808 Liberty street was put on record from Seneca street to the Whitesboro road, at "Captain Potter's," and thence on to intersect the Whitesboro road opposite the west end of the Lunatic Asylum. The latter portion of this is now known as Whitesboro street from Potter's bridge west. You see this made a short cut across the great bend in the River road which ran around by the Globe Mills.

In 1810 First street was continued southerly from Broad to Bridge street; Broad street was continued easterly from Third street to the east line of the Bleecker property, and Catharine was made a public street from the Seneca turnpike to Third street.

Heretofore, during the first ten or twelve years of the corporate existence of the village of Utica there had been but few comparatively small parcels of land allotted and laid out in streets, and these with no general plan. The Bleeckers had already filed two maps—the second spreading out a little farther than the first, at the edges—evidently feeling their way; and as yet having no clear apprehension that provision should be made for a much larger population. But now an event occurred which had a marked

effect on the beauty and growth of the future city. The Bleecker family owned three great lots in Cosby's Manor, which occupied (on Broad street for instance) the whole distance from Genesee street to a point some distance east of Mohawk street, and extended about three miles back from the river—over and beyond Steel's Hill, in fact. They employed Charles C. Brodhead to survey all that part of their property which lay within the present limits of the city of Utica—allot it—and define the boundaries of all the streets by stone monuments. It was carefully and skillfully done, and the result was the map of the Bleecker property, filed in 1811. No document in the County Clerk's office is so well known or has been so much consulted.

Of the streets on this map, Water, Main, Broad, First, Second, Third, Mohawk, Dock and Beaver, were so named for obvious reasons; the names Catharine, Bleecker, Elizabeth, Mary, Blandina, Rutger and John, were all found in the Bleecker family. South was the southernmost street represented on the map, and West street, though now as nearly in the middle of the city as it could well be placed, was laid along the west line of the property. The lots at each end of Chancellor Square originally fronted on the square itself, and could only be approached *through* it. This was remedied later by laying Academy street across the west or "Utica Academy" end, and Kent street across the east end, which took its name from Chancellor Kent, as did also the square itself. Bridge street connected the lower or Miller's bridge with the Seneca turnpike. Chancellor Lansing is understood to have furnished a name to Lansing street. In subsequent subdivisions of parts of this property new streets were added. Every city has a Franklin and Fulton street as a matter of course. Market street had once *the* market on its border, when Utica had but one, and Culver street was named after an old, honored resident, Abraham Culver. John Post, the famous owner of the "Post purchase," gave name to Post street—an act which he doubtless regrets if he can look down upon it to-day. This completes the nomenclature of the Bleecker streets, except Jay—which was named after Governor Jay—Burnet and Montgomery, upon which I can throw no light.

This Bleecker map is a historical document of curious interest. It divided the entire space between the river and Rutger street into fifty feet lots. It stopped John, First and Second at Rutger, and made one block of the entire space between Rutger and South, West and Third. This block was divided into what were called

"long lots," fronting Rutger and extending through to South, a distance of 666 feet. South of South street were four farms, called "farm lots," reaching to the Slayton road, and containing about one hundred acres each. This map partitioned the whole property between the four representatives of Rutger Bleecker, viz.: John R. Bleecker, Blandina Dudley, Maria Miller and Elizabeth Brinckerhoff, and the shares of each were distinguished by colors.

Beginning at the foot of Genesee street, by the bridge is a tier of fifty feet lots fronting the north side of Water street and extending back to the river, about seventy-five feet. Twenty-two of these lots reach a point just opposite the west end of the Central freight house, where now, for the first time, Dock street is inserted, and follows the line of the river across Bridge street to the east line of the property. Along the north line of Dock street there are thirty-four more of the fifty feet lots rearing on the river. Of these lots on Water street no heir was permitted to take more than one lot in a place, and along Dock street no more than two. Coming south the property is partitioned in larger parcels, reaching to one-fourth of a block, until, west of Second and South of Jay and east of Second and South of Mary, the heirs take by whole blocks. It is impossible to study this map without reaching the conviction that the representatives of Rutger Bleecker in 1811, deemed the river lots fronting on Water and Dock streets the most valuable property they owned. The business was then in fact done on the river; canals, much more railroads, were not dreamed of. It wanted but little effort of the imagination to picture Water and Dock streets in the not distant future lined with wharves and storehouses, with a river full of boats on the one side and streets alive with drays on the other.

To-day there is, I believe, on Dock street, a little powder-house, placed presumably where its explosion would be least likely to harm anybody. A few weeks since, standing on Miller's bridge, and looking thoughtfully up and down the line of this once valuable property, I saw four tramps quietly sleeping in the warm sunlight—on the green turf—in the middle of Dock street—the only sign of life on that thoroughfare!

The study of this map always suggests the question: "Why were John, First and Second streets stopped at Rutger?" Mrs. Benjamin Tibbitts, of Albany, once assured me that it was the intention of the four representatives of Mr. Bleecker, when this map was made, to all build on Rutger street, and live at Utica.

As matter of fact, there is a lot 198 feet front adjoining West street, which went to Mrs. Brinckerhoff; another of the same size, fronting the head of John street, set off to Mrs. Miller; one fronting the head of First street, taken by Mrs. Dudley, and one opposite Second, which went to Mr. Bleecker. Mrs. Miller built the mansion which is now the residence of ex-Senator Conkling; Mrs. Dudley built a temporary structure on her lot and put a tenant in it. "The whole scheme, however, was abandoned," said Mrs. Tibbitts, "because the location of the Erie canal across the plain sloping from Rutger to Broad streets, with its high bridges, had so marred the beauty of the place."

What unexpected changes are wrought by the whirligig of time! River lots are at present of no account, while the farms south of South street, which on the plain theory on which this map is constructed, were quite beyond any possible use for city purposes, are really to-day thickly populated, and a very valuable part of the city. I doubt whether the whole unoccupied property on this map, farms and all, was worth as much in 1811 as these farms alone would be to-day—the bare land—without a building upon them.

The example of the Bleeckers—in laying out and fixing boundaries of lands, streets and lots in large parcels, quite in advance of any immediate demand for it—was followed by other large owners of real estate. Farms from time to time were allotted, marketed and gradually transformed into thickly settled streets. Whole books of maps, which constitute the record of this growth and advance, are filed in the County Clerk's office. To trace the history of these would be quite beyond the limits of this paper. I propose therefore to go over the names of such of the streets as are likely to possess an interest, and close with some remarks and criticisms on our streets, which I especially had in view in consenting to prepare this paper.

The names of a large number of the streets of Utica are such as are general and common to all cities. Many are selected apparently upon grounds of simple euphony; and many have come down to us as an inheritance from '37, seemingly taken from a New York directory, in which city many of the maps were made. Take the Schuyler farm map—Warren, Green, Wager, Knox, Walnut, Chesnut; the Hamilton farm adjoining—Hickory, Maple, Ash, Oak, &c., they say nothing—mean nothing. It is surprising, looking over the maps, how few of the names upon them have any local significance, or historical value. Those on the earlier maps

are pretty thoroughly gathered up in the "Pioneers of Utica;" what is left are to be culled from a larger field. On the Cooper property, Cornelia street takes its name from Cornelia Graham, wife of E. A. Graham, and daughter of Judge Cooper. The family name goes on Cooper street. Spring is so named from the circumstance that a spring which was utilized to supply the not distant neighborhood with pure and wholesome water, once existed in or near it. Aiken and Mandeville take their names from the two eminent divines of that name, well known to all reasonably old citziens. On the Huntington property, next west—it was owned by Henry Huntington, of Rome, who named his first street north of Fayette, Rome; another he called Henry, after himself; another Brodhead, after Charles C. Brodhead, whom Mr. Huntington held in high esteem. Although the survey of this property was made by John Fish, Mr. Huntington insisted that Mr. Brodhead should be present with his measuring machine, (described by Dr. Bagg,) superintend its use and test all the measurements. Bank street, because the region was known as the "sand-bank." Above the brewery were deep gullies and high sand hills. This was cross-sectioned and graded at great expense—some of the hills were taken off seventeen feet deep to meet the present grade, and St. George's church stands across a sort of ravine which could then have taken in half the church.

The next property west put the name of Mr. Huntington on one of their streets, and named another, as I understand, after a "Fay," who lived at the corner of Fay and Fayette street. This Fay street used to run parallel with State to the Plant farm; it was subsequently cut in two by the Chenango canal—the north end retained the name and was turned to follow the course of the canal; the south end was changed to Hart street.

On the Plant farm, owned by James Plant, he placed his own name on Plant street and that of his wife on Frances.

The only names worthy of mention which occur on the map of the easterly end of the Hamilton farm, are Noyes and Tracy—William Curtis Noyes and Charles and William Tracy—all gentlemen in the best sense of the word—all distinguished lawyers. It is a pleasure to have known them—impossible to forget them. Milton D. Parker, brother-in-law of one of the Tracy's, was once part owner in this property, and gave their names to two of his streets. Let us hope no future Common Council will disturb them!

Varick street is named in honor of Abraham Varick, who owned in

his own right, and associated with A. B. Johnson, large quantities of real estate in and around the city. Garden street was so named because of the existence of the Old Horticultural Garden on its boundary. North and South Hamilton are named from Alexander Hamilton, whose wife was the daughter of General Schuyler. North Hamilton street is on property which Mrs. Hamilton held in her own right. South Hamilton is on land owned by General Schuyler. These are both small streets, but they carry a great name. One feels like lifting his hat as he passes them.

Edward street, from Edward Bright, who once conducted "Bright's Tannery," fronting on this street. Wiley street, which was laid out by — Wiley.

Phillip and Schuyler streets—the two names were furnished by Phillip J. Schuyler, who owned the farm in which they occur, and who is chronicled in the "Pioneers." Jason and Parker streets—the land was owned by Johnson and Varick, and the name of the great stage proprietor fitly rests on two of their streets. Devereux street was laid out and named by Nicholas Devereux. Carnahan is on the same map, and is named after the Rev. James Carnahan, whose history is set out in the "Pioneers." Samuel D. Dakin was in 1836 and 1837 an immense operator here and elsewhere in real estate, and himself laid out and placed his name on Dakin street. The street is too small for the name. The Kemble farm was laid out for C. A. Mann, assignee of Abraham Varick. It had once been owned by Richard Kimball. Mr. Mann thought "Kemble" more euphonious and sufficiently near the real name to answer the purpose of honoring it. Ann street is named after Ann, wife of Abraham Varick. Elm street bordered what was locally known as Elm Grove, hence its name. Steuben street of course carries the name of the Baron. Miller, from Maria Miller, who originally owned the whole farm which it traverses. Howard avenue was named by the late John H. Edmonds, not after the great philanthropist or anybody else, but solely on the ground that he liked the name, and in the same way he furnished the name for Mortimer street. I named Seymour avenue for reasons which go without saying, in the life-long home of Governor Seymour. The family names of Neilson and Tibbits are fitly borne by the two streets of that name. Mrs. Brinckeroff's name is attached to one of the avenues which traverse her farm, and on the back of the other your reader is riding down to posterity. Blandina Dudley furnishes the name appropriately for Dudley street, constructed through a portion of the property once be-

longing to her. Morris street is named after Morris S. Miller, who owned the property when the street was laid out. John H. Edmonds laid out the street through his property, to which he gave the name of Leeds, after, as I understand, the Rev. Mr. Leeds, a former pastor of Grace Church.

Hubbell street carries a family name notorious in the early history of Utica, carefully set forth in Dr. Bagg's work. Just after Louis Kossuth visited Utica, and delivered his address in the pretty little theatre back of the old museum, Warner and Tallman attached his name to the avenue which they had laid through the High School Farm. Next east is Nichols street, named from the circumstance that H. S. Nichols, now of New York, owned the property when it was laid out. Next comes the Devereux Farm. Edmund A. Wetmore and William J. Bacon, as executors under the will of Mary C. Devereux, once controlled her interest in this farm. Two neighboring streets bear respectively the names of Wetmore and Bacon. As this property is largely in my hands, I propose to see to it that these two streets are creditably built up.

I have thus worked around the outskirts trying (in vain) to keep away from Dr. Bagg.

There may be, very likely are, other streets which ought to go into this list, but this must be such monotonous work that I fear you will regard my previous statement that there were comparatively few names of interest attached to our streets, as a decoy to get you quietly to this point.

We live in a beautiful city, we are proud of it, and do not tire of hearing the flattering statement made over and over again, as it is. We have to begin with, amply broad streets, great numbers of them embowered in trees. From the top of Steele's hill Utica looks like a city in a park. We are scheduled as the healthiest city known, or something to that effect, and I shall yield to nobody in my admiration of it, and love for it; yet I think it has been in important particulars neglected, and in others absolutely misused.

Going up Genesee street on the easterly side we see Main, Broad and Bleecker streets coming, of full width, directly into Genesee street. From Bleecker to Hobart, but one other of all the streets in rear is permitted to get into Genesee street on decent terms, and that is Hopper. First there is Elizabeth coming in of full width indeed, but at so short an angle as to shut out all view from Genesee street. There is Devereux street coming down from

Charlotte, narrow, crossing but a single block and connecting with nothing behind. Then comes Carnahan, still narrower, and by sheer accident, striking into Blandina at Charlotte. Then Rebecca, narrowed to a lane, with a crook in it half way to Bridge. Next is Dakin street, another lane, with an elbow in it, which shall permit it to enter both Genesee and Bridge streets at right angles. Anne, a short cut into Bridge; and thence to Hobart nothing. Only as far away as Charlotte street we strike a system of streets set out on the Bleecker map, every one of which ought, in my judgment, to have been brought directly into Genesee street. On the west side it is yet worse. Columbia is pinched up at its mouth so as very much to injure the street and diminish its usefulness. Pearl, like Devereux opposite, reaches but a short distance and unites with nothing. Court, like Elizabeth, reaches Genesee by an angle which completely shuts out the view of Court beyond the turn. Cornelia exactly like Devereux. Cottage better. Then, nothing, as far as Plant street. After Plant, Tracy and Noyes, the inevitable short street and elbow. Now close in rear of this Genesee street frontage from Columbia street to Court, is the Cooper property as regularly and handsomely laid out as the Bleecker property. Cooper and Spring reaching easterly to Broadway, and obliged to reach Genesee via Pearl. And the same may be said of the Huntington property up to Plant street. A person living above the brewery is often obliged to take as many as five courses to get into Genesee street. Suppose in coming down Genesee street from Plant you could pass Kirkland, Brodhead, Cottage, (as laid out west of State), Mandeville, Aiken, Court, Spring and Cooper, coming directly into Genesee, with clear open views through them into west Utica? Or, on the other side, Rutger, Lansing, Blandina, Mary and Elizabeth? There has been a time when all this would have been not only possible, but in many cases easy. Mr. Charles C. Brodhead stated to me that he labored the better part of two days to secure the direct admission of Court street into Genesee, when its accomplishment would cost just $250.

The great cause of this botchwork along our main street is attributable to the very mistaken notion that the frontage on Genesee street is comparatively so very valuable that back streets must be admitted as poor relations, and always at right angles. Are there any more valuable or more beautiful corners in Utica than are furnished by Broad, Catharine, Bleecker and Fayette streets? Just think of Fayette street turning at Seneca street and

coming in through Stewart's store! or Bleecker street by a similar manœuver, through the Oneida National Bank! I once made a map of the Kemble farm for C. A. Mann, which took all the rear streets—Louisa, Leah, Hobart, Gold and Arthur—across the farm to Oneida and Bridge, and tried to have Messrs. Crafts and Pomeroy carry them through to Genesee street, but the land required was deemed too valuable, and it was abandoned, to the injury, I am fully convinced, of all parties, especially of Crafts and Pomeroy. The first map I made of the Plant farm carried Noyes, Tracy, Oswego and three other streets behind it, directly into Genesee street. It made corners just like Bleecker and Fayette street, which Mr. Plant thought he could not afford. The plan was changed, very much, I feel confident, to the pecuniary loss of Mr. Plant. I never think of these two plans—of how much more beautiful and more valuable that whole region would have been—without a feeling of regret akin to guilt. What worse angles can be made than are made in the case of Hotel, Washington and Seneca streets? Yet who would have their directness changed if he could? Of course this grumbling comes late in the day; but what I deem the unwise, nay, shabby treatment which rear property has received at the hands of Genesee street, has, in my judgment, worked great injury to property on and off the street, marred the beauty of all bordering territory, and in the general balance harmed the street.

Another thing which has contributed to interfere with that regularity and directness of streets which is one of the elements of beauty, convenience and value, has been that the city as a whole has grown up without any general plan devised or enforced by any one. It is surprising how little of the city has been laid out by corporate action. A man owns a piece of land more or less, has it surveyed, lays out streets with reference to the shape of his particular property, files his map, and proceeds to sell. The result of this is often confusion. The most as well as the worst of this sort of work was done in 1836–37. In those two wild years large tracts of land in and about Utica were mapped—many times without survey, but from descriptions in the deeds—streets were laid on them, usually without the slightest reference to neighboring property or the character of the land; all being arranged to make the largest number of lots. Quantities more or less would very likely be sold, the titles to such parcels pass, and when the inevitable and terrible crash came it was a work of years to clear up titles if it were indeed possible; and unless the parts sold could

be recovered it was impossible to change the arrangement of the streets, however faulty, or the map however erroneous. As a consequence the city has since grown over many such pieces of land and been obliged to accept the streets as mapped in 1836–37. The Schuyler farm in West Utica, next west of the Globe Mills, is an instance of this. When Mr. Nicholas Devereux bought the larger part of this farm in 1847 it was found impossible to change the streets, and it is now all built up on this enforced arrangement, exactly according to the paper plan, which was drawn in New York by persons who had never seen it. The Hamilton farm, south of this and west of the Chenango canal, extending up to York street was another. It had been divided into two parcels by a line running north and south across it, and two maps made of it as of the Schuyler farm. Some of the eastern part had been sold. The streets could have been immensely improved, but we were obliged to accept the situation without change on the eastern piece, and then of necessity carry the same streets across the western part. The part of the Hamilton farm, east of the Chenango canal, and extending to Frances street, is another instance, and there are many others.

Having introduced the days of 1836, let me improve the occasion by stating some of the incidents of that period, which may be new to some of my listeners. In those days this same Schuyler farm which I have been talking about, was divided into 627 twenty-five foot lots; the Hamilton farm west of the canal into 542; the farm north of and opposite the Lunatic Asylum, extending down across the canal to the Mohawk river, owned by Johnson and Varick, into 983 lots. There is on this map a bend in the river which incloses a long, narrow strip of land, and a street is beautifully laid out along it, with handsome, green lots, all of which, with several hundred others of these lots, are from once to three times a year under six feet of water. The same parties had the land between Steuben and Miller streets, between South and James, mapped into 499 lots. The Smith farm, in East Utica, south of Broad street, was mapped into 1,289 lots; the Stocking farm, from South to and quite over Steele's hill, into 1,414 lots; the Broadway property, from Oneida square to Jewett's, into 575 lots; the Arnold Mason farm, all in the present town of New Hartford, extending from the Chenango canal and Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad up to and on Steele's hill, embracing a portion of the cemetery and valley beyond, into 157 blocks and 6,040 lots; and so on. There is a great deal more.

The river flats, from the ball-grounds to near Schuyler street bridge and across the river to Deerfield were all allotted, and pushed into the whirlpool of speculation. We, once in a while, when real estate has moved up a little, or commands unusually ready sale, hear somebody expressing fear that the days of 1836–37 are coming again. Let me mention two instances for the comfort and solace of such people. Just back of the Plant farm there lays forty-eight acres of land bounded north by Tracy street, east by Frances street, south by the Thorn farm, and west by the Chenango canal. It was bought in 1837 for $3,000, and a mortgage given for the purchase money. It was taken subject to a life lease, which was removed by the payment of $3,000 cash. It was mapped in New York, by a person who never saw it, into 610 twenty-five foot lots. It was then conveyed around among, I think, five persons, in parcels of six or seven lots, until each owned about one-fifth of the whole. They then mortgaged these small parcels to each other in amounts of $5,000 or more, and then exchanged mortgages, and thus in one day covered this forty-eight acres, with about $480,000 of mortgages, without the payment of a dollar in money, all within a few months of the time when it had been purchased for $6,000. If these mortgages had been negotiated—as they were doubtless intended to be—it would have been a great speculation. One of the men engaged in this speculation—very wealthy, so wealthy that he failed for millions—told me at Ballston that the crash came too quick, and the mortgages were not used.

One more instance and I have done: There is a piece of land of about forty acres on the Welsh road next east of the Bagg's Hotel, which was purchased by Robert L. Pell, of New York, in 1837. It was mapped also in New York, and divided into 529 twenty-five foot lots. On this map was Broad, Columbia, South, Louisa, Livingstone and Charlotte streets. Leave out the Livingstone and one might think it in the heart of the city. Many of the lots were sold and paid for at $600 per lot. One man who had purchased and paid cash for two at that price, sued to recover his purchase money, and I was his witness to swear that the lots had at no time been worth more than five dollars apiece. Days of 1837! No, no! People who express fears of a return of 1837 don't know, or don't remember. The crazy fever ended with a terrible crash, as suddenly as a thunderstorm closes its career in midsummer. It ruined armies of people. The whole country stood still for many years engaged mainly in the business of clearing away the wreck. It is now only a remarkable fact in

history and a memory in the minds of those now living who experienced or witnessed its ravages; but it left its impress, as I have described, on the shape of our city—almost always to the city's disadvantage.

Another unavoidable and innocent cause of the irregularity which disfigures some parts of the city is this: The base line of the Bleecker map is Main street, and its streets up to and including South street, are made parallel with Main—the cross streets (like John for instance) being laid at right angles with it. The opening of Fayette street as a real continuation of Bleecker, practically continued this base line into West Utica. Now the "great lot" lines cross Bleecker and Fayette streets at a variation of nine degrees from a right angle. Go west along Bleecker and Fayette streets and you observe the result of this. The Post purchase was a very long and narrow strip of land; Charlotte street, in the middle of this strip, must necessarily follow the lot lines, so of Hotel, Seneca, Washington and Broadway. West of this the Cooper and Huntington estates built from Fayette street with streets at right angles. Farther west the lot lines control again; it results that west of Broadway is a system of streets extending up as far as Tracy street, almost surrounded by streets laid on the lot line system. It is not a matter of vital consequence, but it seems to me a great pity that one system or the other could not have prevailed everywhere. And this brings me to the remark that every city should at an early day take all the vacant real estate in hand and determine, define and lay out the lines of its streets to its outermost limit. It ought not to be tolerated that everybody and anybody who owns a piece of land, large or small, should be permitted to lay streets as he may choose. In this way proper uniformity, width and directness in streets is impossible. A city becomes a sort of patchwork of the embodied notions of people, many of whom have no adequate notion of the ideas which ought to prevail in their work. That is, everybody lays out the city. It appears to me about as bad as that everybody should make the weather. Many thousands of people have lived and died in Utica—vastly more thousands are destined to live and die here. Those have constituted and will constitute a public—*the* public, for whom streets are made, and it appears to me they have a fair, just right, to demand of the city government, that the streets which, for perhaps a life-time they will be obliged to traverse, shall be pleasant, ample and direct thoroughfares. Suppose any one of the early governments had the power or had

obtained the power to lay out the streets of the village to the bounds of their corporate limits, and had exercised with reasonable intelligence, does any one believe Genesee street to-day, from Bleecker street south for about a mile, would on both sides have an immediate border land of the most irregular, ill-advised, inconvenient streets, not only embarassing communication, but shutting out all vision? Look at the map and see how many streets begin anywhere and end nowhere. Would they have been possible? Of course, no!

This, nobody knows better than I, is now remediless, and it is, perhaps, to no purpose that I express my groan over it, but no consideration of the streets of Utica can leave it out.

There is one more thing about which I wish to say something in this paper. I refer to a practice, grown quite common, on the part of the common council, of changing the names of streets. This is often done, without petition and without reason. When a street of the city is represented on a map, the map filed and deeds passed of land fronting on it, its name ought never to be changed except for reasons so imperative as to be hardly conceivable. Even in the case of two streets having the same name, it is better to distinguish them by the addition of east, west, north or south. It embarrasses the searching of titles, leads to error, confuses the public, and does no good whatever. Here is East street, one of the oldest in the city, a mile and a half long, with a frontage on both sides the whole distance which has been sold in greater or smaller parcels, and in the deeds it all fronts East street. How many persons in Utica really know that by act of the corporation it is now "Tilden avenue"—everybody yet *calls* it East street. Nichols street is laid out and sold from Broad to Albany three-quarters of a mile. Above Albany is a short street called Webster avenue—the common council have made the tail wag the dog, and called it *all* Webster avenue. Carnahan is changed to Blandina—why? It does not help Blandina street in any particular—removes an honored name, which was of right there and works only mischief.

George and Rebecca are changed to South. This was Hopper property—names of the family were on the street by the plainest right and propriety. Every inch of property has been sold, much of it over and over again, as being on George and Rebecca streets—why change it? Parisian boulevards receive a new name at every turn.

Tibbits street has been changed to Dudley. These two streets

do not connect, are not continuous, have no relation which justifies the change. There are probably fifty deeds of property on Tibbits street all thrown out of joint by this action, that is, if anybody respects it. Besides, Mrs. Tibbits made the street, and had a right to be recognized in the name of it.

In West Utica a little Chestnut street has had its name stolen to make room for Cleveland. Is it the governor? And there is more of the same work; but all this interference with the fixed names of streets is reprehensible, wrong—its effect evil, and only evil. This seems a proper place to protest against it, as I do heartily. Although this paper was not intended to be literally a "history" of the streets of Utica, as seems to have been understood, complete absorption of time has compelled me to change the purpose of it somewhat. It is still, however, mainly a "talk about streets," which I could not defer beyond this evening. However short of what I might perhaps have made it with time I could not command, if it has paid you for your hour of listening, I am satisfied.

THE UTICA WATER WORKS.

BY THOMAS HOPPER,

President, Projector and Builder of the Works.

[Read before the Society, January, 1886.]

At an early period in the history of the village of Utica, the subject of procuring a more wholesome supply of water, than could be obtained from wells, was under the earnest consideration of the five hundred pioneers who had made their new homes near the banks of the Mohawk river, within a radius of a few rods of Bagg's Square.

On the 13th day of April, 1802, the Legislature of the State passed an Act, creating Benjamin Walker, Silas Clark and Robert Bardwell and their associates a body politic, for the purpose of supplying the village of Utica with wholesome water, by means of aqueduct, under the name of the Utica Aqueduct Company; capital, not to exceed five thousand dollars. In pursuance of this Act, the company by means of a log aqueduct, brought water from springs at the foot of the sand bank (now Spring street), where the waters of the several springs were united and taken down through the pasture lots to a point, now, the north corner of Genesee and Liberty streets; and from thence down Genesee street, at a distance of about 18 feet from the north line thereof. Some of the logs are still well preserved, and lying at a depth of nine feet from the surface of the street. This aqueduct continued to supply a part of the inhabitants of the village, until 1834; when the Erie canal was made through Utica, at which time the aqueduct was severed and the supply below cut off. As an auxiliary to these works, and for the better protection of property against fire, in 1805 the trustees of the village ordered three wells to be dug, and fitted with pumps—they were severally placed at the intersection of Hotel with Whitesboro streets, at the corner of Genesee and Liberty streets, and in the center of Genesee street in a line from the west corner of John and Main streets, and the north corner of Genesee and Whitesboro streets. The pump was removed from the last mentioned well about 1822, and a flat stone placed over it perhaps

three feet from the surface of the street. The two other wells were filled up at an earlier period of time. From 1834 to 1842 the inhabitants of the village and city were dependent entirely upon their wells for water.

In 1826, (13th day of April), the Legislature passed an Act incorporating another company of the same name for supplying the village of Utica with water, "The Utica Aqueduct Company, in the County of Oneida." The incorporators were Newell Smith, William Alverson, David P. Hoyt, and their associates. The works contemplated in this Act were not erected.

In 1832, an association was formed; the Articles of Association dated April 3d, 1832. The property of this association was divided into eight shares: three belonged to Apollos Cooper, one to James Sayre, one to Ephraim Hart, one to Dr. T. Pomeroy, one to Julius Spencer, and one to Palmer Townsend. The certificates were drawn in form as follows, to wit:

"Utica Water Works Association, between Apollos Cooper and others, as per deed and articles of association, dated 3d of April, 1832. No. 1. It is hereby certified that Apollos Cooper is proprietor and owner of the Three Shares of the property of the said Association, each share being the eighth part of the whole of said property. Transferable only by the consent of the share or stockholders of said association, as specified in said Articles of Association.

In testimony whereof, the President and Secretary have hereunto set their names, the first day of September, 1833.

(Signed,)

JAMES SAYRE, *Sec'y.* A. COOPER, PRES'T."

This association did not proceed to erect their works until 1834. They then connected the spring on Mr. Middleton's lot above Spring street to a spring north of said street, and from thence laid 2½ inch pipe down through Cornelia street to Fayette street, and from thence down Fayette street, crossing Genesee street to corner of Bleecker street, thence down Genesee street to Catharine street, and from thence to the Greenman building, where it ended. This association served very pure water until 1850, when the works were abandoned.

The Legislature passed an Act May 10th, 1845, to authorize Edward Brodhead (then a citizen of Utica) to supply the city of Utica with pure and wholesome water. Mr. Brodhead made a survey and plans for introducing pure water into the city through

a log aqueduct of six inches bore, from the Starch Factory Creek, on that portion of it on which the large impounding reservoir is located; but not meeting with sufficient encouragement he abandoned the project. He is now an honored citizen of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

UTICA WATER WORKS COMPANY.

INCORPORATED MARCH 31, 1848.

Directors named in the Act: James Watson Williams, Nicholas Devereux, Alfred Munson, Andrew S. Pond, Charles A. Mann, Horatio Seymour, Silas D. Childs, Willard Crafts and Thomas Hopper. [Of these, two are living; Horatio Seymour and Thomas Hopper.] Capital stock, $75,000.

The subscribers were as follows:

NAMES.	SHARES.	AMOUNT.
James Watson Williams,.....	45	$1,200 00
Alfred Munson,.....	100	2,500 00
Charles A. Mann,.....	100	2,500 00
Horatio Seymour,.....	80	2,000 00
Silas D. Childs,.....	100	2,500 00
Willard Crafts,.....	40	1,000 00
Nicholas Devereux, ...	60	1,500 00
Thomas H. Hubbard,.....	40	1,000 00
Philo Gridley,.....	40	1,000 00
James Benton,.....	4	100 00
John McCall,.....	20	500 00
Michael McQuade,.....	4	100 00
Julius A. Spencer, ...	10	250 00
Hugh Crocker, ...	2	50 00
T. E. & A. A. Jones,.....	8	200 00
J. V. P. Gardner,.....	10	250 00
Patrick Cassidy,.....	4	100 00
Robert Jones & Son,.....	2	50 00
John F. Seymour,.....	20	500 00
James Dutton,.....	2	50 00
Harvey Barnard,.....	2	50 00
O. B. Matteson.....	40	1,000 00
J. E. Warner & Co.,.....	10	250 00
Charles P. Kirkland,.....	40	1,000 00
Edmund A. Wetmore,.....	20	500 00
Baxter & Hull,.....	12	300 00

NAMES.	SHARES.	AMOUNT.
Price & Dana,.....	4	100 00
R. W. Sherman,.....	2	50 00
Theodore P. Ballou,.....	4	100 00
Alvin White,.....	4	100 00
Timothy O. Grannis,.....	2	50 00
William Bristol,.....	32	800 00
Pomeroy, Walker & Co.,.....	20	500 00
Alfred Churchill,.....	40	1,000 00
George Tracy,.....	4	100 00
John S. Peckham,.....	2	50 00
James Bidwell,.....	2	50 00
Stephen Thorn,.....	20	500 00
James Bryan,.....	4	100 00
Moses D. Bagg, ...	10	250 00
William J. Bacon,.....	10	250 00
Simon V. Oley,.....	10	250 00
Murdock & Andrews,.....	16	400 00
Levi Cozzens, ...	20	500 00
Alfred L. Wells,.....	10	250 00
Charles Churchill,.....	4	100 00
Martin Hart,.....	40	1,000 00
E. B. Langford,.....	1	25 00
James Klinefelt,.....	4	100 00
N. White & Sons,.....	2	50 00
N. H. Morse,.....	1	25 00
J. C. Bailey,.....	12	300 00
Thorn & Maynard,.....	40	1,000 00
James Lewis,.....	4	100 00
James Mapes, ...	4	100 00
Orville Orcutt, ...	4	100 00
Archibald Gardner, ...	4	100 00
McQuade & Clark,.....	8	200 00
Chauncey Palmer,.....	8	200 00
Theodore S. Faxton,.....	100	2,500 00
David Donaldson,.....	4	100 00
Sylvester Aylesworth,.....	1	25 00
Benjamin F. Brooks.	1	25 00
Eaton J. Richardson,.....	4	100 00
Charles Hurlburt,.....	4	100 00
D. H. Davidson,.....	4	100 00
E. S. Brayton,.....	4	100 00

NAMES.	SHARES.	AMOUNT.
J. L. Pierce,	2	50 00
D. V. W. Golden,	1	25 00
James Dana,	4	100 00
Z. & P. Lyon,	2	50 00
M. M. Ellis,	2	50 00
M. M. Bagg,	1	25 00
Bradford S. Merrell,	2	50 00
Bailey & Brothers,	1	25 00
William Tracy,	8	200 00
Peter Freeman,	6	150 00
William Freeman,	1	25 00
John Miller,	4	100 00
William Brady,	2	50 00
Roberts, Sherman & Colston,	4	100 00
Gilbert A. Foster,	10	250 00
Richard Jackson,	2	50 00
A. J. Williams,	16	400 00
Thomas T. Williams,	1	25 00
D. Timmerman,	1	25 00
John W. Bates,	4	100 00
W. H. Haynes,	1	25 00
Lawrence Morgan,	4	100 00
Joseph Bedbury,	1	25 00
Joseph Nutt,	1	25 00
Paul Keiser,	2	50 00
M. M. Ellis,	4	100 00
Isaac Bond,	4	100 00
William D. Hamlin,	10	250 00
Egbert Bagg,	4	100 00
E. M. Gilbert,	20	500 00
T. R. Walker,	20	500 00
J. Griffiths,	6	150 00
Urbane Dunning,	1	25 00
Norman C. Newell,	4	100 00
Herman Ferry,	8	200 00
Job S. Collins,	2	50 00
William Walcott,	40	1,000 00
John J. Francis,	4	100 00
Peter Clogher,	2	50 00
Luke Wilkins,	4	100 00
William Morris,	20	500 00

NAMES.	SHARES.	AMOUNT.
Ebenezer Leach,.....	20	500 00
Martin Bremmer,.....	8	200 00
Edward Eames,.....	4	100 00
John Carton,.....	3	75 00
James H. Reed,.....	6	150 00
Palmer V. Kellogg,.....	8	200 00
George Parker, Clinton,.....	10	250 00
Edward B. Jones,.....	2	50 00
Warnick & Bryan,.....	8	200 00
H. H. Smith, ...	2	50 00
Charles Downer & Co.,.....	4	100 00
Griffith Williams,.....	1	25 00
M. B. Debman, ...	1	25 00
Pomeroy & Crippen,.....	2	50 00
A. N. Pomeroy,.....	2	50 00
J. O. Jones,.....	4	100 00
Warren Cooley,.....	1	25 00
Clark Wilson,.....	8	200 00
Edward Seaton,.....	1	25 00
Timothy O. Grannis, ...	4	100 00
John Beston,.....	20	500 00
Isaac Fish, ...	1	25 00
Onias P. Miller, Whitestown,...	20	500 00
Thomas Hopper,.....	4,048	36,250 00

Of these subscribers twenty-six are now living.

The projector of the proposed works submitted the plans, diagrams and specifications in the autumn of 1847, to a meeting of citizens held in Mechanics Hall. Approval was very general for some means being adopted, by which the City might be supplied with pure water, but none favored the works being made by the City in its corporate capacity, and therefore they must be established by individual enterprise, if at all. Seventy-five thousand dollars at that time was a large amount to raise, and for a work for which very grave doubts existed in the minds of many. Some thought it a very wild project, and of doubtful utility; others "had no money to throw away;" and many were of the opinion that the cost had been very much underestimated, and that we were launching ourselves into loss and failure. The directors were of the opinion that a trial had better be made; a subscription book was opened, and presented to the citizens pretty generally

for several months, with the result of $22,000 being subscribed, and there seemed but little prospect of obtaining a much greater sum. At this juncture so many obstacles were presented, that all hope of success was lost, and would have been to this day, probably, but for the energy and perseverance of two of the directors, (Messrs. Wetmore and Devereux.) These gentlemen were unwilling to give up an enterprise so very essential to the welfare of the City, without resorting to the last means for its accomplishment; and they again had an interview with the projector of the works, proposing ways by which the needed capital might be obtained, provided a person could be found to erect the works for a specific sum, and assume the risks of the purchase of land and water privileges, &c.; all to be in accordance with the plans, specifications, &c. They said "they had been diligent in finding such person, but none would think of engaging for a less sum than $150,000, which sum could not possibly be obtained." "They feared the estimate was quite too low;" though they were reassured that the plans and estimates were carefully made, so far as at present could be ascertained. The owners of the land and water privileges to be acquired had been conferred with; some were willing to sell at reasonable prices, but the prices of others could not be favorably entertained. There were about ten miles of these rights to be obtained, which would require many months to perfect titles to, and if the works were to be commenced without delay, the contractor—whoever he might be—would have to assume the risk of getting titles. The result of this interview was a negative answer to the requests then made, but with a promise to meet again soon after further consideration. The next meeting was at Mr. Wetmore's office. The whole matter had been under careful advisement; $53,000 were yet needed, ($22,000 had already been subscribed.) It was the opinion of the directors that the subscribers would prefer to double their amounts of subscriptions to having the enterprise fail of success, and that by canvassing the city thoroughly the remainder might be secured. A few accessions were made, but the prospects were so discouraging, that the matter remained *in statu quo* for some time. In the meantime the originator of the enterprise visited some friends in New York. Fortunately those friends evinced greater confidence in the project than was felt at home, which made it certain that the necessary funds would be forthcoming when wanted; this led to another meeting of the directors, when one of their number submitted a proposition to not only enter into the contract to perform all the

requirements of the plans, specifications, &c., to the full and entire satisfaction of the directors, but would furnish one-half of $75,000. The offer was gladly accepted, when the required sum was at once raised. The contract was entered into on the 21st day of April, 1849.

The plans and specifications required a well to be made in the west branch of the Starch Factory Creek, on Mr. Harvey's farm, with all necessary grates, strainers, &c. A round aqueduct of twelve inches internal diameter, to be constructed of hard burned brick laid in cement, excepting in places subjected to pressure, where ten inch iron pipe was to be laid. Said aqueduct to extend from said well to between High and Chatham streets, where a reservoir was to be built, to be two hundred feet on each street, and two hundred and forty feet in width, and for a depth of ten feet of water; with all necessary wells, pipes, &c. The reservoir to be substantially fenced. The aqueduct to be continued through the reservoir to near its north corner to a twelve inch iron gate; from thence a twelve inch cast iron pipe to centre of Bridge street (now Park avenue,) and from thence a ten inch pipe to the west side of Genesee street (through Dakin street), and from thence an eight inch pipe along west side of Genesee street to Hotel street; thence down Hotel street to Liberty street, and from thence a pipe of six inches bore through Liberty to Genesee street, down west side of Genesee to Catharine street; and from thence across to east side of Genesee street; and from thence down to Main street. A pipe of six inches bore down Bridge street from Dakin street to centre of Chancellor square, and from thence a four inch pipe to Jay street. From these mains the branch pipes to be laid as follows:

Genesee street,....	Dakin to Bleecker,....	3 inch pipe.
Genesee street,....	Catharine to Water,...	4 inch pipe.
Columbia street, ..	Genesee to Varick,.....	5 inch pipe.
Fayette street,....	Genesee to State,.....	4 inch pipe.
Hotel street,.....	Liberty to Whitesboro,	4 inch pipe.
Whitesboro street,	Genesee to Seneca,.....	3 inch pipe.
Charlotte street,..	Bridge to Bleecker,....	4 inch pipe.
John street,.....	Bridge to Bleecker,....	3 inch pipe.
Bleecker street,...	Franklin to 6 Bleecker,.	3 inch pipe.
Elizabeth street,..	Bridge to Kent,.....	3 inch pipe.
Kent street,.....	Elizabeth 150 ft. down,.	3 inch pipe.

Franklin street,...	Bleecker 400 ft. down,.	3 inch pipe.
Catharine street,..	Genesee to First,.....	3 inch pipe.
Broad street,.....	Genesee to Second,....	3 inch pipe.

Branch pipes to be laid at all intersecting streets. Stop cocks to be set for each of the branch pipes, and other stop cocks to be set as directed. Pipes to be laid for fifty hydrants.

All cast iron pipes to be subjected to three hundred pounds pressure; and the contract, &c., further required that the contractor shall, at his own expense and cost, get and procure to the Water Company, a good and valid right and title to take, use and protect against injuries or nuisances, all the waters flowing from springs or otherwise, into either branch of the Starch Factory Creek, south of the well at Harvey's farm; and also the right to make, lay and construct and repair aqueducts, reservoirs, pipes and other works necessary or proper in the conveying and distribution of the water, according to the design and intention of the contract. The contractor to pay all expenses, costs and damages of every kind and nature, which may be incurred by reason of taking land and water. The evidences to be recorded in the office of the Clerk of Oneida County. The contractor agreeing to construct the works, and every portion thereof, in the most permanent and substantial manner, and at his own expense and cost, furnish all the materials, labor, and other things, for the construction of said works; and have the whole completed and entirely finished by the first day of May, 1850.

In short, the contractor was bound to construct, complete and put the works in full working order, and to keep them in repair for three months after completion; and to warrant all the works and pipes to stand without any failure for one year from the time of completion; also to superintend the works for three months after completion. The superintendence has extended to the more remote period of thirty-five years.

The work on the reservoir was commenced the day after signing the contract; the laying of pipes on the 8th day of May following. As it was the intention to finish the works in course of the year, the construction was pressed with much energy and perseverance. The summer proved very favorable—not a day was lost on account of inclement weather. On the 8th day of November, 1849, the water was let into all the mains, and was flowing from all the hydrants and the works virtually finished, to the full satisfaction of parties contracting.

An Act passed the Legislature March 8, 1850, authorizing the Company, from time to time, to increase their capital stock, in such sums as the directors may deem best, so however that the whole amount, including the present stock, shall not exceed $150,000.

June 30, 1853, the Legislature passed an Act as follows: "The Utica Water Works Company is hereby authorized, by an extension of its pipes and conduits, to supply water to such towns or parts of towns, adjoining the bounds of the City of Utica, as said Company may deem it expedient to supply with water."

This same year a four inch main was laid from the termination of the six inch main, at the corner of Genesee and Main streets, down to the river, running twelve feet from the west wing of the bridge; thence across the river (conforming with its bed) to Deerfield, passing three feet from the north wing of the bridge, and from thence northeasterly through the street, to opposite Shaw's slaughter house, and from thence into the slaughter house yard.

In 1853 also the company increased its capital to $85,000. The $10,000 was raised principally for the laying four inch mains from the junction of Varick and Columbia streets to the Steam Woolen Mills on Columbia street, and to the Globe Woolen Mills on Court street.

In the fall of 1856, the Company bought the lot on the south corner of Steuben and South streets, for the purpose of boring for water. Richard R. Lansing and others, in 1828, commenced boring for coal on this lot, and run a three inch shaft down about two hundred feet. After the first ten feet (of earth) the boring was through Utica slate. The work was abandoned, and the hole remained plugged until 1836, when George J. Hopper with others resumed the boring and continued on for several weeks; but meeting with no better success, and coming to nothing but slate, again plugged the drill, until the purchase by the Water Company in 1856. An inclosed derrick was erected over the shaft, of thirty-five feet in height; four hundred feet of iron rods were prepared, with all other apparatus for drilling. A spring pole was set, windlass, ropes, &c., in place, and the work of sinking the shaft continued until the cold weather of November, when the boring was ended, purposing to go on again in the spring, but which however was not attempted. The shaft was sunk to a depth of about three hundred and fifty feet. The drill came to nothing but hard slate, until three hundred and forty-five feet down. Here the boring was through black sandstone for about two feet; from this there

came a flow of oil and gas. The gas, when ignited, burned brilliantly from the cylinder in which the debris was raised, until its final escape. Oil was fully apparent. The drill again passed into slate. In corroboration of this statement, Mr. Sweet (then State Engineer), who had visited the oil regions in Pennsylvania in 1849, under the auspices of this State, to make examinations and ascertain the status of that interesting region, came from Albany twice, and on careful examination of the debris drawn from the well, said he "had never met with a more encouraging 'show' for a flow of oil at the same depth of boring;" and was of the opinion, at an increased depth of eighty feet, oil-bearing sandstone would be reached of much greater thickness and perchance a large flow. Further investigation may lead to ulterior results of interest and profit, although well known geological formations do not favor a great outlay in pursuance of finding oil or natural gas in this locality. "Finding," however, is generally the result of search, and particularly so, if searching into the unseen and hidden recesses of the depths below.

In 1854, the directors finding the supply of water (being 800,000 gallons per day from the springs) becoming inadequate for the increasing demand purchased a farm of about forty acres of land, lying southerly of George W. Harvey's farm, from Robert Cook, on which was erected the second reservoir. The bank was made to the height of fifty feet. The water at high water mark covers an area of seven acres; capacity about forty million gallons. This reservoir answered its purpose until 1868, when it was found necessary to make another to meet the constantly increasing demands. Consequently the Company purchased seventeen acres of land, on which the distributing reservoir is built, and at the same time it became necessary to increase the aqueduct capacity from ten inches internal diameter, to two aqueducts of twelve inches each; which, together with distributing pipes through the streets of the city, would give an increased distance of cast iron pipes of about ten miles.

The estimated cost of this new work (which was the actual cost) was $130,000. Whereupon in May (18th), 1868, by an Act of the Legislature, the Common Council of the City of Utica was authorized to make a contract with the Utica Water Works Company, and thereby fix and agree upon a sum to be paid annually to the Company, for a supply of water for the extinguishment of fires; and providing that when such contract is made, the Company shall furnish water to the City in the manner required by the

law. The Company was authorized by the same law, to increase the capital stock to a sum not exceeding $200,000, to be fixed by the directors. A contract was made between the City and the Company, under the law; and the directors resolved to increase the capital stock to $200,000, being an addition of $115,000 to the former capital of $85,000. The balance of $15,000 required for the work was raised by the sale of the bonds of the Company. Confidence at this time was so fully established in the ability of the Company to fulfil any obligations it might deem proper to assume, that no difficulty was encountered in the sale of stock and bonds; but some delay occurred in endeavoring to contract the work. The directors were not willing to assume the responsibilities unless a contract could be made with a responsible party to do the work. No one offered, and there seemed no alternative, but for the former contractor to assume its responsibilities. The contract was entered into, the contractor engaging to put up the whole works, in full accordance and requirement of the plans, specifications, and contract, for the sum of $130,000, and to fully complete the same within one year; all of which was performed to the full satisfaction of the directors and of the Common Council.

This gave about forty million gallons more storage capacity, and eighty feet greater head to the water to the city, or a difference of thirty-five pounds additional pressure to an inch. The reservoir on High street was at this time sold and filled up by the purchaser.

In pursuance of the heretofore mentioned Act of the Legislature, passed May 18th, 1868, the City of Utica entered into a contract with the Utica Water Works Company as follows, viz.: the said Company agreed to furnish water for the said City, for the extinguishment of fires, and to lay and extend its pipes and conduits in the streets designated upon a map and plan presented to the Common Council of said City, by a committee of directors of said Company, on the 20th day of April, 1868, duplicate of which is on file in the office of the City Clerk, and is certified to by Theodore S. Sayre, on behalf of the City Committee, as the map and plan here referred to, and to provide suitable reservoirs to constantly supply said City with sufficient water for the extinguishment of fires: provided said City shall pay therefor the consideration hereinafter mentioned; and also upon the condition that the said Company shall be able, on or before the 15th day of November, 1868, by the sale of stock or otherwise, to raise sufficient money to complete the works contemplated by this contract.

And said City agrees that when the said Company shall have furnished by the said reservoir, and by the pipes and conduits a supply of water in manner and for purposes aforesaid, and so long as they shall continue to supply sufficient water for said purposes, it will pay therefor to the said Company the sum of ten thousand dollars, annually, on the 15th day of November of each and every year, and will also pay one-half of said taxes assessed upon the Company, within the limits of said City, and taxed therein, in excess of $1,000.

If said City shall determine to have said water pipes extended on any street beyond the point designated on said map, the said Company agrees to extend the same to such point as may be designated; the said City agreeing to pay in addition to the sum herein specified, seven per cent upon the cost of said extension, or new work, annually.

The Company agrees that the City may obtain a supply of water for the City Hall and other public buildings, owned or occupied for municipal purposes, without payment of water rents, but subject in other respects to the rules of the Company. The City is to furnish all the hydrants, the Company to put in and connect the same with the pipes; the City agreeing to pay all expenses therefor, excepting the pipes connecting the hydrants with the mains. The Company agrees to erect six fountains and supply them with water, the City to pay the expense thereof.

This much needed and timely accession to the Company's works placed it on a basis most satisfactory to the directors and to the citizens generally. For the present the supply was abundant, and it was hoped would continue so for at least five years to come; but the rapid growth of the City, and consequent demand, again warned the directors that it would be prudent to prepare for larger storage capacity at an early day.

By an Act passed April 7th, 1870, the Utica Water Works Company was authorized to increase its capital stock to a sum not exceeding $400,000, to be fixed from time to time by directors of said Company.

Prior to 1872 one of the directors visited Cedar Lake several times in reference to the possibility of bringing its waters to the reservoirs for City purposes. In the fall of that year the services of Hiram Park were engaged to make surveys and estimates of the quantity of water that could be obtained, and the probable cost of an aqueduct to the distributing reservoir, a distance of ten miles. Mr. Park found the pond to have an area of twenty-two

acres, and estimated the cost of such an undertaking, to its completion, to be $220,000, which was a much larger expense than contemplated, and decided to be unworthy of further consideration. Mr. Park was requested to make a preliminary survey of the Starch Factory Creek. This being done, plans, specifications and estimates were prepared, for the erection of the large impounding reservoir. In the spring of 1873, the services of an engineer was secured to carry through and to take principal supervision of the work; he remained in this position a short time and resigned, not being willing to continue in the responsibilities of so hazardous an undertaking; whereupon the duties fell upon the director who had erected the former works. Since large quantities of material were ordered, and arriving on the ground, and the work in full progress, it was continued until July, when a "strike" was imminent; and as the bank could not be so far completed as to secure it against destruction by the spring floods, the men were dismissed; nor was the work resumed till the spring following, when four hundred men and eighty teams were engaged, and the work hardly pressed until the frosts of winter came upon us, when the bank was to be raised fully ten or twelve feet to be secure. The wheelbarrow men and shovelers were kept at work all winter, but as this would not give the desired security to the banks, it was finally resolved to make a flume through the south end of the bank, twelve feet deep and six feet wide, with two gates, each three by six feet. This, together with twenty inch waste pipe through the bottom of the bank, safely discharged the waters of the spring floods, and the reservoir was finished the following year. This reservoir is three-quarters of a mile in length, with an area of about thirty acres, and a capacity of holding about three hundred million gallons of water. The bank has three hundred feet base, twenty feet across the top, and is seventy feet in height. The cast iron mains connecting this reservoir with the distributing reservoir are twenty inch to East street, the rest of twelve inch internal diameter. The entire cost was $157,000, which sum was provided for by increase of the capital stock of the Company $100,000, and the remainder by issue of its bonds, $57,000. The works heretofore mentioned have given ample supply of water for the uses of the City to this time; and to be fully prepared for all emergencies, the directors resolve to advance with the constant progress of the City, and enlarge and extend the works commensurate with all demands.

In the summer of 1885, titles were fully perfected to the basin lands lying southerly of the south bounds of the distributing

reservoir, and the northerly bound of "Sylvan Glen," containing an area of eighty-one acres. This site for the new reservoir embraces advantages seldom to be obtained at any price. Its supply of water will be from the westerly terminus of the Company's water shed, as it emerges from the deep, rocky forest glen above mentioned.

The full extent of the water shed covers an area of fifteen square miles, and taking in the full northerly slope of the hills lying south and southeasterly of the city. These hills in a distance of twelve miles culminate in twelve hundred feet elevation, sending their waters down through a thousand little rivulets, to the four rocky chasms, from whence they are received, uncontaminated by morass or swamp, into the reservoirs below, ready to be drawn at all times, and under various pressure, by the use of the gates connecting the reservoirs. The waters of this district have not been stored heretofore but in a very limited extent, and are soft and nearly free from lime, which renders them valuable for manufacturing purposes.

In Oneida county the rainfall averages forty inches annually—equal to a volume of 1,858,560,000 gallons. Deduct one-third for evaporation, percolation, &c., &c., and there remains 1,239,040,000, available for domestic purposes. On completion of the new reservoir the storage capacity of the four reservoirs will be 800,000,000 gallons. Add to this 439,040,000 gallons for replenishing the quantity drawn in course of the year, and we have the sum total of available rainfall, as above stated: equal to three million four hundred and fifty thousand gallons per day, or thirty-four gallons per capita for a population of one hundred thousand; and in addition the never-varying subterranean flow at Græfenberg of five hundred thousand gallons per day. Other reservoirs will be made from time to time as may be required.

The works in progress of construction were commenced about the first of September, 1885, under the direction of the President of the Company. The work of laying the twenty-four inch pipes from the south side of the distributing reservoir began the first of September; from thence it extended down through J. W. Miller's farm to the center of James and Mohawk streets; thence westerly through James street to Brinckerhoff avenue to Square street; thence westerly in Square street to Johnson square and West street, a distance of 7,150 feet. From twenty inch valve twenty inch main extend northerly in West street to Rutger street; thence westerly to Hopper street, to Union; down Union

to Blandina, to Genesee; down Genesee, turning through Hotel street, under the canal, to Liberty street; thence to Genesee street, and down Genesee to Whitesboro street; a distance of 6,600 feet. Finished in December, 1885.

The plans further contemplate the laying of a twenty inch main from the twenty inch gate (set for the purpose) from Johnson square, through Hobart street to Genesee; thence to Noyes street, and through Noyes street to Stark street; a distance of 4,500 feet.

In addition to the large mains, about two-and-a-half miles of smaller mains were laid, varying from four to ten inches calibre; and about the same quantity will be laid next year.

Work was commenced on the new reservoir simultaneously with the laying of pipe, and was pushed to the full extent desirable in weather so unpropitious as that of last autumn. This reservoir, when completed, will hold about five hundred million gallons of water. Its bank will be two thousand feet in length, and will have sixty feet elevation from the base line of the reservoir; the sectional lines two hundred and sixty feet at base, slopes of bank one to two, and twenty feet between angles at top. The whole will be constructed of earth, to be taken from the interior of the reservoir, which is abundant and of the very best quality. The bank will only be built this year to a height of forty-five feet, and may be ready for partial filling in July. In connection with this work the distributing reservoir will be enlarged in extent of about two and one-half acres, and deepened sufficiently to give it nearly double its present capacity. These new works will require an outlay of $200,000.

The supply of water to the City is by gravity flow, which is the most economical, reliable and efficient of any system yet adopted. The reservoirs are so connected with conduits that water may be let on for City supply from either, or all, as occasion may require. The usual direct flow, however, is from the distributing reservoir, the surface of which is two hundred feet elevation above the datum line of the City. This gives a pressure of eighty-seven pounds to a square inch, and a flow from the hydrant at Bagg's square of about eighty feet altitude. If in case of a large conflagration a higher flow should be desirable, the gate from the said reservoir would be closed, and the gate to the new reservoir opened, which would give a pressure of one hundred and thirteen pounds to an inch. By closing both these gates and opening the gate at the Starch Factory Creek reservoir the pressure would be raised to one hundred and thirty pounds to a square inch. The

fourth reservoir would give a pressure of two hundred and seventy pounds to an inch, which is beyond the strength of any Water Company's Works to bear. The capital stock of the Company was increased last year to the sum of $400,000.

At the close of this year the aggregate length of the Company's cast iron mains will not vary much from forty-five miles.

The purchase of buildings Nos. 234 and 236 Genesee street, for an office, is the last act worthy of mention.

Officers of the Water Works Company, 1885–1886.

THOMAS HOPPER, *President.*
A. G. BROWER, *Vice President.*
P. V. ROGERS, *Treasurer.*
J. K. CHAMBERLAYNE, *Secretary.*

Board of Directors.

ABRAM G. BROWER,	C. G. CHURCHILL,
PUBLIUS V. ROGERS,	THEODORE S. SAYRE,
CHARLES A. BUTLER,	HENRY J. WOOD,
WILLIAM KERNAN,	THOMAS HOPPER,

J. K. CHAMBERLAYNE.

Since the above account of the Utica Water Works was written it might be interesting to add—that at the present date, October 11th, 1886, the works contemplated are now nearly completed. The banks of the new reservoir are raised to a height of forty-seven feet, on the summit of which a driveway is formed thirty feet in width, from which is revealed many extended landscapes of great beauty and interest. Work was commenced about the first of May with as large a force of men and teams as could be advantageously engaged, and from time to time were increased as needed, generally numbering eighty teams and two hundred and seventy men. The material from which the bank has been entirely made is of the best kind and in great abundance, and enough yet remains for the sixty feet bank, when the time comes for its construction. The area of this reservoir has been extended easterly forty feet, and the depth lowered on an average of about eight feet, thus increasing its capacity to about 400,000,000 of gallons, and when the sixty feet bank shall have been completed it will be

able to store perhaps 600,000,000 gallons. In course of constructing the works, the area of the distributing reservoir was enlarged from eleven to fourteen acres, with an added depth from three to twelve feet, thus nearly doubling its previous capacity. The banks also have been improved by raising the same to a uniform height, widened likewise, and the inner slopes substantially paved. As the rivulets formerly flowing into this reservoir are now all cut off, and their waters empty into the new reservoir, the distributing reservoir receives its supply entirely from the other reservoirs through iron pipes laid for that purpose; the ingress and egress being governed entirely by gates, and at the option of the attendant, water can be drawn from either or all the other reservoirs. The twenty inch iron aqueduct laid between the two large impounding reservoirs is mainly for bringing the surplus waters from the easterly to the westerly (or new) reservoir, or they may be turned into the distributing reservoirs. As the works were virtually finished on the 9th inst., the teams and most of the men which have been connected with the summer's labor were dismissed.

It may be here added also that about four miles of distributing mains have been laid in the city this year, and probably two miles more will be buried before winter, thus aggregating not less than fifty miles of pipes for distribution.

T. H.

ERRATA.—On page 47, for 1834 read 1824.

On page 48, for 1834 to 1842 read 1824 to 1834.

FORTS STANWIX AND BULL AND OTHER FORTS AT ROME.

BY HON. D. E. WAGER.

The French and English commenced settlements on this side of the Atlantic about the same period of time, and for the one hundred and fifty years which followed there were continued rivalries, with an almost constant struggle between the two nations for supremacy on this continent. The English colonists located along the Atlantic seaboard, and pushed their settlements in New York, up the Hudson and along the Mohawk, while the French occupied Canada, and extended their discoveries and possessions westward along and claimed lakes Ontario, Erie and Champlain to and including the great western lakes, the sources of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and down those streams to the Gulf of Mexico. The French established trading posts and erected fortifications along the line of their discoveries, and thereby sought to win the friendship and trade of the powerful Iroquois confederacy in central New York, and also of the other Indian tribes, and hoped in due time to crowd their English rivals still closer to the shore, and to eventually drive them out altogether from the country.

As early as 1678 the French established a trading post and erected a fort at the mouth of Niagara River, (the first erected by the French in New York,) with the view of controlling that route to the western lakes. The English, on the other hand, in 1709 erected Forts Ann and Nicholson, on the upper Hudson, near lakes George and Champlain, and, as connecting links in the chain, erected forts prior to 1712 along the Mohawk as far westward as Fort Hunter, in what is now Montgomery county. The forts thus erected, even at that early day, were in the natural channels of water communication, and subsequently became the great highway for the Indian trade and for hostile parties, and formed a portion of the great battle-ground between the armies of two nations contending for the sovereignty of a continent.

In 1720, William Burnet, son of Bishop Burnet, of England, was appointed governor of New York. He was a ripe scholar, a

patriotic citizen and a sagacious statesman. He saw at once and readily comprehended the designs of the French, and took measures to thwart and counteract them. His line of policy was to establish trading posts, erect forts, cultivate the friendship of the Indian tribes, and win their trade into English channels. Through his influence, and about 1722, a trading post or settlement was established at Irondequoit Bay, in what is now Monroe county, and another one at Oswego, and five years later, a fort was erected at the latter place. These and similar efforts on the part of the English, served to divert from the French into English channels a large Indian trade, and to make the route via Mohawk River and Oneida Lake, the shorter one between Albany and Canada, and the one most generally traveled. Smith's Colonial History of New York says that after the trading post and fort were erected at Oswego the Indians usually went there in May with furs and remained to dispose of them until the last of July; that in the summer of 1725, fifty-seven canoes went over this route to Oswego and returned with seven hundred and thirty-eight packs of beaver and deer skins; that it was estimated that one hundred and fifty hogsheads of beaver and other fine furs, and two hundred hogsheads of dressed deer skins, were exported annually from this country, and that in 1755, when Gen. Shirley's army was at Oswego, over 1,700 head of cattle were driven thither from Albany by this route. The French keenly felt the loss of this Indian trade, and endeavored to recover it. They put vessels afloat on Lake Ontario to capture the trade, planned expeditions and threatened to destroy the Oswego forts, and in 1731 erected a strong fortress at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, to intercept and control the trade and travel by that route. In 1731 the English board of trade recommended the erection of a fort at the "Oneida Carrying Place," but nothing was then done to carry out the recommendation.

The first mention I have seen made in any document or history of the site which subsequently became that of Fort Stanwix is to be found in the Oriskany Patent, granted in April, 1705, to five persons. One of the parcels of land in that patent is bounded as follows: "Commencing at the mouth of the Oriskany Creek where it falls into the Mohawk, thence up that river for two English miles on each side to the Oneida Carrying Place where the path begins; thence along said path for the same depth on each side into the woods to the swamp called '*Cannigoticka.*'" That swamp is close to what is now called West Rome, and that

"carrying place" is the portage between Mohawk River and Wood Creek, where the business portion of the city of Rome is now located. It is quite evident from the boundary of that parcel of land in the Oriskany Patent, that the "Oneida Carrying Place" must have been used for some time previous to 1705 for the carriage of goods and persons, and that its name and this route were familiar to the colonial authorities even at that early period. It was doubtless called the "Oneida Carrying Place" by reason of its location within the territory of the Oneidas and its proximity to the home of that tribe of Indians.

I have not been able to ascertain the year in which the first fort was built at this "carrying place." The evidence, however, points to the period of the French war of 1754 as about the time. That was when there was great military activity in progress on the part of both nations, and when the French and English were busily engaged in the erection of forts in the country. In 1753 the English erected another fort at Oswego, where they had previously constructed two. In 1755, they erected forts Edward, William Henry and Miller, and rebuilt Fort Ann near Lake George, while the French in the same year erected Fort Ticonderoga, and thereby crowded their possessions and claim twelve miles nearer to the English territory.

Fort Schuyler (Utica) was erected in 1758, and it was during that French war, that Fort Brewerton was erected at the west end of Oneida Lake, and the "Royal Block House" at the east end.

It is an historical fact, that early in 1756 there were three forts at the "Oneida Carrying Place," and a fourth one had been commenced, viz.:

Fort Bull stood on the right bank of Wood Creek, close to the boundary lines between Fonda, Oriskany and Coxe Patents, but in the first named patent. This fort was in the shape of a star, surrounded by a ditch, (which could be filled with water from Wood Creek), having double rows of pickets around it fifteen to eighteen feet high above ground. It would accommodate a garrison of fifty to seventy-five men or more.

Fort Craven was a small stockade fort situate on the westerly side of the Mohawk, not far from where that river bends eastwardly and near to the present feeder to the Erie Canal.

Fort Williams was a larger and a stronger fort than any of them, supplied with cannon, with double pickets some twenty feet high, planked inside, and would accommodate one hundred and fifty men. It stood some twenty-five rods higher up the stream

than Fort Craven, and was about where the railroad bridge now crosses the Mohawk. It was at the point of the landing place, near the head of navigation on that river, and where the Indian path (as mentioned in the Oriskany Patent), commenced to go over the portage, (now Dominick street), to Wood Creek.

Fort Newport was about half way between Fort Bull and the forts on the Mohawk, and it was on the height of ground and on the site of the late United States arsenal, close by the Wood Creek. This fort was in process of completion in 1756, and was named after its commander, who is said to have been massacred by the Indians. Each of the forts above is said to have been named or called after the captain in charge.

In 1754 hostilities commenced between the French and English in America, but it was not until two years later that the two nations declared war against each other. In 1756 the French planned the capture and destruction of the English forts at Oswego, and to effectuate that purpose M. de Lery was sent from Montreal with a French force of about three hundred troops in March of that year, and with four hundred Indians, to attack the "Oneida Carrying Place," intercept and capture such troops and provisions as were being sent from Albany to aid Oswego, and to destroy whatever fortifications there might then be at the "carrying place." That expedition proceeded, via Ogdensburg, across the country through what is now Lewis county, the troops wading through deep snows, crossing swollen streams, suffering cold, hunger and fatigue, and other innumerable hardships during the fifteen days they were on their journey. They reached the "carrying place" March 27, about five o'clock in the morning. They captured prisoners, who informed the French commander of the names, number and condition of the forts and the names of the captains. Fort Bull was at once attacked and captured, its gate forced open, the powder magazine blown up, all but four or five of the garrison killed, (consisting of about sixty), the fort so far demolished as to be useless. Some fifteen batteaux loaded with arms and provisions, and to start that morning for Oswego, were stove in and the contents wasted. The fort was never repaired nor rebuilt. De Lery, fearing an attack from Fort Williams, or from a force sent up by Sir William Johnson, fled in haste to Canada, taking his route through what is now Jefferson county. In August of that year the French under Gen. Montcalm captured and destroyed the English forts at Oswego, which so alarmed Gen. Webb, who had been sent from down the valley to

the relief of Oswego, that he felled trees in Wood Creek to impede the French if they should come this way, destroyed Forts Craven and Williams, and beat a precipitate retreat down the Mohawk. This left the "carrying place" without a fortification to guard or to protect it. Nothing is left to mark the spot where Forts Craven and Williams formerly stood, but the site and the surroundings of Fort Bull are plainly visible. Its shape, size and ditches stand out prominently; it ought to belong to this society, to be preserved in its present condition from further destruction.

In 1757 a French spy passed over the route from Oswego to Albany, and this is what he had to say of the condition of things at the "Oneida Carrying Place:"

"From Oneida Lake we enter Vilcreek [Fish, or rather, Wood Creek,] and ascend nine leagues to Fort Bull. The creek is full of sinuosities, narrow and sometimes embarrassed with trees fallen from both banks. [The same trees, doubtless, that Gen. Webb ordered felled into the stream the year before.] When the water is low batteaux can not go within a league of Fort Bull, and cargoes have to be unloaded and taken there by land over a road that has been made, or else the boat must return for the balance of the load. Fort Bull was burned in 1756. It is situate on the right bank of the creek, and it is estimated to be about one league and a quarter to Fort Williams. The English have constructed a road over this "carrying place," and were obliged to bridge a portion from Fort Bull to a small stream [Wood Creek,] near which a fort [Fort Newport] stands, but not yet completed. It was located precisely on the summit level, and intermediate between Fort Bull and the forts on the Mohawk. Fort Williams on the Mohawk was abandoned and destroyed by the English in 1756, after the capture of Oswego."

The foregoing minute description of the condition of things, and the account of De Lery to his government of the forts at the "carrying place" in March, 1756, when he destroyed Fort Bull, lead to the conclusion that those forts could not have been erected more than a year or so previous, or they would have been known to the French authorities.

In 1758 the war in America had been four years in progress and seemingly not any nearer a termination. In the spring of that year Gen. Abercrombie was appointed commander of the English forces in America. In the summer he was encamped at Lake George, meditating an attack on Ticonderoga. On the 16th of July, 1758, he gave orders to Gen. John Stanwix to erect a fort at

the "Oneida Carrying Place." Gen. Stanwix had been stationed the previous year at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, and was relieved of his command there and sent to the "Carrying Place" to superintend the erection of the fort. The following were the "heads of the ordered plan:"

"A good post, capable of lodging two hundred men in the winter, and for three hundred or four hundred men in the summer, for its defense, with logs. A parapet of such thickness as the engineer in charge shall think necessary, according to the situation. A ditch to be made to serve to thicken the parapet; barracks to be made underneath the rampart, with flues of the chimneys to come through the top. The square will be the cheapest form to be made use of for this work. The bastions in like manner can be made use of for storehouses or magazines. In the square may be made lodgings for officers, and the rest of the quadrangular clear; the whole to be logged. Opposite the officers' barracks may be made a storehouse for the deposit of Indian goods."

On the 27th of July Gen. Abercrombie wrote another letter to Gen. Stanwix in which he says: "And having since been advised, instead of that post or fort, to build one more extensive, pursuant to a plan laid before me, I have accordingly sent that plan to Lieut. Williams, now at Albany, with directions to immediately join you and set about it."

In pursuance of those directions the work was begun upon the fort August 23, 1758, and completed November 18, in same year, and named after Gen. Stanwix. It was located on a plot of ground nineteen feet higher than the swamps and lowlands surrounding it, and was directly on the line of (but north of) the Indian path which led over the portage. The site is bounded by what are now Dominick, Liberty and Spring streets, with a ditch or ditches around it, which occupied or were just inside of those streets, and about twenty feet deep and forty feet wide at the top. A row of pickets was in the center of the ditches, and a row of horizontal ones. There was a magazine in the southerly corner (Dominick and Spring streets), sixty-five feet long and sixteen feet wide, bomb proof. The logs were generally two feet thick, flattened at the top and bottom. The barracks were covered with two tiers of square timber from twelve to fourteen inches broad and twelve inches thick. The fort was about four hundred feet square, and instead of accommodating from three hundred to four hundred men, according to the first "ordered plan," it was probably

capable of holding one thousand, as seven hundred and sixty were there when besieged by St. Leger in August, 1777. To the north, east and west of the fort the woods were cleared away for three hundred or four hundred yards, while to the southward it was clear for seven hundred yards. To the southwest (now canal village) was a swamp, chiefly of pine and some white cedar; to the east (toward factory village) was some white pine in the swamp; the rest of the wood was elm, beech, maple, birch, poplar and some wild cherry. When the fort was commenced a saw mill was built on the Mohawk, near where Fort Williams had once stood. The cost of the fort was $266,400. The sally port was on the side towards the river, the covert was on the opposite side, and the drawbridge next to Dominick street. The season Fort Stanwix was erected, and in August, Col. Bradstreet passed over the route from Albany to Oswego with some three thousand men, crossed Lake Ontario in open boats, captured and destroyed Fort Frontenac (now Kingston), returned to Oswego, rebuilt the forts there, and then came back to Fort Stanwix. At this point he lost some five hundred of his men by sickness, caused by fatigue or the bad water of Wood Creek. The year 1760 put an end to French rule in Canada, and there was no further need of Fort Stanwix as a military station, and it was allowed to go to decay. In the last-named year Johannes Reuff settled at the fort, and soon after the families of Brodock, Mayer, Steers and Kleim located at the "carrying place." Small patches of land were cleared and gardens cultivated, but the principal business was trading with the Indians and assisting boatmen over the portage. In May, 1767, Major General Gage, then the English commander in America, wrote to his government concerning the ruinous condition of Fort Stanwix, and suggesting its abandonment, and allowing a half-pay officer the use of the buildings for taking care of them, the withdrawal of the garrison and the sending of the military stores to Oswego. This suggestion, it would seem was acted upon, for a British half-pay officer was in charge of the fort at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War.

The first important event at the fort after the French war was the holding of a council in 1768, at which a treaty was made with the Indians, establishing "the line of property," and fixing the boundary line between the Indian possessions and the lands claimed by the English. The council convened in September and continued until November 5. The various Indian tribes were represented and there were over 2,000 Indians present, fed and

furnished with pipes and tobacco, and the chiefs clothed at the expense of the English nation. Sir William Johnson acted for the home government. Governor William Franklin represented New Jersey and Governor Penn represented Pennsylvania. There were also commissioners from Virginia. The line as agreed upon ran from the mouth of the Tennessee river by various courses to Owego, in Tioga county, in this State, and the great struggle between the red and the white man was whether Cosby's Manor and the "Oneida Carrying Place" should be included in the Indian territory or belong to the crown. The arguments, persuasions and liberal presents of the whites to Indian chiefs finally prevailed, and the line was agreed to run to the west of the "Carrying Place," to the junction of Canada with Wood Creek—thus leaving Cosby's Manor, the Oriskany Patent and the "Oneida Carrying Place" upon English ground. The deed was signed and the presents displayed upon a table within the fort November 5, 1768, and the consideration expressed in the deed was £10,460 7s. and 3d. It was estimated that the expenses of this gathering cost the English government some £10,000 in addition.

At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War Fort Stanwix was sadly out of repair. General Washington at an early day called the attention of General Schuyler to the importance of this fort, and to the necessity of its being put in a state of defense. Early in 1776 Congress directed General Schuyler to repair the fort, and in June of that year Colonel Dayton was ordered thither for that purpose. But little was done that year towards it. By an order bearing date April 26, 1777, signed by General Gates, Colonel Peter Gansevoort with the third regiment of the New York line, was ordered to this post, and the work of repair was at once thoroughly commenced and prosecuted with vigor. Soon after Colonel Marinus Willett, second in command, was also ordered thither. There were many delays and blunders in the repairs, owing to the inefficiency or treachery of the French engineer in charge, so that the work was not completed when the siege began August 2, 1777. At that time there were four guns mounted on the northwest and four guns on the southeast corners of the fort, and three guns on the northeast and three guns on the southwest corners. On the latter corner was the flag staff. That siege lasted from August 2d to the 23d—some authorities say to the 25th—when it was abandoned. That siege and the Battle of Oriskany are closely associated in history, and as full accounts thereof have been repeatedly given and are to be found in recent publications, it seems unnecessary to say anything further here in relation thereto.

During the rest of the year 1777 and the greater part of 1778 nothing of especial importance occurred at the fort, except attacks by small parties of Indians. The garrison was kept up but Colonels Gansevoort and Willett were most of the time elsewhere employed. Through the emissaries of Sir Henry Clinton and by reason of the monotony of garrison life, the soldiers deserted, and many of them became demoralized. From April to August, 1778, three sergeants, two corporals and twenty privates had deserted. The fore part of August, five more deserted and were fifty miles on their way to Canada where they were intercepted by a party of friendly Indians and brought back to the fort. Colonel Gansevoort convened a court martial and the five deserters were tried, convicted and sentenced to be shot August 17th, and that sentence was carried into execution. The day of the sentence six more deserted. While the five were under sentence a party of soldiers was sent down the valley for cattle, and six of those deserted. In a week after the five were shot two more deserted. This state of things called for change of garrison and the latter was removed, and in November, 1778, replaced by a regiment under Colonel VanSchaick. Colonel Gansevoort, it would seem, continued as commander of the fort, for I find in the possession of the family of the late Edward Huntington, of Rome, a muster roll of the garrison, signed by Peter Gansevoort, showing the names of the captains and the number of men at the fort April 20, 1779. The total number was 379. It was by this route that Colonel VanSchaick proceeded to attack and destroy the villages of the Onondagas in 1779. Nothing seems to have occurred at the fort in 1780, except alarms from and attacks by bands of Indians. In May, 1781, there were 260 troops in the garrison under the command of Major Cochran. In the meantime the sudden melting of the heavy snows of the preceding winter and the violent and incessant rains for several days, caused such a freshet in the Mohawk, and great rise of water in the swamps and adjacent lowlands as to almost destroy the earthworks of the fort. A council of war was held May 12th, and it was reported that two-thirds of the works were broken down, and that the residue would be in the same condition in a few days, and that the only remaining strength was in the outside pickets on the glacis. The next day a fire occurred at midday, which destroyed all that the floods had not deluged. The fire was suspected to be the work of some of the soldiers, tired of the inactive life in the garrison. Other authorities say the fire was accidental. The fort was ordered to

be and it was at once abandoned and was not again occupied during that war.

The next matter of importance at Fort Stanwix was an Indian council held in 1784, at which a treaty of peace was made between the United States commissioners and various Indian tribes. The United States commissioners were Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, Arthur Lee, of Virginia, and Richard Butler. That treaty was concluded October 22, 1784, by which the Indians ceded to the United States lands in the western part of this State, and a portion northwest of the Ohio river, subject to certain possessory rights. LaFayette was present at this treaty in an unofficial capacity and made a friendly speech to the Indians. This treaty gave great dissatisfaction to Brant (who was not able to be present), and to Red Jacket and other warlike chiefs and tribes not represented at the treaty. In 1788, another treaty was made at Fort Stanwix between the State of New York and the Six Nations, by which the Oneidas ceded their lands in New York to the State subject to certain reservations and possessory rights. The tract thus ceded amounted to about 8,000,000 acres of land. The commissioners on the part of New York were Governor George Clinton, William Floyd, Ezra L'Hommedieu, Egbert Benson, Samuel Jones, Peter Gansevoort and Richard Varick. There were also in attendance Skenandoah, Colonel Willett and Baron Steuben. It is supposed that it was at the close of this treaty that the famous Indian foot race took place for a gold purse of $250, offered by Governor Clinton, and that little Paul, of the Oneida tribe, won the prize and great renown. Elkannah Watson, who was then making a tour through this part of the State, made the following entry in his journal:

"At Oriskany I passed a small tribe of 200 Indians, the remnant of that once powerful Monawk Nation. After passing the Oriskany battle field I came in the midst of the woods upon a band of Indians as drunk as lords, who looked like so many evil spirits, wild, frantic, almost naked and frightfully painted. They whooped, yelled and danced around me in such hideous attitudes that I was apprehensive for my scalp. On my arrival at Fort Stanwix, I found the whole plain covered with Indians of various tribes, male and female, the latter fantastically dressed in the best attire in the richest silks, fine scarlet clothes bordered with gold fringe, a profusion of brooches, rings in their noses, ears and their heads decorated with feathers. I luckily found a sleeping place in the garret of the house in which Governor Clinton ...

eight other commissioners, and also John Taylor, Indian agent, were stopping. The object of this treaty is to procure a cession of about 8,000,000 of acres of land, extending from Fort Stanwix to the great lakes, now owned by and chiefly inhabited by the Six Nations. Colonel Moutier, the French ambassador, and the Marchioness DeBiron, are now encamped under a marquee, formerly used by Lord Cornwallis. This enterprising and courageous lady has exposed herself to the greatest fatigue and privations to gratify her unbounded curiosity, by coming all the way from New York city to be present at this great assemblage of savage tribes."

Willett Ranney, with eleven children, settled at Fort Stanwix in 1785. A granddaughter of one of those children writes me as follows: "I have often heard my grandmother tell of her early life at Fort Stanwix. She was at the fort in September, 1788, at the time of the treaty there, for I have heard her often speak of baking bread at her brother's, Seth Ranney's house, where many barrels of flour were stored to be made into bread to feed those expected to be present at the treaty. The oven was out-of-doors and a large one, and was kept running night and day for many days and nights before the day fixed for the gathering. There was stored in the barn near by a quantity of liquor, and being apprehensive the Indians would find it, become furious and massacre the people, it was turned out into the ground." The house of Seth Ranney stood on Stanwix street, to the northeast of the present Rome court house.

When the war of the Revolution was at an end, there seemed to be no further need of Fort Stanwix as a military station, and it was suffered to go to decay, and the arms and equipments left in the fort were ordered by the government to be distributed to the settlers to protect themselves from the Indians. In 1789, Jesse Pierce, who kept a ferry over Mohawk river, just above the "Ridge," in Rome, was appointed by the government to make the distribution.

As before stated, the Indians were greatly dissatisfied with the treaty made in 1784 at Fort Stanwix, and in 1791 a general Indian war seemed imminent. Not long after the latter date Fort Stanwix was repaired and a block house erected about 1795 within the enclosure, and garrisoned by a regiment of soldiers of the standing army. When the danger had passed the fort went to decay and was never thereafter repaired.

The "Carrying Place," which included Fort Stanwix and the

MEMORIAL OF S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

BY THOMAS W. SEWARD.

[Read before the Society March 31, 1884.]

In view of the many tributes of respect lately contributed by the press of the country to the subject of this paper, I have thought it best to avoid, as far as possible, repetition of what has already been so truthfully said, and confine myself mainly to a delineation of that part of the life of my departed friend which was spent here, in the place of his birth, until he was nearly twenty-one years old. The fruitage of his busy and most useful life is the property of the world. The simple story of those early years, in which he was, without definite purpose, preparing the soil for the fruitage, belongs appropriately to us, and, as the introductory chapter of a perfectly coherent history is, I think, worth recording and preserving in the city whose most distinguished son he unquestionably was.

Samuel Wells Williams, the first born child of William and Sophia (Wells) Williams, was born September 22, 1812. His paternal grandfather was Deacon Thomas Williams, of New Hartford, a native of Roxbury, Mass. His maternal grandfather was Samuel Wells, also of New Hartford, but originally of Hartford, Conn. Both ancestors brought their families into this region of country about the year 1790. The subject of this notice was of the seventh generation from Robert Williams of Roxbury, Mass., an emigrant from England in 1637, and the founder of one of the largest families in America, a family marked by sound intellect, solid character, and, for the most part, by religious faith and practice. Mr. Williams was born and nurtured under conditions most favorable for the development of those intellectual and spiritual traits of character with which he was endowed, and which found in him congenial and full employment, in many fields of exploration and culture, for more than fifty years. He had a good ancestry to begin with. Both his parents were conspicuous amidst a large community for industry, humanity and piety. Their household, always a large one, was noted for sobriety of conduct, strict economy in the use of time, manifold works of

charity, care of the sick, close heed to religious observances, and scrupulous performance of duties enjoined by religion. To the wise, even-handed authority that ruled this household he always gave a dutiful and cordial obedience. Supplementing this strongly tinctured religious home-life was the all pervading influence of the church and its institutions. In his nineteenth year Mr. Williams united with the First Presbyterian Church by public profession of faith. His name is among the earliest names of those children who belonged to the first Sabbath School of the village; and, until his departure from the country, he maintained his connection, as pupil and teacher, with the school and Bible Class of his church, doing hearty and signal service in both capacities.

The school teachers who had first charge of Mr. Williams' education were Mrs. Sarah K. Clarke, of fragrant Sunday and day school memory, succeeded by Miss Abby Bowen, for many long years a successful teacher of young children. The schoolhouse, demolished long ago, stood close by the corner of Broad and John streets, on what is now the property of the general government. Next in order was Montgomery R. Bartlett, in Hotel street, opposite the present Mechanics' Hall. This was a boys' and girls' school, divided by a partition, except at that point where the teacher's desk commanded a view of both departments. Mr. Bartlett was well grounded in more than rudimentary learning, was the author of a treatise on astronomy, to which he gave the title of Young Ladies' Astronomy, doubtless in compliment to that portion of his school which sat at his right hand; also he compiled an edition of Murray's English Reader, using, as far as they went, the elocutionary rules of John Walker. Some of his pupils, however, have had reason to remember Mr. Bartlett chiefly as a ferocious disciplinarian.

At that time there was only one public school in the village, and it stood on Catharine street, at the head of Franklin. This school was conducted on what was known as the Lancasterian plan, which was mostly a combination of object lessons and a racket. Inasmuch as all school lessons were both conned and recited aloud, there was very often a fearful rivalry between tenors and trebles, of every quality and range. In one of Abraham Culver's carpenter shops, extemporized into a schoolhouse, and approached by devious paths from Genesee, Whitesboro and Hotel streets, was the school of Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, the government of which school enjoyed a brilliant local reputation as a pure democracy. Dennis Mervyn Winston, brother to Frederick S. of that name, succeeding

to Mr. Dwight, subverted the established disorder of things, and set up a close autocracy in its stead. Wells Williams attended this school during both administrations; and, without any very distinct recollection as to the fact, I venture to say, on general principles, that he was unpopular with the thoughtless mob that ruled the preceptor first named. Contemporaneous with all these schools was the old incorporated academy, the predecessor and occupant, in part, of the site of the present Free Academy. Capt. Charles Stuart was principal of the old academy when Wells Williams joined it, and was succeeded, in 1824, by David Prentice, who held the succession, most acceptably, for many years. During the preceptorship of Mr. Prentice the academy pupils were organized into a company of military cadets, under Capt. Varick and Lieut. Williams, Col. Barnard, an assistant teacher, being drill master. Military drill was enforced in the afternoon of every school day, summer and winter. The company had for drummer John Douglass Williams, and Edward Lansing was fifer. There was a stand of colors, borne with much pomp, by the youngest pupil of the school. Sometimes the company would turn out on the general training day of the militia, when it would undergo an afternoon's hard work, jointly with a battalion ten hundred strong. On leaving the parade ground, towards nightfall, Gen. Fortune C. White would put the cadets at the head of the column, close to the thunder of a drum corps which swept the street from sidewalk to sidewalk.

In the year 1829 Wells Williams entered Charles Bartlett's High School, at that time domiciled at the easterly end of Broad street, on elevated ground, charmingly environed. Here he found himself in company with such other 1812 boys as James D. Dana, Morris S. Miller, John C. Van Rensselaer, Edward P. Handy, William Snyder, all of Utica; George Bemis, of Canandaigua, and Lewis Cass, Jr., of Detroit. In the annual public exhibition of the school, held in the winter of 1830, in the Bleecker street church, Mr. Bartlett showed a fine appreciation of the fitness of things in appointing his soberest pupils, Bemis and Williams, to speak the two humorous pieces of the occasion. It was in this school that Mr. Williams was, for the first time, given ample opportunity of satisfying his love of natural science, the high school at Utica ranking with the best in the State in this department of learning. It was then, and in this school, that Fay Edgerton made a golden reputation as a teacher of natural science. He stayed a few years, and departed only to die; but not until he had placed in the chair he could no longer fill, his bosom friend Asa Gray.

Concerning the childhood and youth of Mr. Williams I can not say that they differed remarkably from all the other childhood and youth that grew to manhood in his company. His individuality was not so much that of disposition and of character, as of manner, which had in it a certain austerity. He held very positive opinions, and, amongst his associates, was not slow in expressing them; and sometimes the expression took the unpopular form of sharp criticism. Nevertheless by the naturally discerning and discriminative mind of boyhood he was always respected, even if he was not always liked. His school life, in the estimation of his instructors, as well as of his fellows, was well nigh faultless. His earnest, serious nature would permit no trifling with study, nor waste even of fragments of time. He was rarely the subject of school discipline, even in matters of small import. Not that he was deficient in that fund of animal spirits which is so apt to prompt into transgression even the best of youthful natures. He was wont to regard all manifestations of an unruly spirit not so much with disfavor as disdain. He was never known to be among the foremost in youthful sports, although he by no means abstained from them. He preferred to devote his hours of leisure to things useful, prompted thereto by the counsel and example of a mother whose nature he largely inherited. At home, faithful attention to home duties and no small amount of work were required of him. He learned the printer's trade by way of amusement; and it was not uncommon to find him, during short vacations, helping in the ceaseless and multiform work of his father's printing and publishing establishment.

One of his most intimate associates, at this period of his life, was James Dwight Dana. They both lived on Broad street, and not very far apart; but neighborhood seems to have had less to do with their close friendship than harmony of taste and feeling. Both of them were studious, matter of fact, had an absorbing love of natural science, and were alike untroubled by the profitless dreams of fancy. I remember to have read a letter from Dana to Williams, written on board one of our war-ships where he was probably employed as schoolmaster. The ship had come in sight of the English coast, and the cliffs of Albion were in full view. But the white cliffs failed, for once, to inspire the customary enthusiasm. The writer breathed a regret that the friend of his heart was not with him, so that the two might disembark, and, landing with mineralogical intent and sledge hammers, knock the chalk cliffs in pieces.

In the year 1832, and at the age of twenty, he was graduated with honor at the Polytechnic Institute of Troy, N. Y. He could have had a Collegiate education if he had desired it; but he so much preferred the scientific to the classical side of a liberal education, that he was unwilling to surrender himself to the prescribed four years' course of study. Moreover, at the time of his going to Troy, he was very anxious to save time, and to make the most of the opportunity to complete certain lines of study already begun. As yet he had not planned any ultimate vocation. The time spent in Troy was used to the utmost advantage. He had never before lived away from home. The attrition of such institutional life as that of Rensselaer, while it sharpened his intellect, also smoothed his asperity of manner. He caught the spirit of society, its methods and requirements, and laid aside all further habit of self-assertion.

About the time of Mr. Williams' graduation at Troy, his father, happening to be in the city of New York, was requested by the senior member of the house of Olyphant to find a young printer suited to the mission of the American Board at Canton. The Olyphants were extensively engaged in the China trade, and were zealously laboring for the diffusion of Christianity in the Chinese empire. Without hesitation Mr. Williams nominated his oldest son for the position, feeling perfectly assured that his candidate and the place had been decreed for each other. That the hour had come, and the man, unfolding years were to demonstrate. Young Williams promptly accepted the proposal of his father and Mr. Olyphant. His public profession of religion, made two years before this, was without reservation. It was an unqualified surrender of himself to the control and bidding of his Divine Master, and now he felt himself called into this immediate service, Something in the proposal there may have been that appealed strongly to youthful love of adventure, to his eager ambition in the acquirement of knowledge, and to an inborn partiality for subjects and employments not of the common. China, in the year 1832, was, to all intents, a country unexplored by the agents either of commerce or Christianity. What possibilities might not the future contain for resolute purpose, stimulated by religious conviction, and a desire to put the light of the gospel into the darkness of paganism.

Preparations for departure were immediately begun. Some finishing touches to what he had acquired of the printer's art were needed, and were soon completed. Formal leave taking of family

connections, and brief journeys for that purpose were made. The strongest tie that held him to his country had been severed, when, in the December of 1831, his mother passed into the "undiscovered country." He sailed from New York in June, 1833, in the good ship Morrison, the name borne by the first translator of the Bible into the Chinese tongue.

On the twenty-second day of September, 1833, and somewhere in eastern seas, our missionary printer contributed from his private stores to the captain's table, a single bottle of currant wine, which, we take for granted, was found to be of full flavor, served to emphasize one day in the weary monotony of days in an ocean voyage, and did no harm to the company. The wine had been set apart by a happy father from his own vintage of 1812, to be solemnly drank on the twenty-first anniversary of the birth of his eldest son. No horoscope of the child's future revealed India seas, the ship Morrison, the restricted life at Hong Kong and Macao, years of hard, dry labor, many rebuffs, many encouragements, not a few perils, much of consolation, much too of enjoyment by the way, and very much done and accomplished; and lastly, the widely opened doors of China and Japan. We have brought our friend to China, and here, in the company of Dr. Bridgman, and busy in his new work of editing and printing, we leave him.

In the year 1845 Mr. Williams returned to this country for the purpose of raising money to buy an indispensable font of Chinese type, to be cast in Berlin. He made the journey overland through Asia and Europe, as far as was practicable, tarrying long in Palestine, especially in Jerusalem and its immediate neighborhood, as might have been predicted; and in this connection I may be permitted to say that one of the most characteristic utterances I ever heard from him was, when standing one spring day in 1846, on a slight eminence overlooking Owasco lake, he said that he was reminded of the Sea of Galilee, which was a very pretty lake in itself; and then went on dryly to say, as he would have said of any other fact in historical geography, that Galilee was interesting because it had been walked upon. During his stay in Europe he received many flattering marks of attention from the *savants*, especially in the city of Paris; and this, when he had lived in China less than twelve years. He reached Utica in the autumn of 1845, and here he spent the ensuing winter, engaged in writing the history of the Middle Kingdom, a work which was only a wide amplification of a series of lectures delivered here and in this region, during the same winter and the spring following. The proceeds of

these lectures, which were well attended, enabled him, in large part, to get the much-coveted font of type from the Berlin foundry. In spite of the absorbing and laborious nature of his winter's employment, he found time for genial intercourse with such spirits as were in accord with his great missionary undertaking, as well as with the learned in all professional life. As a lecturer it must be confessed that he was somewhat dull; but as a conversationist it is doubtful whether he had many equals in the art of exhibiting, in the best light, vast stores of rare information, and a rich fund of personal experience. On Commencement Day, 1846, Union College conferred upon him the degree of LL. D., an honor not always so well bestowed, and not often more gratefully appreciated; and yet, as showing the simplicity of the man's character, his love of his native place, and the value he set upon the good opinion of its citizens, he privately confessed, many years afterwards, that he prized more dearly than all such honors the kind words spoken of him by Mr. James Watson Williams in his historical address on the opening of the new Free Academy building.

Mr. Williams re-visited the United States in 1860, was here at the outbreak of the rebellion, saw the Seventh New York Regiment in Broadway on the memorable day in April, 1861, accepted the spectacle as a sign of patriotism and of the power grimly reposing behind it, forecast the war and its consequences, went back to China and his work, but not until he had put a substitute for himself into the army of his country.

Mr. Williams visited us again in 1875, on business connected with the United States legation at Peking, resigned his place as secretary of that legation, went back to China once more, closed his affairs at Peking, and made his final return to this country late in 1876. There was soon made for him in Yale College, a Professorship of the Chinese Language and Literature, with disappointing results on the whole; although, collaterally, his services to the college were of very great importance. There was no abatement in his habit of industry; and, in the grateful security of a wider leisure than he had known in almost fifty years, he revised and perfected much which hitherto had failed to satisfy his sense of what literary art required. The last work of his life was the entire re-writing of his history of the Middle Kingdom, to which, assisted by his son, he devoted three years. Death, by whom he was summoned on the sixteenth day of February, 1884, found his work all done, his temporal affairs set in order, his spiritual affairs adjusted long time before, by

his Saviour, and his character, I think we may safely say, completely builded.

It remains for me to give a brief outline of his labors and the things he accomplished. On his arrival in China in 1833 he began to assist Dr. Bridgman in editing and publishing the Chinese Repository, a periodical magazine. In 1835 he removed to Macao, and completed the printing of Methurst's Dictionary. In 1837 there occurred an important episode in his life—the voyage to Japan for the purpose of restoring some shipwrecked seamen to their home, the repulse of the ship from the Japanese shore, its return to Macao, and the learning of their language while the homeless mariners were inmates of his home. To Dr. Bridgman's "Chrestomathy" he contributed about one-third. In 1842 he began writing and publishing his own works, viz.: "Easy Lessons in Chinese," "Chinese Commercial Guide"—a book that was repeatedly enlarged, and "English and Chinese Vocabulary in the Court Dialect." The first edition of his "Middle Kingdom" was published in this country in 1848. In 1856 he published "A Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect." In the same year the mission press in Macao was burned, with the most of his library. In 1874 he published at Shanghai "The Syllabic Dictionary of the Chinese Language" containing 12,527 characters, with their pronunciation as heard at Peking, Canton, Amoy and Shanghai. This dictionary has not only taken the place of all other Chinese dictionaries, but is an enduring witness to extraordinary research and learning.

In the service of the United States, Mr. Williams went with Com. Perry's squadron to Japan in 1853 as interpreter. Commodore Perry was sent out by his government on the wholly untried experiment of negotiating a treaty with Japan. The interpreter had already learned enough about the Asiatic temperament to feel warranted in advising the Commodore to take high ground at the very outset of the negotiations; and the result justified the advice. Afterwards, Mr. Williams was put in charge of the legation until a minister should come from the United States. In negotiating a treaty with China, in 1858, he was of inestimable service, the great esteem in which he was held by the Chinese government enabling him to secure points of advantage which could not have been obtained without him. During the twenty years of his connection with the United States embassy, he was, in effect, the soul of it; much of the time doing the work of an embassador, with the rank of a secretary. That his government never made him minister, is its lasting opprobrium.

In the year 1857, Mr. Williams withdrew from the service of the American board of missions, to devote himself to the duties of the American embassy. As soon as his means would permit, he returned to the board's treasury all the money he had ever received from it, together with some interest which a less conscientious and more careless person might, possibly, have neglected to compute. He gave to the board all that he received from his government for acting as interpreter in the Perry Japanese expedition, and which amounted to the considerable sum of twenty-seven hundred and five dollars. His benefactions were constant and widely spread. I know that he once sent a very liberal contribution to the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Nashota, Wis., prompted thereto on discovering that the school depended upon daily contributions for daily bread. He bequeathed the larger part of the property of the Chinese dictionary to the American College in Peking, together with an important legacy to the American Bible Society for the specific purpose of printing the Bible in the Chinese language.

Analysis of Mr. Williams' character, after what has been written here and elsewhere, is not called for. In him there was no complexity, although there was great variety of endowment. He was, in all respects, consistent. He was sincere, modest, gracious, industrious, patient, courageous, charitable, tolerant, humane, spiritual. He went to China because he saw the path of duty, and was not afraid to walk therein. Established there, he determined to give the whole of a prospectively long life to finding out and appropriating everything that, in any way, pertained to the mysterious people he had come to enlighten and to help. Hence the fullness of his contributions to the world's knowledge of China and the east, contributions which stimulated, beyond estimate, the work of foreign Christian missions of which himself was a chief exemplar.

During his first visit to this country, and in the year 1847, Mr. Williams married Miss Sarah Walworth of Plattsburg, N. Y. In saying that Mrs. Williams was fully equal to all the requirements demanded of her by her husband's responsible positions and employments, as well as the far more important requirements of domestic, social and religious life, I add nothing to the glad testimony of all those who enjoyed the great privilege of intimacy, friendship or acquaintance with her. She died at New Haven, January 26, 1881, and was buried in Forest Hill, Utica, by the side of three of her children who had preceded her in their childhood. Thither also, on the twentieth day of February, 1884, her husband was carried, and there left, in the company of kindred belonging to four generations of his family and name.

THE UTICA HIGH SCHOOL.

BY DR. M. M. BAGG.

A school of considerable note throughout the State, and the only boarding school for boys that ever continued for much length of time in Utica, was the one known as the Utica High School, and afterwards as the Utica Gymnasium. It was founded in 1827 and flourished about eight years. Its founder and principal was Charles Bartlett, who was a native of Charlton, Saratoga Co., a graduate of Union College, and a Presbyterian in nurture and profession. At the date above mentioned he was about thirty-five years of age, rather agreeable in person, easy and insinuating in address, ambitious and enterprising, and possessed with liberal ideas of what should be the requirements of such a school as the one he proposed to establish, though variable and unsettled in his methods of execution. Mr. Bartlett had previously conducted for a short time a select school on Washington street, a little above Fayette. He was well known in society and in the Presbyterian church, in whose enterprises he bore a somewhat prominent part. Giving up his select school to Mr. Isaac Wilmarth, he spent some months in visiting other boarding schools of that era, and in further preparations for his undertaking. The Round-hill school of Northhampton, then brought into wide repute through the excellent mastership of George Bancroft, the subsequent historian, he is believed to have adopted as his model. It was here that some two years before gymnastic exercises were first introduced into this country as a part of school training, and from this school its gymnastic appliances were copied. The Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, a pioneer school of science, then flourishing under the direction of Amos Eaton, furnished other and important features that were adopted.

Mr. Bartlett leased for his purpose the house and farm at the lower end of Broad street which had belonged to Dr. Solomon Wolcott and was then owned by Samuel Stocking. The house was a large wooden building three-quarters of a mile from Genesee street, standing back from the line of Broad street on a gentle eminence and commanding a wide view of the Mohawk valley and the

hills beyond. It has been of late years the residence of James Brady, and now, removed a few rods eastward, is used as a store. The farm which was then attached to it reached a little beyond the present Kossuth avenue and southwards some ways toward Albany street, and contained 60 to 80 acres, having as a part of it a large garden and orchard. The farm was taken in charge by Joseph Bartlett, the brother of Charles, and as the latter remained some years unmarried, he was aided in the domestic part of his school by the family of his brother-in-law, Jeremiah Warring, and next by that of his own brother, Dudley. While these families occupied a portion of the building, the rest of it was given up to dormitories, dining hall, recitation rooms, &c. For a school house a long story and a half wooden structure was extended back from the southeast corner of the original one, and having a laboratory on its rear. And here the session was begun in the autumn of 1827. The subsequent changes and erections I shall notice hereafter. As in most similar institutions the plan of instruction was designed either for a collegiate or a commercial course, the principal being assisted in it by four or five additional teachers. The annual expense for each pupil was $200, which included all charges for instruction, board, rooms, fuel, lights, stationery, washing, doctor's bill, &c. This rate was afterwards reduced to $150, although even at the former one it was low compared with like schools of the present day. Mr. Bartlett did not confine himself to any special branch of study, teaching several English ones, as well as the rudiments of Latin and Greek. He was not a profound scholar, but was a good master of drill, and taught earnestly and thoroughly what he was competent for. His forte was discipline. While making quite a show of trusting the boys to their sense of propriety and their honor, he was indefatigable in his watchfulness of their deportment and their morals, careful and even sly in his efforts to detect wrongdoing, and positive in its punishment. His rules were many and strict, and he insisted on their observance. The scholars were made to rise at six, were allowed twenty minutes to wash and dress, and were then summoned to prayers, after which came breakfast and play-hour until nine; from this time until twelve there was study, again from two until five, and again during an hour in the evening. This was followed by prayers and bed at nine o'clock, when the lights were extinguished and perfect quiet exacted. For tardiness or absence from any of these exercises, for idleness, whispering or play during the hours of study, the offenders were marked, and these marks detracted from a portion of the Satur-

day's half-holiday, and from the more of it in proportion to the number of them. Deficiencies in lessons were made good by detention after school. Graver offences, or too frequent repetition of these lesser ones, were punished by confinement, the ruler or the rawhide, reporting to parents or expulsion. The monitor system was at one time in practice, but for the most part no monitor was so vigilant as the principal. Unless by his permission the boys were not allowed to go to town at any other time than on Saturday afternoon or on Sundays. On the latter day they were marched to church in procession, and took seats in the gallery of the Presbyterian church opposite the pulpit. The dress they wore when abroad was a uniform consisting of a blue cloth roundabout with bell buttons of brass in triple rows, and a tasselled cap, vest and pantaloons of the same material, the heavy cloth of the pants being exchanged in summer for white linen or drill. Those whose parents resided in the village were permitted to dine at home on Sundays, but were obliged to return before dark, as there were Bible lessons to be learned in the evening. On the play-ground, eastward of the building, were circular and vertical swings, parallel and single bars, for vaulting, progression by the arms, and revolving, &c., and a few other equipments of a gymnasium; and on these the scholars were subjected to a daily exercise. Once or twice a week they were treated to a course of equitation on the two horses of the establishment, which had been trained to the ring; and upon them all were taught to ride. Still another out-of-door lesson was learned in the garden, where in the season for gardening, each boy was required to cultivate with system fifty feet of ground, was held responsible for its neatness and thrift, and punished for failure or neglect. Though neither of these practices was kept up with absolute steadiness, and all of them fell by degress more or less into desuetude. The nearness of the river, the canal and the Starch Factory pond offered facilities for swimming and skating, in which the pupils were often indulged, the swimming, at least, being done under the inspection of a teacher. Longer excursions were allowed the pupils in scientific studies, of whom there were several; and by some of them their Saturday afternoons were thus largely employed. For one marked feature of the institution, and one in which it stood almost alone in its day, was the attention bestowed on these pursuits. A special instructor held this department, and gave lectures, in a tolerably well-furnished laboratory, successively in chemistry, botany, mineralogy and geology, to classes, who in turn were required, after a

study of the topic, to give back the lecture, with its experiments, to the teacher and their fellows of the class.

The first teacher in this department was Fay Edgerton, a recent graduate of the Polytechnic School of Troy. Mr. Edgerton was a native of Bennington, Vt., and of a family that stood well in its annals. "There are few families anywhere to be found," says the historian of that town, "of so much native intellectual attraction and refinement, and also of so much social and Christian excellence as that of Esquire Edgerton." The father of the latter was conspicuous by his fearless bravery among his many brave townsmen who bore a part in Bennington's famous battle. Fay's maternal grandfather was Dr. Jonas Fay, "a man of great versatility, boldness and determination; and of acknowledged ability and usefulness in the controversy between the settlers of the Hampshire Grants and the government of the colony of New York;" he served afterwards in numerous responsible and honorable posts in the State. Fay Edgerton at the time he entered on school duties was about 24 years of age, tall and muscular. He was intelligent, independent, social and amiable, and earnest in religious principle. He was an enthusiast in his own line of study and instruction. Besides his lessons in the lecture room, he scoured the country round, either with or without his class, showed them where to go in pursuit of whatever was rare or curious, assisted them in the naming and care of their specimens, and inspired them with his own zeal for natural science. Nearly all the older students came under his tuition, or that of his successor, and imbibed a taste for this study that never forsook them, while some of them laid a foundation of acquirement and observation, which, aided by further culture, has since given the possessors high rank as naturalists. During the long summer vacations it was this teacher's practice to make lengthy excursions with half a dozen or more of his class to distant parts of the State or the neighboring ones, visiting localities that abounded in particular minerals or rocks, and bringing thence stores for their own or the school collections. These trips were made almost wholly on foot, a single horse and wagon accompanying the party to carry their scanty wardrobe and relieve the oft-burdened mineral satchel worn by each of them, until such time as they reached a suitable place for shipment. At night they found a lodging wherever it was most convenient, and were fitted by the fatigues of the day to take up with the plainest quarters and the simplest fare. While increasing their scientific stock, adding vigor to their frames and seeing the country they traversed in the most advantageous way,

they encountered adventures and witnessed scenes of enduring interest. After some three years' service as a teacher, Mr. Edgerton withdrew, became professor of chemistry and botany in the Medical School of Woodstock, Vt., and died in 1838.

He was succeeded by Dr. Asa Gray, now the distinguished Professor of Botany in Harvard University. A native of the neighboring town of Sauquoit, Dr. Gray had but recently finished his medical course at Fairfield, Herkimer county. He was quite as well informed as Mr. Edgerton had been, as eager and as sympathetic in the cultivation of science, and in all respects as capable and as beloved an instructor. Botany was even then his chief delight, and his application to it most diligent. His flashing eye and his cry of exultation as he bounded forward to seize a new plant which he spied at a distance, while botanizing with his class in the Oriskany swamp or elsewhere, no member of that class now living can ever forget, any more than they can his courteous and sprightly manners, his engaging mien and his devotion to their improvement. He introduced the natural method of studying botany in lieu of the Linnaean system of classification that had before been in use with botanical students generally, and with his microscope he laid open to the learners the as-yet-unseen mysteries of the vegetable creation.

Having spoken of two of the teachers, let me introduce a few more of them. The first who taught the ancient languages, besides the Principal, was Rev. John P. Spinner, though in the earlier catalogues he appeared as instructor of Spanish and German as well. He was born at Warbach in Germany, and having passed through the University of Metz, he entered a Romish Clerical Seminary, took orders and officiated for eleven years as a priest. In his priestly capacity, he assisted at the funerals of two German emperors, that of Leopold II, and that of Francis II. Abandoning the Church of Rome, he married, and soon afterward came to this country. From the year 1802, he had been minister of the Reformed Dutch Church of Herkimer; and besides being active and zealous in the discharge of his special parochial duties, he looked after other feeble societies of his neighborhood. He continued to be the minister at Herkimer until his death in 1848, serving also during eighteen months of this time as a teacher at Utica. When he taught here, Dominie Spinner was about sixty years of age, tall and stout, with long grayish locks and benignant eyes of blue. His portly figure, his countenance beaming with cheerfulness and fun, his unconstrained and social air, and his

elaborate grace of manner, reflected little of the care-worn country pastor, anxious for his flock and straitened for his bread; they betokened rather the undisturbed content of "stalled theology," if not the license of the jolly convent friar, or, at any rate, the ease of the well-born, old-time gentleman, whose fortune was in possession, and who had small cause for misgivings as to the present or the future. And if his courtly salutation, as he stood, hat in hand, to address some lady of his acquaintance whom he chanced to meet, bespoke a former intimacy with more polished folk than those his present station had placed him with, it showed, too, a heart of kindness, that responded to the claims of the humblest of his fellow creatures. He was an accomplished linguist, besides being versed, as it was said, in other departments of human acquirement. Of his teachings, I remember little else than a part of a Latin song he prepared to be rendered by one of his pupils at an exhibition which closed the year of school. It was sung by the speaker at the conclusion of a Latin salutatory, and the chorus by the school,—to a melody furnished by the well-known psalmodist Thomas Hastings, then a resident of Utica. It ran as follows:

"Ecce quam bonum! quamque jucundum!
Habitare fratres in unum.

CHORUS:—Gaudete juvenes; vacatio imminet,
Patriam intrare licebit!

That this couplet was but an appropriation of an old German student song seems probable from the fact that it is still sung by the Maennerchors of Utica, and perchance by other societies elsewhere. Mr. Spinner also gave lessons in French, until one was found to whom the language was vernacular; but in Spanish he had no followers, and few in German, this last not having yet become a fashionable or a needed acquirement. An invitation which the Dominie gave the school to come and dine with him on Pinxter day, and the excursion to Herkimer in carriages and on horseback,—for railways as yet, there were none,—his cordial reception, his bounteous table, and especially the huge dishes of many-colored eggs, and the many undemolished ones which he insisted on our carrying away with us, together with the sad disasters these eggs occasioned the equestrians of the party as they rode home with loaded pockets, was an event with its concomitants that was long kept in memory. Mr. Spinner was the father of that faithful watch-dog of the public funds, Hon. Francis E. Spinner, late U. S. Treasurer.

The first who was exclusively a teacher of Latin in the school, and so named in the catalogue, was John J. Lawrence, A. B., an

earnest, conscientious young man of fine endowments, who went on a mission to India, where he soon died.

The Greek instructor was another venerable clergyman of the Dutch Church, though without a parish. He was of Holland descent at least, as in the absence of other proof, his addiction to the pipe and its not unfrequent indulgence in the class-room, would sufficiently attest. He was born, however, in the city of New York, and a graduate of Columbia College. His divinity he had learned from the celebrated Dr. John H. Livingston, and he had already served two or three parishes. A good classical scholar, but a softly-spoken man, a quiet though sincere appreciator of his Homer, and an unaggressive teacher, was Rev. Cornelius Brower. "His mental qualities," says his obituary, "were mild and steady, rather than brilliant or dazzling. Courteous to all, his gravity was without moroseness, and his cheerfulness without levity." During the latter part of his life he did the work of an evangelist, from his home in Geneva.

These were succeeded in the classics by a recent comer from England, who had been trained in one of the best of its schools. This was Uridge Whiffen, elder brother of Isaac Whiffen, now resident. Acute and accurate by the nature of his mind, critical and profound by the character of his scholarship, he served an humble tutorship for the paltry sum of $250, maintaining upon it himself and wife, and yet evinced the while a familiarity with the languages of the Greeks and Latins that well entitled him to a more exalted post. After a short term here, and a still shorter one at Buffalo, he died at the age of thirty-five. In the classical department there was also for a brief period a Mr. Philips, a pleasant teacher, of gentlemanly carriage, brother of the late Rev. Dr. Philips of New York city. Toward the latter years of the school's existence, the place was filled by George F. Comstock, a hard working, ambitious man, just from Union, who has since made his mark as a leading jurist of Central New York, and a judge of its Court of Appeals.

Among the most remarkable of the teachers in the English branches was Silas Kingsley, and remarked he truly was wherever he went, for, towering at least a foot above the tallest man of any assemblage, he could not fail of being the observed of all observers. His shoes having been one day left out for blacking, they soon gathered around them an astounded group of boys, who seemed, as if for the first time, to take in the full measure of his vastness, and to comprehend the adage: "Ex pede Her-

culem." But, giant as he was, he was inoffensive to his pupils, and not only kind, but apt and skillful, in indoctrinating them with the fundamental principles of Arithmetic and Grammar. In company with Mr. Philips, he afterwards kept a commercial and classical school in the village, next for many years carried on a similar and highly successful one in the city of Buffalo. He died a respected citizen of that place.

Other English teachers were Mr. Bartlett's brother Dudley, less of a scholar than his chief, but an adept in penmanship and in book-keeping, and convenient as his treasurer, steward and factotum; his brother-in-law, Mr. Warring, best remembered for his motherly wife, and whose sons have themselves since had success as heads of boarding schools; James Walker, whose promise of a useful career was cut short by an early death, and others. There were also French and drawing masters, and a master for would-be performers on the flute.

There was no established curriculum of study, the choice being mostly left with the parents. In quality, the teaching was quite equal to that of the other advanced schools of the State which were cotemporary with this one, though not as good as that which they now supply, excepting only in the department of natural science, in which even at the present day it has few superiors. Among the studies in English, spelling and reading may be specially mentioned as receiving thorough attention, and with an unusual degree of success. Besides the daily lessons in spelling, opposing classes were frequently formed, the components of each being chosen by two leading experts from the rest of the school. This excited to rivalry and quickened the ambition for excellence. Webster supplied the speller in use, and reading was done from the old English reader of Murray, directed by much care and attention on the part of the teacher. English grammar formed a drill for the students of English, but for those who studied the ancient, *their* grammars were deemed an ample equipment for modern speakers and writers. Arithmetic, it can not be said, was exhaustively handled; rules were committed whereby sums were successfully worked, but faint conception was gotten of the principles which established these rules. Pike and Daboll had, ere this, gone to rest, and Adams was the author relied on. As for the book "intellectual," I well remember the first copies that made their appearance. My own never got dog-eared. Besides hobbling through two dozen pages or so of these "sums in the head," the most that I gained from it was the assurance conveyed in the preface, set in very big capitals, that "WHAT MAN HAS DONE MAN MAY DO,"

which means, I presume, that as there have been Zerah Colburns and other arithmetical prodigies in the past, so may others arise in the future—fact though it may be, yet of small purport to the less exceptional of the race. Geography, civil, not physical, was studied of course, but of the world's political changes, as well of the course of its history, Ancient European or even American, the barest outlines alone were imparted. There were exercises in composition and in elocution, but no lessons were learned in rhetoric or English literature; nor was there instruction in physiology, or in philosophy, natural, mental or moral. It was the grammar of Adams, likewise, Adams of Edinburgh, not him of America, which was in the hands of all the scholars in Latin. From this they were put into the Historia Sacra or the Latin lessons, and, while still plying the grammar were advanced by degrees through Cæsar and two or three of the orations of Cicero to Virgil Delphini or the edition of Cooper. For learners in Greek, Goodrich and Valply furnished the grammars made use of, and the "Lessons" were the stepping stones by which they progressed to the Græca Minora and Homer. As for composing in either of these languages, it never was thought of; they were *dead* beyond a doubt, and no Arnold had yet appeared to assist in their resurrection. Both in Latin and Greek, prosody was, I fear, too little insisted on, and scanning too often caught up as a trick of the ear. Ponies were unknown, nor were there classical maps, models, diagrams, illustrative prints and historical comments as at present. Was it a fault of the teaching or was it due to the incapacity of the pupil that his imagination was not enkindled by the poetry and eloquence of the classical authors he studied, or his taste delighted by the sweetness and smoothness, the terseness and point of their expression? We prefer to impute it rather to juvenile dullness than defective instruction, since we know there was no lack of sense of these beauties on the part of the teacher nor of an inclination to discourse upon them to ears however indifferent and inattentive.

An able committee of gentlemen who reported upon an examination of the school which they attended in June, 1828, and of whom six of the nine had been nurtured in college, were pleased to say that: "The plan of this institution and the mode of instruction appear to us to equal if not to surpass, any with which we are acquainted." Had these gentlemen been familiar with the very best of the then-existing schools of New England, it may be questioned whether they would have accorded such unqualified praise to this one. For good, though it was as contrasted with

those of its neighborhood, it was not unsurpassed by some of its cotemporaries, and fell short of the excellence of very many modern schools. Yet of its small proportion of candidates for college some became high-oration men, and the majority maintained a respectable rank; while of those who fitted for business most were competent and useful in the posts they occupied.

Besides the annual examinations there were exhibitions too, which were held in one of the churches of the village, when the pupils displayed themselves in declamation and other exercises to crowds of indulgent friends. It is curious to observe that an extant programme of one of these displays appears in some instances to reveal both the natural bent and the eventual standing of the respective speakers, so much do the selections chosen accord with the subsequent career of these youthful orators. But in other cases it does not seem equally evident that "the child is father to the man;" since in the cast of a colloquy entitled the Conjuror, which was enacted by some of these High School boys, I find that Hon. John F. Seymour figured as Aunt Betty Wrinkle, the late Judge Johnson was Mr. Bluster, and Professor Dana of New Haven was only Jack.

The morals as well as the manners of the school were carefully looked after, and but a small proportion of those here educated were subsequently the victims of evil habits. This supervision was extended to the play-ground, to the dining and sleeping rooms as well as the school room. At table a matron sat at one end and the principal at the other, the teachers being interspersed with the scholars, and any breach of decorum was instantly checked, or punished if gross, by a mark, for future atonement. The fare was not altogether such as the boys' parents would have been contented to live on; yet it was of a grade quite as good as that of most other Dotheboys halls. If it was not a Delmonico's in luxurious elegance, it was very far from being a Shepherd's Fold in starving scantiness. When the conventional hash was pressed upon them with true boarding-house frequency, complaints were silenced by the assurance of one of their superiors that hash was "an excellent beverage." Of a still more watery consistence was the once-desiccated cod that was at times served up for breakfast in bits which swam in an unusual allowance of fluid; so that Breese was fully justified in asking, as he extended his plate to the professor of chemistry, that the latter would be pleased to help him to more of "the codfish in solution." An imperfect settling of the coffee, or the too-frequent recurrence of salt fish for breakfast, was visited upon the cook with the malediction:

"Ann Jones, Ann Jones,
Fish skins and mack'rel bones."

The dining room was at first in the basement of the principal building, but, when a new school-house was erected, an additional story was put on the old one which was now used for a dining hall, its first story being devoted to the kitchen and laundry.

This old school-house, how the memory of it brings back incidents of the past! among others, of the spelling class twice sent back to their seats for an unconned lesson, all of them failing to get over the word *parallel*, and of one sulky member of it in particular, who refused further study and sat in moody idleness, which, when the master's rawhide was brought down upon his desk with resounding vehemence coupled with an intimation of a still more sensitive application of it, so inflamed the wrath of this high-tempered youth that he took occasion at the next recess to slip away from the premises altogether, and for a fortnight became the object of most anxious search to principal and to parent. He was found at last—his *parallel* still incomplete—husking corn for a neighboring farmer. Poor Platt! a plucky but a wayward boy, he went afterwards to sea as a common sailor, got into the Texan navy, and fell at last in the distant province of Yucatan, a victim to the code of honor.

I remember, too, how the school was startled one morning by the descent of a blinding cloud of dust and plaster that came down in its midst, with the prospect of a still more startling human shower to follow. The half-story over head was without a floor and used only as a lumber and drying room. The only way to its stairs was along the length of the school room. One of the maids, had gone up to it before school hours with a basket of clothes from the wash tub, and was hanging them up to dry, when she incautiously stepped from a joist upon the frail plastered ceiling, and in a moment, was suspended a helpless spectacle, between the upper and the nether flight.

What shall I relate of incidents of the play-ground and its occupants that would be in any wise characteristic of this play-ground or these especial players? When and where have there been boys who did not delight in ball, in marbles and in kites, in racing and in wrestling, and in other sports of the yard and the field, or in pomp and prisoner's base as they glided, skate-shod, over some extended glassy plain? I may mention that it was on the play-ground that the chemical professor, in the presence of the assembled school and a group of invited guests, gave the nitrous oxide

to some six or eight of his class. As he successively choked off the eager and bewildered sucklings, how variously they were affected! to one it was in truth a laughing gas, while another it dissolved in tears, one broke forth in glowing eloquence, another in affecting terms apostrophized his Dulcinea, the hidden treasure of his heart, and yet another, like a maddened bull, burst through all restraint and with aggressive rage drove his companions, helter skelter, from the field. Shall I tell of some of the scenes of shame enacted here? as of the fierce encounter that was once waged between two Virginian brothers of the school, slips from the early cavalier stock of the Old Dominion, and waged so desperately that the united efforts of two of the teachers were hardly able to quell it? Turning outward from the premises, shall I recount the insults received from the urchins of the village, when a squad of Mr. Bartlett's boys in blue made an appearance within their range; or the equally ungenerous attacks they themselves made on the country lads who went by their grounds in coming to or going from the town? No! let us pass all this, for boys are apt to be quarrelsome and cruel, and the tormented easily become tormentors, as slaves have proved themselves the worst of tyrants.

The new school house stood on the further side of the playground, some hundred feet east of the original mansion, with a north and south direction. It was not far in advance of a great barn—the old barn still so redolent of precious memories of the fun it yielded. This new school-house was three stories in height, two of them of wood, resting on a high basement of brick. It had entrances on each side to the rooms below, and stairways leading to the story above. These lower rooms were designed to be used by the boys when not on duty in school or absent at play, where they were sheltered in bad weather and where they stored their effects. The story above contained the school room and four apartments for recitations, one in each corner. The third story was one large dormitory, a small chamber only being set off from it for the master's own use, from which he saw his flock housed for the night and rang them from their slumbers in the morning. When, at a later date, still another building was put up for school purposes, for Mr. Bartlett was given to novelties and change, the one last described was converted into apartments devoted to lodging and sleeping. As this latter was now arranged, a very narrow central hall, barely wide enough for the passage of one person, traversed each of the stories from end to end between rows of rooms on the sides, but had no communication with either, except by a small curtained window, four by six inches in size, that was set in the

wall of each. It terminated, in one of the stories, in the sanctum of the principal, at the rear end of the building, whence stairways upward and downward reached to the hall-ways above and below; thus he alone had access to them, controlled the coverings of the windows, and, by means of these loopholes, could oversee the occupants unbeknown to themselves. Of these occupants every room had two. Privacy was out of the question, since none knew when the slippered step was approaching, or the uncovered eye directed upon him.

The later built school house was still more unique in its character. In plan and internal arrangement it was copied from the academy at Lowville, though its exterior might, in one aspect, have seemed an imitation of the Pantheon at Rome. It stood farther eastward than the former ones and a little in advance of them, was of brick, of the height of two stories, but consisting of only one room; was semi-circular in form and with its flat side and entrances toward the street. Around the inside of the whole half-circle were ranged two series of stalls, one above the other, and wide enough for a single desk in each. Here sat the students with their faces toward the wall, completely shut off from their neighbors by a wooden partition, and visible only to the master, who, like a spider in the middle of his web, occupied the centre of the opposite front. Under espionage so complete all communication was impossible; the boy might be dreamy and indolent, he could not play with his fellows. Between the school room and the lodging rooms boys were surely never held in firmer grip.

These peculiar constructions reveal the least attractive of Mr. Bartlett's traits, and those which were especially repulsive to his pupils. For although he was a diligent and careful teacher, though he aimed to be honorable himself, and to imbue his boys with principles of manliness and virtue, and though he really felt a deep interest in the well-doing of all of them, he showed too little confidence in their integrity, and so failed to secure their own in his. He seemed wanting in that considerate toleration of the thoughtlessness of youth, that trust in their future which formed such loveable features in the character of the good doctor of Rugby, who, as Tom Brown said, "does really treat one openly and like a gentleman, and as though one was working with him." And yet, after all, it must be admitted that Mr. Bartlett was not wholly singular in his ideas or in the modes of their manifestation; to some extent they were the product of the time. Moreover, if suspicious and untrustful, he was just in his requirements, and firm and consistent in the exercise of them, so that though he lacked the spontaneous and unlimited

respect of his pupils, he secured, at least, their obedience. And, finally, if he lacked the highest grade of scholarship himself, he could rightly estimate its value in others; he knew what good teaching should be and provided his institution with the best that could be obtained.

The whole number of boys educated at the High School I am unable to state. There was an average annual attendance of upwards of forty, of whom some remained four or five years, the most for a shorter period. The larger number of them were from Utica, but they were present from various parts of the State, as well as from Connecticut, Michigan, North Carolina, Virginia, &c.

Among those who became more or less distinguished were the two eminent professors of Yale College, James D. Dana the naturalist, and S. Wells Williams the Chinese scholar; the late Alexander S. Johnson, Judge of the Court of Appeals of this State, and afterward Judge of the Circuit Court of the United States, the late Morris S. Miller, Brev. Brig. Gen., U. S. A.; and his brother, the late John B. Miller, consul at Hamburg; the late Lewis Cass, Jr., chargé and then minister at the court of Rome; the late W. F. Williams, missionary in Turkey; and the late Isaac Smith, inventor of a process for the condensation of milk. Former pupils of the school now living in Utica are John F. Seymour, Edward S. Brayton, Thomas W. and Alexander Seward, Erastus Clark, Arthur M. Beardsley, and Theodore Pomeroy.

A fire which, in the year 1835, destroyed the second of the school structures—the one which was at that time used for lodging and recitations—caused the disruption of the establishment, and so far embarassed the principal, who was never quite at ease in his finances, that he abandoned the field. Removing to Poughkeepsie, and his reputation going with him, he there set up what he termed the College Hill School, which was soon a flourishing seminary, and which he continued until his death.

His wife, a large, stylish, lady-like person, and who had proved a most useful companion and help-mate during his later career in Utica, was one of the one hundred and seventy passengers who perished in the burning of the ill-starred Henry Clay on its trip from Albany to New York in October 1852. Mr. Bartlett survived a few years longer, and was married again.

The school house which he last used here, too unpractical in form to be of service for any other purpose, stood for some years dilapidated. And when it was torn down, there was left nothing of the Utica Gymnasium but the original and now degraded mansion of Dr. Wolcott.

ANNOTATED LIST OF

THE BIRDS OF ONEIDA COUNTY, NEW YORK, AND OF ITS IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

[Read before the Society April 26, 1886.]

WITH THE ADDITION OF OBSERVATIONS MADE DURING THE BREEDING SEASON OF 1886.

BY WILLIAM L. RALPH, M. D., AND
EGBERT BAGG,
Associate Member A. O. U.

The location of the County of Oneida is of first importance when considering its Bird Fauna. Almost in the centre of the State of New York, of irregular outline, approaching in shape a heart, with one lobe resting on Oneida Lake, the other in the great northern wilderness, and the point far down toward the head-waters of the Susquehanna, it is on the very edge of the great island which ages ago rose above the continental sea in northern New York; and from the Eozoic in the northeast corner, a line drawn in a southerly direction across the County, cuts outcroppings of almost all the rocks, through the Lower Silurian, the Upper Silurian, and as far as the Portage and Chemung Groups in the Devonian.

It is traversed from east to west by a broad and fertile valley, containing the head-waters of the Mohawk and of Wood Creek, and between them the old "carry" of the early boatmen; the summit between the Hudson and the Great Lakes. From this valley the ground rises into gentle hills in both directions, only to fall away again to the sources of the Black River on the north and of the Chenango and the Unadilla on the south. Thus the County contains the sources of rivers flowing to all four points of the compass. The Black river to the north, the Oneida to the west; both finding their way through the St. Lawrence to the Atlantic. The Mohawk to the east, and the Chenango and Unadilla to the south; the former through the Hudson, and the latter through the Susquehanna, reaching the same destination.

The rain fall, though we are unable to give the figures, is large, and the temperature is not only low in average, but is extremely

variable, especially in winter; changes of sixty degrees Fahrenheit within twenty-four hours occurring in almost every season.

In a general way, the climate may be said to be favorable to a heavy growth of timber, and in fact of all vegetation; but with the exception of the northern part of the County, the soil is cultivated so completely that but little of the native forest remains. With such location, topography and climate, we should naturally expect to find the fauna "Canadian" rather than "Alleghanian," especially when we observe in our woods the absence of the tulip and the chestnut, common in the same parallel of latitude a short distance west of us; and we miss the whistle of "Bob White," and the mournful call of the "Common Dove," which are not uncommon sounds a comparatively few miles away.

Instead, our woods are largely made up of maple, beech and conifers, and we find breeding within our limits, such strictly Canadian birds as the Golden-eye Duck, the White-throated Sparrow, the Canadian Fly-catching Warbler, the Winter Wren, and both the Hermit and Swainson's Thrushes. The list, however, shows some birds far removed from "Canadian," and perhaps further investigation in the southern part of the County might add more.

We beg to acknowledge our obligations to C. Hart Merriam, M. D., of the Division of Economic Ornithology and Mammalogy, U. S. Department of Agriculture, who kindly reviewed the list while in the rough, and made several valuable additions; to Messrs. A. L. Brainard, of Oneida, and A. Ames Howlett, of Syracuse, for information regarding the occurrence of birds at Oneida Lake; and to several others, who are properly credited in the appropriate places.

The list is not put forth as complete. It is the work of several years, but there are many parts of the County which we have scarcely visited.

We have included quite a number of birds for which we have no positive Oneida County record, having found them in the neighboring counties, and having no doubt of their occurrence in this. In all such cases we give the location of the record, and to cover such extra-limital records we have called this paper "A List of the Birds of Oneida County and its Immediate Vicinity." Only those birds are given as breeding, for which we have positive records, though it may fairly be assumed that all those given as "summer residents" nest.

We submit the list to our bird-loving friends, for what it is worth, only adding in conclusion, that every item of which we have not personal knowledge, is so given, with our authority; and that our principal effort has been, not to make the list as large as possible, but to make it positively accurate.

WILLIAM L. RALPH, M. D.,
EGBERT BAGG.

UTICA, N. Y., September 1st, 1886.

LIST.

1. **Colymbus holbœllii** (REINH.). 2.

Holbœll's Grebe.

A female, taken out of a flock of five or six, on the Mohawk in 1867.

2. **Colymbus auritus** LINN. 3.

Horned Grebe.

A not uncommon migrant. "Common in Lewis, Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, in fall migrations."—(*Merriam.*)

3. **Podilymbus podiceps** (LINN.). 6.

Pied-billed Grebe.

Not uncommon. See Galinula galeata.

4. **Urinator imber** (GUNN.). 7.

Loon.

Common at Oneida Lake. One taken near Utica. Common summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Breeds.

5. **Stercorarius parasiticus** (LINN.). 87.

Parasitic Jaeger.

A young specimen of this bird was taken August 22, 1886, on Joe's Lake, Herkimer County, by Mr. W. P. Shepard. The bird was seen to alight on the lake, and apparently exhausted with a long journey, allowed itself to be approached in a boat and killed with a paddle.

6. **Larus argentatus smithsonianus** COUES. 51*a*.

American Herring Gull.

Occurs occasionally throughout the County. A common migrant at Oneida Lake. Common summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties; breeding occasionally at Joe's Lake; and almost always up to a few years ago, on Canachagala Lake, in large numbers; and for many years on the West Canada Lakes.

7. **Larus philadelphia** (ORD). 60.

Bonaparte's Gull.

A common migrant at Oneida Lake, where the local name is "Black head gull." Eight of these birds out of a flock of about fifty were killed on the Utica Water Works Reservoir in 1879.

8. **Sterna hirundo** LINN. 70.

Common Tern.

Of rare occurrence on Oneida Lake. In the spring of 1885 one was killed at Upper South Bay by Mr. Henry Loftie, who has the bird mounted and preserved. Mr. George D. Chapin of the same place, also reports the bird as seen, being very tame, and following the boat for quite a long time.

9. **Sterna antillarum** (LESS.). 74.

Least Tern.

Mr. F. J. Davis killed a bird of this species on the "Capron Pond," so called, in town of New Hartford, a few years ago.

10. **Hydrochelidon nigra surinamensis** (GMEL.). 77.

Black Tern.

Several observed in the fall of 1885 at Oneida Lake, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse; though he did not secure them, he is familiar with the species, and thinks there can be no mistake. As they have been killed on Onondaga Lake there is no reasonable doubt of this identification.

11. **Phalacrocorax carbo** (LINN.). 119.

Cormorant.

One killed at Oneida Lake, was mounted by A. L. Brainard, of Oneida. The Rathbun-Fowler List, published at Auburn, records one killed at "Upper South Bay," Oneida Lake, by Mr. Edward H. Mann, of Syracuse, N. Y., which is mounted and preserved in the rooms of the Onondaga Sportsmen's Club of that city.

12. **Merganser americanus** (CASS.). 129.

American Merganser.

A not uncommon migrant.

13. **Merganser serrator** (LINN.). 130.

Red-breasted Merganser.

"A common summer resident throughout the Adirondacks. Much more abundant than the Sheldrake."—(*Merriam.*)

14. **Lophodytes cucullatus** (LINN.). 131.

Hooded Merganser.

A common migrant.

15. **Anas boschas** LINN. 132.

Mallard.

A common migrant.

16. **Anas obscura** GMEL. 133.

Black Duck.

A common migrant. Common summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, breeding more plentifully than any other Duck.

17. **Anas strepera** LINN. 135.

Gadwall.

Two killed April, 1884, and one October, 1885, at Oneida Lake, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse, and several killed at the same place by Mr. N. Wood, of Brewerton.

18. **Anas americana** GMEL. 137.

Baldpate.

"A not uncommon migrant."—(*Howlett.*)

19. **Anas carolinensis** GMELIN. 139.

Green-winged Teal.

A common migrant.

20. **Anas discors** LINN. 140.

Blue-winged Teal.

A common migrant. A few probably breed, as quite young birds are occasionally shot.

21. **Spatula clypeata** (LINN.). 142.

Shoveller.

One shot and another seen near Utica, April 19th, 1884. Two killed September, 1879, at Oneida Lake, by Mr. A. A. Howlett.

22. **Dafila acuta** (LINN.). 143.

Pintail.

A common migrant.

23. **Aix sponsa** (LINN.). 144.

Wood Duck.

A common migrant. "A few remain to breed near Oneida Lake."—(*Brainard.*)

24. **Aythya americana** (EYT.). 146.

Redhead.

A migrant at Oneida Lake. A female shot near Utica.

25. **Aythya vallisneria** (WILS.). 147.

Canvas-back.

A. L. Brainard, of Oneida, has mounted one specimen killed at the Lake.

26. **Aythya marila nearctica** STEJN. 148.

American Scaup Duck.

A common migrant.

27. **Aythya affinis** (Eyt.). 149.

Lesser Scaup Duck.

Migrant; more common than the preceding.

28. **Glaucionetta clangula americana** (BONAP.). 151.

American Golden-eye.

A common migrant. Summer resident in Hamilton County. Broods of young birds were seen in June, 1878 and 1879.

29. Charitonetta albeola (LINN.). 153.

Buffle-head.

A common migrant.

30. Clangula hyemalis (LINN.). 154.

Old-squaw.

A rare migrant. One taken at Utica October 27th, 1881.

31. Somateria spectabilis (LINN.). 162.

King Eider.

"A rare migrant. Several have been killed on Oneida Lake." (*Brainard.*)

32. Oidemia americana SW. & RICH. 163.

American Scoter.

Occurs occasionally. "Shot at Lyons Falls and in the Adirondacks."—(*Merriam.*)

33. Oidemia deglandi BONAP. 165.

White-winged Scoter.

Two taken at Utica in the fall of 1881. Common at Oneida Lake.

34. Oidemia perspicillata (LINN.). 166.

Surf Scoter.

A specimen of this bird in the possession of Mr. A. L. Brainard, of Oneida, was killed at the lake in the fall of 1884.

35. **Erismatura rubida** (WILS.). 167.

Ruddy Duck.

"Rather common migrant at Oneida Lake."—(*Brainard and Howlett.*)

36. **Branta canadensis** (LINN.). 172.

Canada Goose.

A common migrant.

37. **Olor columbianus** (ORD). 180.

Whistling Swan.

DeKay, in the Natural History of New York, Part II, says: "In the uninhabited regions of Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, in this State, this species, as I was informed by trustworthy hunters, remains during the whole year, where it must necessarily breed. The outlet of Lake Paskungameh, or Tupper's Lake, was specified as a spot to which they were particularly attached." Several swans, undoubtedly this species, have been killed on Oneida Lake.

38. **Botaurus lentiginosus** (MONTAG.). 190.

American Bittern.

A common summer resident.

39. **Ardea herodias** LINN. 194.

Great Blue Heron.

A common summer resident. "Breeds near the western end of Oneida Lake."—(*Northrup in Ornithologist and Oölogist, Vol. X, Page* 11.)

40. **Ardea egretta** GMEL. 196.

American Egert.

A specimen of this handsome bird, a straggler from the South, was taken by Mr. A. H. Eysaman, of Eatonville, N. Y., in the spring of 1882, in the town of Herkimer, Herkimer County. He reports that there were six of these birds in a flock, and that they remained in the vicinity about a month, but only one was secured. The bird was mounted and preserved. Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, of Utica, mounted a specimen several years ago, which was killed in the town of Deerfield, on the river flats.

41. **Ardea virescens** LINN. 201.

Green Heron.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

42. **Nycticorax nycticorax nævius** (BODD.). 202.

Black-crowned Night Heron.

A young female shot near Utica, August 12th, 1878. Mr. A L. Brainard, of Oneida, also had a young bird brought to him to mount.

43. **Grus mexicana** (MÜLL.). 206.

Sandhill Crane.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, Utica, mounted for a Mr. Catwell, of New York Mills, a specimen of this bird, which was taken in that village in the year 1873.

44. **Rallus virginianus** LINN. 212.

Virginia Rail.

Not uncommon.

45. Porzana carolina (LINN.). 214.

Sora.

A summer resident. Breeds. More common during migrations.

46. Porzana noveboracensis (GMEL.). 215.

Yellow Rail.

One taken near Utica October 3d, 1883.

47. Gallinula galeata (LICHT.). 219.

Florida Gallinule.

Two have been taken near Utica. Occasional at Oneida Lake. Very common on the marshes of the Seneca River, where they are called "Water chickens," and where they breed in great numbers. June 4th, 1879, a nest was found containing four eggs. June 5th, at eleven A. M., it contained six eggs. The same day at five P. M., there were nine eggs, when the female, or one of them, was killed. The same month an old bird, followed by a brood of young, was observed leaving her nest, which on examination was found to contain one egg of this species and two of the Podilymbus podiceps, all with chicks peeping in them. It was impossible to distinguish which of the two species the old bird was; but from these observations it seems positive that this bird not only shares its nest with its own species, but sometimes with the Grebe also.

48. Fulica americana GMEL. 221.

American Coot.

One taken at Utica. "Common at Oneida Lake."—(*Brainard.*)

49. Phalaropus lobatus (LINN.). 223.

Northern Phalarope.

Early in the spring of 1881, a specimen of this bird was taken in the town of Westmoreland, in this odd manner. It was first

observed swimming about like a duck, in a little pond made by the melting snow and the spring rain, and catching insects which were swimming on the surface of the water. The bird being a strange one to the gentleman who observed it, it was watched closely for some time, but as there was no means at hand to capture it, the gentleman finally went about his work, which was near at hand, till his attention was again attracted by the loud outcries of the bird; and on hastening to the pond he found that the bird had been kindly captured for him by a large bullfrog, which was trying to swallow it. He killed the frog and secured the bird, which shortly died from the rough treatment it had received. It was then presented to Mrs. M. T. Brown, of Hecla, who mounted it herself and preserved it.

50. Phalaropus tricolor (VIEILL.). 224.

Wilson's Phalarope.

A specimen of this bird was shot near the eastern end of Oneida Lake, October 6th, 1883, by Mr. Morgan K. Barnum, of Syracuse. When first observed the bird was swimming upon the surface of the Lake.

51. Philohela minor (GMEL.). 228.

American Woodcock.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

52. Gallinago delicata (ORD). 230.

Wilson's Snipe.

A common migrant; not so abundant as formerly.

53. Macrorhamphus griseus (GMEL.). 231.

Dowitcher.

Two birds of this species were shot near the eastern end of Oneida Lake, September 22d, 1883, by Mr. Morgan K. Barnum of

Syracuse. The same day he is confident he saw a flock of this snipe, containing, as well as he could judge, about fifteen. The two killed were single birds. Two shot at Oneida Lake, in 1880, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse.

54. Tringa maculata VIEILL. 239.

Pectoral Sandpiper.

Quite common at times during migrations.

55. Tringa fuscicollis VIEILL. 240.

White-rumped Sandpiper.

Three taken at Utica, October 27th, 1881.

56. Tringa minutilla VIEILL. 242.

Least Sandpiper.

Several taken at Utica in the fall of 1881.

57. Tringa alpina pacifica (COUES). 243*a*.

Red-backed Sandpiper.

One taken at Utica, October 27th, 1881. Several at Oneida Lake, October 5th, 1881.

58. Ereunetes pusillus (LINN.). 246.

Semipalmated Sandpiper.

Common at Oneida Lake during migrations.

59. Calidris arenaria (LINN.). 248.

Sanderling.

Common at Oneida Lake during migrations.

60. Totanus melanoleucus (GMEL.). 254.

Greater Yellow-legs.

Not uncommon during migrations.

61. Totanus flavipes (GMEL.). 255.

Yellow-legs.

A common migrant.

62. Totanus solitarius (WILS.). 256.

Solitary Sandpiper.

A common migrant; remaining till quite late in the spring. A pair taken May 15th, 1874.

63. Bartramia longicauda (BECHST.). 261.

Bartramian Sandpiper.

A rather common summer resident. Breeds.

64. Actitis macularia (LINN.). 263.

Spotted Sandpiper.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

65. **Numenius longirostris** WILS. 264.

Long-billed Curlew.

Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse, reports, that October 5th, 1880, at Oneida Lake, a flock passed near enough to give him a shot, and though he did not secure any, he is positive of their identification, being familiar with them and with the other curlews.

66. **Charadrius squatarola** (LINN.). 270.

Black-bellied Plover.

Three taken at Oneida Lake in September, 1879, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse.

67. **Charadrius dominicus** MÜLL. 272.

American Golden Plover.

A common migrant at Oneida Lake.

68. **Ægialitis vocifera** (LINN.). 273.

Killdeer.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

69. **Ægialitis semipalmata** BONAP. 274

Semipalmated Plover.

Common on Oneida Lake during migrations.

70. **Ægialitis wilsonia** (ORD). 280.

Wilson's Plover.

One shot near Upper South Bay, Oneida Lake, in 1880, by Mr. A. A. Howlett, of Syracuse.

71. **Arenaria interpres** (LINN.). 283.

Turnstone.

One of this species in the possession of Mr. Maxon, of Oneida, was killed at Verona several years ago.

72. **Dendragapus canadensis** (LINN.). 298.

Canada Grouse.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, Utica, mounted a pair of these birds killed in the town of Greig, Lewis County.

73. **Bonasa umbellus** (LINN.). 300.

Ruffed Grouse.

A common resident. Breeds.

74. **Lagopus lagopus** (LINN.). 301.

Willow Ptarmigan.

"Mr. Romeyn B. Hough has a specimen of this species that was killed in the town of Watson, on the eastern border of Lewis County, May 22d, 1876."—(*Merriam. Preliminary List of the Birds of the Adirondack Region.*)

75. **Ectopistes migratorius** (LINN.). 315.

Passenger Pigeon.

A common migrant till within a few years, but is now less common than formerly. Breeds in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties.

76. Zenaidura macroura (LINN.). 316.

Mourning Dove.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, of Utica, report that they mounted a specimen of this bird, some time ago, which was killed in Herkimer County.

77. Cathartes aura. (LINN.). 325.

Turkey Vulture.

In May, 1879, Mr. Lavello J. Groves, of Westmoreland, shot a bird of this species in that Town, and had it mounted and preserved. When first seen the bird was in company with three others, in a small grove. (*Recorded, Auk. Vol. II, page* 109.)

78. Circus hudsonius (LINN.). 331.

Marsh Hawk.

A few seen every year. The birds have been seen on Frankfort Hill during breeding season, and a farmer residing there, reports that while mowing, his machine cut off the heads of two young hawks in a nest on the ground. These could have been nothing but this species.

79. Accipiter velox (WILS.). 332.

Sharp-shinned Hawk.

Seen occasionally. Breeds. A nest taken on Frankfort Hill a few years ago. Two young birds shot September 18th, 1879.

80. Accipiter cooperi (BONAP.). 333.

Cooper's Hawk.

Quite common in some parts of the County. Breeds.

81. **Accipiter atricapillus** (Wils.). 334.

American Goshawk.

A specimen of this bird was shot by the late George H. Ferris, on the Deerfield Hills some years ago. He was hunting grouse in the thick brush and wearing a fur cap, when the hawk, undoubtedly mistaking this head covering for some small animal, swooped upon it; but discovered its mistake before striking, and swerving to one side, passed close to Mr. Ferris' head, and rising among the trees, immediately lit, and was shot from its perch. The bird was mounted and preserved.

82. **Buteo borealis** (Gmel.). 337.

Red-tailed Hawk.

Common. Breeds.

83. **Buteo lineatus** (Gmel.). 339.

Red-shouldered Hawk.

By far the most common of our Hawks. Breeding plentifully.

84. **Buteo latissimus** (Wils.). 343.

Broad-winged Hawk.

Not common. Breeds. Nest taken April 24th, 1883, by Dr. Langworthy, of New Hartford, in that Town.

85. **Archibuteo lagopus sancti-johannis** (Gmel.). 347*a*.

American Rough-legged Hawk.

Not uncommon spring and fall.

86. Aquila chrysaëtos (LINN.). 349.

Golden Eagle.

A fine specimen of this magnificent bird was shot near Frankfort, Herkimer County, October 23d, 1885.

87. Haliæetus leucocephalus (LINN.). 352.

Bald Eagle.

A common resident on Oneida Lake.

88. Falco columbarius LINN. 357.

Pigeon Hawk.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, Utica, state that they have had several birds of this species to mount during spring and fall.

89. Falco sparverius LINN. 360.

American Sparrow Hawk.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

90. Pandion haliaëtus carolinensis (GMEL.). 364.

American Osprey.

Not uncommon.

91. Asio wilsonianus (LESS.). 366.

American Long-eared Owl.

A common resident. Breeds.

92. **Asio accipitrinus** (PALL.). 367.

Short-eared Owl.

Not uncommon spring and fall. A few taken near Utica every year.

93. **Syrnium nebulosum** (FORST.). 368.

Barred Owl.

A not uncommon resident. One flew against a gentleman in one of the streets of the closely built part of this city, grasping his clothes with its claws, was struck down with his fist and killed with a stone. This may have been a wounded bird which had escaped from confinement, but even if that were the case, the object of the attack, if it can be so called, is a mystery.

94. **Ulula cinerea** (GMEL.). 370.

Great Gray Owl.

"A rare straggler from the North."—(*Merriam.*)

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, taxidermists, Utica, mounted a specimen of this owl, killed in the town of Marcy, in February, 1875.

95. **Nyctala acadica** (GMEL.). 372.

Saw-whet Owl.

This interesting little owl is not very uncommon in some parts of the County. In the neighborhood of Holland Patent, seven or eight individuals have been under careful surveillance this spring (1886). The result of a good deal of hard work in exceedingly unpleasant weather, has been the finding of four nests. The first was found March 12th, at which time it contained nothing; was visited again March 25th—still empty. But on April 5th it contained six eggs. Being left till the seventh, the complement was found to be seven eggs. It was situated in high and dry woods of hardwood timber, with a few hemlocks, about five rods from the

open field, in a deserted woodpecker's hole in a dead maple stub, twenty-two feet from the ground. This hole had been left by the original woodpeckers at least two seasons, for in 1885 it contained a nest of flying squirrels. The entrance was round, and about two inches in diameter, just such a size that the head of the bird exactly filled it, so that as she looked out, she presented very much the appearance of an owl's face fastened against the side of the stub. The hole was a foot deep, and eight inches in diameter at the bottom. There was no nest except small chips of rotten wood and a few owl's feathers. The bird would not leave the nest till she was threatened with the hand several times, and then flew into the nearest tree (a small hemlock), and sat there without moving during all the time that her visitors remained, (about three-quarters of an hour), and no sooner was the stub left, than she flew back again. The eggs were pure white, nearly the same size at each end, and averaged 1.16 x 0.97 inches. They were variously advanced in incubation, though of course none were very far along. The consistency of the albumen was particularly viscid, and the yolk small and light colored.

The second nest was found near Holland Patent, April 21st, 1886, in a woodpecker's hole in a stub, forty feet from the ground, contained five young, and one egg just on the point of hatching.

The third nest was found the same day about half a mile below Trenton Falls, near the West Canada Creek, in an old woodpecker's hole in a stub, twenty feet from the ground. The hole was nine inches deep, and nine inches across inside, lined with a few feathers, birch leaves and chips. It contained seven eggs, nearly hatched, measuring .97 x 1.18, .98 x 1.18, .98 x 1.24, .98 x 1.24, .98 x 1.25, .99 x 1.21, 1.00 x 1.23. The bird was taken alive from the nest.

The fourth nest was found April 30th, 1886, about one mile north of Gang Mills, Herkimer County, in a deserted woodpecker's hole in a stub, fifty feet from the ground, in a swamp, and contained seven eggs on the point of hatching.

96. Megascops asio (LINN.). 373.

Screech Owl.

Not uncommon. Breeds.

97. **Bubo virginianus** (GMEL.). 375.

Great Horned Owl.

Not uncommon. Breeds.

98. **Nyctea nyctea** (LINN.). 376.

Snowy Owl.

A not uncommon winter visitant.

99. **Surnia ulula caparoch** (MÜLL.). 377*a*.

American Hawk Owl.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis, of Utica, have in their possession a mounted specimen of this owl, which was killed at Clark's Mills in the winter of 1885.

100. **Coccyzus americanus** (LINN.). 387.

Yellow-billed Cuckoo.

A rare summer resident. Breeds. Nest taken in New Hartford, July, 1884, by Dr. Langworthy, of that Town.

101. **Coccyzus erythrophthalmus** (WILS.). 388.

Black-billed Cuckoo.

A common summer resident. Breeds. This species shows its relationship to its more famous European cousin by occasionally depositing an egg in the nest of some other bird. This has been recorded by several observers in different parts of the country, and we have one record for this County. On July 10th, 1874, a nest of the Cedar Bird (Ampelis cedrorum) was taken in New Hartford which contained four eggs of the owner and one of this parasite. The nest was deserted, and apparently had been for some time; nor could it be discovered that incubation had commenced; certainly it had not in the Cuckoo's egg. (*Recorded, Bulletin Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. II, page* 110.)

102. Ceryle alcyon (LINN.). 390.

Belted Kingfisher.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

103. Dryobates villosus (LINN.). 393.

Hairy Woodpecker.

A rather common resident. Breeds.

104. Dryobates pubescens (LINN.). 394.

Downy Woodpecker.

A common resident. Breeds.

105. Picoides arcticus (SWAINS.). 400.

Arctic Three-toed Woodpecker.

Common in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. "Eggs taken." —(*Merriam.*)

106. Picoides americanus BREHM. 401.

American Three-toed Woodpecker.

A not uncommon resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties.

107. Sphyrapicus varius (LINN.). 402.

Yellow-bellied Sapsucker.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

108. Ceophlœus pileatus (LINN.). 405.

Pileated Woodpecker.

Rather rare in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, but more common than formerly. Young bird shot August 17th, 1884.

109. Melanerpes erythrocephalus (LINN.). 406.

Red-headed Woodpecker.

A common summer resident. Breeds. A nest taken within the limits of the City of Utica.

110. Melanerpes carolinus (LINN.). 409.

Red-bellied Woodpecker.

"A rare straggler."—(*Merriam.*)

111. Colaptes auratus (LINN.). 412.

Flicker.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

112. Antrostomus vociferus (WILS.). 417.

Whip-poor-will.

Mr. J. P. Davis, of Utica, killed one of these birds in the northern part of the town of Russia, Herkimer County, and trustworthy residents of the same town, state that they are not uncommon there.

113. Chordeiles virginianus (GMEL.). 420.

Nighthawk.

A common summer resident.

114. Chætura pelagica (LINN.). 428.

Chimney Swift.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

115. Trochilus colubris LINN. 438.

Ruby-throated Hummingbird.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

116. Tyrannus tyrannus (LINN.). 444.

Kingbird.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

117. Myiarchus crinitus (LINN.). 452.

Crested Flycatcher.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

118. Sayornis phœbe (LATH.). 456.

Phœbe.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

119. Contopus borealis (SWAINS.). 459.

Olive-sided Flycatcher.

Occurs during migrations. "Breeds in Herkimer, Hamilton and Eastern Lewis Counties."—(*Merriam.*)

120. Contopus virens (LINN.). 461.

Wood Pewee.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

121. Empidonax flaviventris BAIRD. 463.

Yellow-bellied Flycatcher.

A not common summer resident. Breeds. Nest and eggs taken at North Lake Reservoir, Herkimer County, June 24th, 1885. Eggs nearly hatched. Nest composed of fine grass, roots, leaf-bud scales of deciduous trees, and inner bark; lined with grass and fine black hair-like roots. It was sunk in a mossy bank, in the edge of thick, heavy timber. Measured: outside diameter, 3.50 inches; inside diameter, 2.50 inches; depth about 1.50 inches. The eggs were so far advanced as to make it impossible to save them, and therefore no measurements can be given.

122. Empidonax pusillus traillii (AUD.). 466*a*.

Traill's Flycatcher.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

123. Empidonax minimus BAIRD. 467.

Least Flycatcher.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

124. Otocoris alpestris praticola HENSH. 474*b*.

Prairie Horned Lark.

Common in spring. Breeds. Mr. Fred. Davis took a nest in 1878. This bird has become comparatively common within a few years. In 1877 one was considered quite a rarity, since which time they have become more abundant yearly, until now they appear in the early spring in large flocks. One observed in March, 1885, numbered fifty, and was feeding on the seeds of weeds which rose above the snow, within the limits of the city of Utica.

125. Cyanocitta cristata (LINN.). 477.

Blue Jay.

A common resident. Breeds.

126. **Perisoreus canadensis** (LINN.). 484.

Canada Jay.

A common resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Young birds in the dark plumage, shot June 24th, 1880. They are very familiar and amusing about the camps in the Adirondacks, where they have various names, mostly significant of their sociable and bold character, as "Whiskey Jack," "Meat Hawk," "Moose Bird," &c.

127. **Corvus corax sinuatus** (WAGL.). 486.

American Raven.

A common resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, and in fact throughout the Adirondack region.

128. **Corvus americanus** AUD. 488.

American Crow.

Common all the year round. Breeds.

129. **Dolichonyx oryzivorus** (LINN.). 494.

Bobolink.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds. A nest taken some years ago contained four eggs, pale bluish gray, with a few blackish marks and scratches around the larger end. The bird was taken with the nest, and the eggs are still preserved.

130. **Molothrus ater** (BODD.). 495.

Cowbird.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

131. Agelaius phœniceus (LINN.). 498.

Red-winged Blackbird.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

132. Sturnella magna (LINN.). 501.

Meadowlark.

A common summer resident. Breeds. Some remain till very late in the fall, often till quite winter weather.

133. Icterus galbula (LINN.). 507.

Baltimore Oriole.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

134. Scolecophagus carolinus (MÜLL.). 509.

Rusty Blackbird.

Several taken in the County. Breeds. Two nests taken May 7th and 20th, 1886, four miles north of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County, N. Y. They were placed five feet from the ground, in spruce saplings, in open marsh, beside a pond, in the heavy timber; composed of hemlock twigs and grass, and lined with fine grasses, (some of which were green.) Eggs were four, pale green, faintly marked, as compared with others of the same family, with different shades of purplish brown, but not streaked. They measured 1.03 x .72, 1.03 x .74, 1.05 x .72, 1.06 x .74.

135. Quiscalus quiscula æneus (RIDGW.). 511*b*.

Bronzed Grackle.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

186. Pinicola enucleator (LINN.). 515.

Pine Grosbeak.

Winter visitor. Not very common.

187. Carpodacus purpureus (GMEL.). 517.

Purple Finch.

A common summer resident. Breeds. Sometimes winters.

188. Loxia curvirostra minor (BREHM). 521.

American Crossbill.

Seen occasionally in winter. Quite common as far south as Holland Patent during some summers. Very common in summer in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, where they come in flocks around the hunters' camps and gather the crumbs literally from under the table.

189. Loxia leucoptera GMEL. 522.

White-winged Crossbill.

A winter visitor, but much less common than the preceding.

140. Acanthis linaria (LINN.). 528.

Redpoll.

A rare winter visitor.

141. Acanthis linaria rostrata (COUES). 528*b*.

Greater Redpoll.

Taken at Locust Grove, Lewis County, by C. H. Merriam, M. D.

142. **Spinus tristis** (LINN.). 529.

American Goldfinch.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds. Occasionally winters.

143. **Spinus pinus** (WILS.). 533.

Pine Siskin.

Seen occasionally during migrations. "Sometimes breeds in great numbers along the outskirts of the Adirondacks."—(*Merriam.*)

144. **Plectrophenax nivalis** (LINN.). 534.

Snowflake.

A common winter visitor.

145. **Pyrgita domestica** CUV. ***.

House Sparrow.

A common resident. Breeds; raising several broods of six young each in a season. The few which appeared here some years ago (coming from those introduced into New York), have increased to the hordes which now overrun the city, and have extended into the country about. They have driven our native insectivorous birds from their homes in our gardens, and have filled their places so effectually that there is no prospect of their ever returning, till the sparrows have been exterminated, or at the very least largely reduced in numbers. The sparrows have been able to do this, partly at least, by the assistance of mistaken lovers of birds, who have built them houses and spread food for their use. Thus directly encouraging a bird, undoubtedly injurious, and indirectly assailing the birds which are beneficial. That the public has gradually come to see its mistake there is no doubt, and the hope of the lovers of our native birds is, that deprived of protection and assistance, these foreign pirates may find it more difficult to maintain themselves in the future, and that when the public is fully educated on the subject, some strong measures may be taken to destroy them.

146. **Poocætes gramineus** (GMEL.). 540.

Vesper Sparrow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

147. **Ammodramus sandwichensis savanna** (WILS.). 542*a*.

Savanna sparrow.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

148. **Ammodramus caudacutus nelsoni** ALLEN. 549*a*.

Nelson's Sparrow.

A specimen of this rare sparrow was shot near Utica, October 12th 1883.

149. **Zonotrichia leucophrys** (FORST.). 554.

White-crowned Sparrow.

A not uncommon migrant.

150. **Zonotrichia albicollis** (GMEL.). 558.

White-throated Sparrow.

A common migrant. A few remain during the summer. Breeds. Nest and five eggs, somewhat advanced, taken June 16th, 1886, in Steuben.

151. **Spizella monticola** (GMEL.). 559.

Tree Sparrow.

A very common migrant.

152. Spizella socialis (WILS.). 569.

Chipping Sparrow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

153. Spizella pusilla (WILS.). 568.

Field Sparrow.

A summer resident. Breeds.

154. Junco hyemalis (LINN.). 567.

Slate-colored Junco.

A very common migrant. Common summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Breeds. A nest taken June 28th, 1880, contained two perfectly fresh eggs and two nearly hatched.

155. Melospiza fasciata (GMEL.). 581.

Song Sparrow.

A very abundant summer resident. Breeds. Generally one of the first arrivals in the spring, often preceding the robin and the bluebird.

156. Melospiza lincolni (AUD.). 583.

Lincoln's Sparrow.

A rather rare migrant. Summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, where it breeds. On the 13th of June, 1878, a nest of this species was taken on the banks of a little pond dignified with the name of "Moose Lake," and situated in Hamilton County, about twenty miles northeast of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County. The nest was placed on the ground where it was almost spongy with water, about two rods from the pond, and about the same distance from the edge of the forest. It was not under the protection of any bush or stone, but was quite well

concealed by some last year's grasses. It was composed entirely of dry grasses, both inside and out, the lining being neatly made of the finer spears; and contained three eggs, a few days advanced in incubation. These measured .74 x .56 inches. The ground was a pale greenish, covered with spots and blotches of different shades of reddish brown. On one of them the spots were so numerous as to become confluent and almost conceal the ground-color, while on another they were much smaller, so that the greenish white of the ground-color was the predominant tint, except at the large end, where the spots became larger and more confluent, as indeed they did on all three.—(*Recorded, Bulletin Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. III, page* 198.)

June 16th, 1881, another nest of this species was taken on "Otter Lake" or pond, about half a mile from the locality of the first. The nest was situated almost exactly like the other, in wet spongy ground on the edge of the pond; not under any bush or weed but quite well concealed by last year's grasses. Diameter, outside, 3.75 inches; inside, 2 inches; depth, outside, 2.25 inches; inside, 1.75 inches. It was composed of fine grass loosely put together, and set down nearly level with the moss. The eggs, which were four, slightly advanced in incubation, were exactly like those taken in 1878, except that the spots of reddish brown were rather larger and more marked.—(*Recorded, Bulletin Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. VI, page* 246.)

In both cases the bird was taken, positively identified and preserved.

157. Melospiza georgiana (LATH.). 584.

Swamp Sparrow.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

158. Passerella iliaca (MERR.). 585.

Fox Sparrow.

A not common migrant.

159. **Pipilo erythrophthalmus** (LINN.). 587.

Towhee.

One was taken in New Hartford October 20th, 1881.

160. **Habia ludoviciana** (LINN.). 595.

Rose-breasted Grosbeak.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

161. **Passerina cyanea** (LINN.). 598.

Indigo Bunting.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

162. **Piranga erythromelas** VIEILL. 608.

Scarlet Tanager.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

163. **Progne subis** (LINN.). 611.

Purple Martin.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

164. **Petrochelidon lunifrons** (SAY). 612.

Cliff Swallow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

165. **Chelidon erythrogaster** (BODD.). 613.

Barn Swallow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

166. **Tachycineta bicolor** (VIEILL.). 614.

Tree Swallow.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

167. **Clivicola riparia** (LINN.). 616.

Bank Swallow.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

168. **Stelgidopteryx serripennis** (AUD.). 617.

Rough-winged Swallow.

Several pairs nested in the abutments of the bridge across the West Canada Creek at Trenton Falls, in 1886. One nest which was examined June 19th, contained young.

169. **Ampelis garrulus** LINN. 618.

Bohemian Waxwing.

Messrs. J. P. & F. J. Davis report that they have killed them in the neighborhood of Utica during several different winters; the former having killed thirty-two within the limits of the city in one season.

170. **Ampelis cedrorum** (VIEILL.). 619.

Cedar Waxwing.

A common summer resident. Breeds. Often seen during winter feeding on Mountain Ash berries in the yards of the city. (See coccyzus erythrophthalmus.)

171. **Lanius borealis** VIEILL. 621.

Northern Shrike.

A not uncommon winter visitor.

172. Lanius ludovicianus excubitorides (SWAINS.). 622*a*.

White-rumped Shrike.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds.

173. Vireo olivaceus (LINN.). 624.

Red-eyed Vireo.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

174. Vireo philadelphicus (CASS.). 626.

Philadelphia Vireo.

One taken September 14th, 1880, and others seen at the same time.

175. Vireo gilvus (VIEILL.). 627.

Warbling Vireo.

A common summer resident. Breeds. Nests taken May 27th and June 12th, 1886, at Holland Patent and Trenton Falls, were near the tops of high maple shade trees in villages.

176. Vireo flavifrons VIEILL. 628.

Yellow-throated Vireo.

A not uncommon summer resident. Breeds. Nest taken May 24th, 1886, in the Village of Holland Patent, in maple shade tree, about 20 feet above the sidewalk.

177. Vireo solitarius (WILS.). 629.

Blue-headed Vireo.

Seen occasionally. Taken September 26th, 1879, and September 23d, 1880.

178. **Mniotilta varia** (LINN.). 686.

Black and White Warbler.

A not uncommon summer resident.

179. **Helminthophila ruficapilla** (WILS.). 645.

Nashville Warbler.

Not uncommon during migrations, and occasionally breeds near Holland Patent.

180. **Helminthophila celata** (SAY). 646.

Orange-crowned Warbler.

Rare. One taken September 16th, 1880.

181. **Helminthophila peregrina** (WILS.). 647.

Tennessee Warbler.

"Not rare during spring migrations."—(*Merriam.*) One taken September 30th, 1879.

182. **Compsothlypis americana** (LINN.). 648.

Parula Warbler.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

183. **Dendroica tigrina** (GMEL.). 650.

Cape May Warbler.

A rare migrant. One taken at Holland Patent some years ago, by Mr. William Fowler, of that place, and several taken in the spring of 1884 and of 1885, at Fish Creek, by Mr. A. L. Brainard, of Oneida.

184. Dendroica æstiva (GMEL.). 652.

Yellow Warbler.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

185. Dendroica cærulescens (GMEL.). 654.

Black-throated Blue Warbler.

Not uncommon during migrations. A quite local summer resident in northern part of the County. Breeds. In addition to the nest recorded in the Bulletin of the Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. 5, page 233, three nests have been taken, May 29th and June 14th, 1886, near Holland Patent. They were all placed in maple bushes, from nine inches to two feet from the ground, in heavy timber grown up with maple brush. They were loose structures, placed in an upright fork, and composed in all three cases of strips of rotten wood held together and lined with fine black roots, and in one case further secured with strips of the inner bark of deciduous trees, and measured, outside diameter, from three to three and a half inches; inside diameter, from one and three-quarters to two and a quarter inches; outside depth, three and three-quarters to five inches; inside depth, one and a half inches. The two sets of eggs which seemed normal, consisted of four eggs each, one set, pinkish, quite heavily marked and blotched with dark brownish pink, especially at the larger end, and a few fine marks and scratches of a darker color; rather blunt at the small end, and large for the bird, measuring .75 x .54, .72 x .55, .76 x .54, .72 x .52 inches. The other set was white, rather sparsely marked with lilac and brown spots and dots, heaviest at the large end. In shape and general appearance resembling a Redstart's, and measured .66 x .50, .64 x .51, .66 x .51, 64 x .51.

186. Dendroica coronata (LINN.). 655.

Myrtle Warbler.

An abundant spring and fall migrant. "Breeds plentifully in the Adirondacks."—(*Merriam.*)

187. Dendroica maculosa (GMEL.). 657.

Magnolia Warbler.

Quite common during migrations. A few remain to breed in the northern part of the County.

Of five nests found, four were placed in evergreens, from six to fifteen feet from the ground, in swampy woods. The fifth nest, taken July 1st, 1886, half a mile north of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County, was placed in a thick deciduous bush, underneath an evergreen, in a clump of small branches, two and a half feet from the ground, in a beaver meadow on the outer edge of the thick woods. It measured, outside diameter, three and a half inches; inside diameter, two an one-eighth inches; outside depth, one and three-quarters inches; inside, seven-eighths of an inch. Composed of dry hemlock twigs, lined with fine, black, hair-like roots. The four eggs which it contained were white, spotted and blotched with lilac and brown, heaviest at the larger end, and measured, .67 x .50, .67 x .50, .66 x .50, .66 x .50 inches.

188. Dendroica pensylvanica (LINN.). 659.

Chestnut-side Warbler.

A rather common summer resident. Breeds.

189. Dendroica castanea (WILS.). 660.

Bay-breasted Warbler.

Several shot in the spring of 1880.

A full-plumaged female was taken in Hamilton County, August 6th, 1886, by Messrs. W. P. Shepard and Robt. J. Hughes.

190. Dendroica striata (FORST.). 661.

Black-poll Warbler.

Very common during some migrations.

191. Dendroica blackburniæ (GMEL.). 662.

Blackburnian Warbler.

A not uncommon migrant. A few remain during the summer in the vicinity of Holland Patent.

192. Dendroica virens (GMEL.). 667.

Black-throated Green Warbler.

A quite common migrant. Not uncommon summer resident. Breeds. Nests taken June 4th and 26th, 1886. Both were placed on a horizontal branch of a hemlock, about twenty feet from the ground, in a little clump of branches, but riding the horizontal limb; one on the edge of a heavy swamp, and the other in a swampy place in a large piece of very heavy timber. The nests were beautifully constructed, strong, compact and deep. The outer sides about perpendicular, measuring, outside depth, 2.25 to 2.50 inches; inside, 1.50 inches; outside diameter, 3 to 3.50 inches; inside, 1.75 to 2 inches; composed of green moss, birch bark, spider web, feathers, fine dry twigs of the hemlock, lined with fine strips of bark and hair. The eggs were rather a pointed oval; one set of three; white with a pinkish shade, marked with fine spots of darker pink, seeming to show through, and quite strongly marked over these with scattering blotches of light reddish brown with much darker edges. They measured, .65 x .54, .64 x .52, .64 x .52. The other set of two eggs were white, strongly blotched, especially at the larger end, with different shades of brown and lilac, and measured .70 x .53, .70 x .51 inches.

193. Dendroica vigorsii (AUD.). 671.

Pine Warbler.

"Mr. Dayan (at Lyons Falls) took a full-plumaged male D. pinus at Lyonsdale, Lewis County, May 8th, 1877."—(*Merriam, Preliminary List of the Birds of the Adirondack Region.*)

194. Dendroica palmarum (GMEL.). 672.

Palm Warbler.

"Occurs during migrations."—(*Merriam.*)

From Professor H. P. Adams
Oct. 1892

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT UTICA, N. Y.

Founded 1876; Incorporated 1878.

1887-1889.

Jedediah Sanger

THE FOUNDER OF NEW HARTFORD, ONEIDA CO. N. Y.

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195. Seiurus aurocapillus (LINN.). 674.

Oven-bird.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

196. Seiurus noveboracensis (GMEL.). 675.

Water-Thrush.

Seen occasionally both during migrations, and during the breeding season.

197. Geothlypis agilis (WILS.). 678.

Connecticut Warbler.

One taken September 18th, 1880, and one September 8th, 1881.

198. Geothlypis philadelphia (WILS.). 679.

Mourning Warbler.

Not common. Most often seen during breeding season.

199. Geothlypis trichas (LINN.). 681.

Maryland Yellow-throat.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

200. Sylvania pusilla (WILS.). 685.

Wilson's Warbler.

Seen occasionally during migrations.

201. **Sylvania canadensis** (LINN.). 686.

Canadian Warbler.

Very common during some migrations. A common summer resident in the northern part of the County. Breeds quite commonly in the northern part of the County. Quite a number of nests found, were all on the ground, except one taken June 26th, 1884, near Holland Patent, which was placed about 18 inches above the ground, in a cavity in the top of a slanting stump, which was so covered with vegetation as to entirely conceal the nest, which was composed of fine grass, hair-like roots and a few pine leaves. The eggs were four in number, white, showing rosy before blowing, covered with small spots of different shades of brown, thicker at the larger end, and measured .69 x .53, .67 x .53, .67 x .53, .67 x .55, inches.

202. **Setophaga ruticilla** (LINN.). 687.

American Redstart.

A common summer resident. Breeds.

203. **Anthus pensilvanicus** (LATH.). 697.

American Pipit.

Not uncommon during migrations.

204. **Galeoscoptes carolinensis** (LINN.). 704.

Catbird.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

205. **Harporhynchus rufus** (LINN.). 705.

Brown Thrasher.

Seen occasionally. Breeds. Two nests were taken some years ago in Deerfield, about two miles north of the Mohawk river.

206. Troglodytes aëdon VIEILL. 721.

House Wren.

A summer resident; not nearly so common as formerly. Breeds.

207. Troglodytes hiemalis VIEILL. 722.

Winter Wren.

Not uncommon. Breeds. A female taken at Utica, May 17th, 1879, contained an egg fully developed except the shell, which was still soft. During the summer of 1885 thirteen nests were found near Holland Patent, and the birds were watched while building twelve of them, and not one of these was occupied. The thirteenth nest contained six eggs when found. One of these nests, which was built but not occupied in 1885, was occupied during 1886, and a brood of young raised in it. A nest taken July 16th, 1885, (undoubtedly a second laying, as a nest was found with young in May,) two miles north of Holland Patent, was placed under the roots of a fallen tree, in a small cavity in the roots, about two feet above the ground, composed of moss, hemlock twigs, roots and pieces of rotten wood, and lined, first with fine grass and then with grouse feathers and horse hair; a compact mass of material, filling the cavity, and containing in its centre a cosy nest, to which entrance was obtained by a small round opening in the side. The eggs, six in number, were white, rather evenly marked with small spots and dots of reddish brown, and measured, .67 x .50, .67 x .49, .65 x .49, .67 x .50, .63 x .47, inches.

208. Cistothorus stellaris (LICHT.). 724.

Short-billed Marsh Wren.

"Mr. Romeyn B. Hough shot two females of this wren, October 27th, 1877, in the town of New Bremen, in Lewis County, and writes me that he is 'confident that they breed there every year.'"—(*Merriam. Preliminary List of the Birds of the Adirondack Region.*)

209. Cistothorus palustris (Wils.). 725.

Long-billed Marsh Wren.

One taken at Utica, September 23d, 1880. This bird is very common and breeds plentifully on the marshes of the Seneca River, where we have observed it. Its peculiar habit of building several nests for every one occupied, has been noted by others; and while we kept no accurate record, our experience is that the number of unoccupied nests is at least six or eight for every occupied one. It would seem probable, from the notes above, that this strange custom is also practiced by its sprightly little cousin, the Winter Wren.

210. Certhia familiaris americana (Bonap.). 726.

Brown Creeper.

A not uncommon migrant. Seen on several occasions in the vicinity of Holland Patent during the breeding season. A summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Breeds. A nest was taken by C. F. Carpenter, C. E., in Hamilton County, about twenty miles northeast of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County, N. Y., July 28th, 1875. The nest was in a heavy forest, concealed behind a piece of bark which had been partly torn loose from the side of a spruce tree, about six feet from the ground, but which still remained attached to the tree by the upper end.

Mr. Carpenter describes the nest as "made of soft downy materials, including feathers and such soft materials as you will find in a squirrel's nest. The whole bulk not larger than your fist." It contained three young birds with down only in tufts upon them, and two addled eggs, white, thinly marked with fine reddish dots or spots, and measuring respectively .60 x .47, and .59 x .47 inches. Such situation, under a loose piece of bark, is the usual if not the invariable one for the nest of this species, as all nests found have been so placed.—(*Recorded, Bulletin Nuttall Ornithological Club, Vol. VI. page* 183.)

211. Sitta carolinensis Lath. 727.

White-breasted Nuthatch.

A common resident. Breeds.

212. **Sitta canadensis** LINN. 728.

Red-breasted Nuthatch.

Seen occasionally throughout the County during migrations, and in the northern part during the breeding season. Breeds. Nest taken May 14th, 1886, at Trenton Falls, contained five eggs, nearly hatched. The hole was four inches deep and fifty feet from the ground, in the dead top of an ash, in a swamp. There were quantities of gum about the hole and running down the tree. The nest was composed of strips of bark, a little moss and a few feathers. The eggs closely resembled those of the white breasted, except in size, averaging .62 x .47 inches.

213. **Parus atricapillus** LINN. 735.

Chickadee.

Abundant summer and winter. Breeds. This is the most common of our winter birds, but we are unwilling even to hazard an opinion as to whether the birds of winter are the same ones which are with us in summer, or are migrants from further north.

214. **Parus hudsonicus** FORST. 740.

Hudsonian Chickadee.

Dr. Merriam has found this species breeding in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties, where it is very local.

215. **Regulus satrapa** LICHT. 748.

Golden-crowned Kinglet.

A common migrant.

216. **Regulus calendula** (LINN.). 749.

Ruby-crowned Kinglet.

A common migrant.

217. Turdus mustelinus GMEL. 755.

Wood Thrush.

A quite common summer resident. Breeds.

218. Turdus fuscescens STEPH. 756.

Wilson's Thrush.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds.

219. Turdus aliciæ BAIRD. 757.

Gray-cheeked Thrush.

"Common migrant."—(*Merriam.*)

220. Turdus aliciæ bicknelli (RIDGW.). 757*a*.

Bicknell's Thrush.

"In my cabinet is a specimen of this recently described thrush, which I shot in Lewis County * * * * May 24, 1873. It is a male of the preceding year * * * "—(*Merriam. Preliminary List of the Birds of the Adirondack Region.*)

221. Turdus ustulatus swainsonii (CAB.). 758*a*.

Olive-backed Thrush.

A not uncommon migrant. An abundant summer resident in Herkimer and Hamilton Counties. Breeds. Nest taken June 13th, 1876, between Deer and Otter Lakes, about twenty miles northeast of Wilmurt P. O., Herkimer County; was built about seven feet from the ground in a small spruce, and lined entirely with black fibrous roots, resembling horsehair. The eggs were four, .83 x .65 inches, green, spotted with reddish.

222. **Turdus aonalaschkæ pallasii** (CAB.). 759*b*.

Hermit Thrush.

A quite common summer resident in northern part of the County. Breeds. Very common during migrations.

223. **Merula migratoria** (LINN.). 761.

American Robin.

A very abundant summer resident. Breeds. Some are seen almost every winter.

224. **Sialia sialis** (LINN.). 766.

Bluebird.

An abundant summer resident. Breeds. A nest taken containing four *pure white* eggs.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877.
2. Historical Fallacies regarding Colonial New York, by Douglas Campbell. Annual Address: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome, by D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members, and Donors of the Society and Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida County, by William Tracy. Annual Address: 1880.
6. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, Paris Re-interment and Papers read before the Society from 1878 to 1881: 1881.
7. Semi-Centennial of the City of Utica, and Supper of Half-Century Club: 1882.
8. A Long-Lost Point in History, by L. W. Ledyard. Annual Address: 1883.
9. Col. John Brown, by Rev. Dr. G. L. Roof: 1884.
10. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, Wagner Re-interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

AT UTICA.

NEW HARTFORD CENTENNIAL

AND ADDRESSES BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

1887-1889.

UTICA, N. Y.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
ELLIS H. ROBERTS & CO., PRINTERS.

1889.

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1887—WARD HUNT.	1887—ROBERT S. WILLIAMS.
" ALEXANDER T. GOODWIN.	1888—BLOOMFIELD J. BEACH.
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Statistics.

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Membership.

HENRY HURLBURT, EDWARD CURRAN, DANIEL BALLOU.

Oriskany, Fort Schuyler and Whitestown Monuments.

JOHN F. SEYMOUR, ALEXANDER SEWARD, C. W. HUTCHINSON.
W. M. WHITE, W. D. WALCOTT.

Early Utica Publications.

ALEXANDER SEWARD, R. S. WILLIAMS, M. M. BAGG,
F. W. HURLBURT, M. T. CANFIELD.

THE NEW HARTFORD CENTENNIAL.

1788--1888.

INTRODUCTORY.

The connection of the Oneida Historical Society with the celebration of the centennial year of the founding of New Hartford, appears from the following resolution of the Society, adopted October 31, 1887:

Resolved, That a committee of ten persons, of whom five shall be residents of New Hartford, be appointed by the chair to make arrangements for the celebration of the centennial year of the founding of New Hartford, and that such committee have power to add to their number as may seem desirable.

The President named as such committee: John F. Seymour, chairman; Alexander Seward, Joseph R. Swan, George L. Curran, William S. Doolittle; and from New Hartford, Richard U. Sherman, Morgan Butler, Lynott B. Root, Rev. I. N. Terry, and William M. Storrs.

This committee subsequently reported its enlargement to some sixty members, and a sub-division of the same into sub-committees, as follows:

General Local Committee of Arrangements:

James Armstrong, Wm. M. Storrs, Louis T. Sherrill, John M. Porter, Chas. H. Philo, Henry Kellogg, John Squires, Michael Hogan.

On Finance:

A. P. Seaton, Geo. Hatfield, Jas. P. Reilly, Chas. S. Benton, Wm. H. Cloher, Jr., Daniel M. Prescott.

On Addresses:

R. U. Sherman, Rev. I. N. Terry, Alexander Seward, Chas. D. Adams, Frederick G. Fincke.

On Entertainment:

Geo. W. Rice, Wm. Osburn, Joseph E. Graham, A. E. Baker, James Auld, Frank Morgan.

On History of Early Settlers:

Thos. W. Seward, Henry G. Abbott, F. D. Blackstone, Dr. W. R. Griswold, Henry Dodge.

On Statistics of Manufactures:

James Harris, A. C. Miller, S. R. Campbell, James H. Williams, James Lighbody.

On Invitations:

Lynott B. Root, F. C. Ingalls, L. W. McFarland, Dr. M. M. Bagg, Henry Hurlburt, Rev. D. W. Bigelow.

On Memorial:

Morgan Butler, R. S. Williams, Geo. L. Curran.

On Reception:

J. W. McLean, Loton S. Hunt, Stalham W. Sherman.

On Printing and Publication:

Joseph R. Swan, J. Milton Butler, Chas. Hamilton.

On Music:

Mrs. L. T. Sherrill, Mrs. F. J. Cooke, Mrs. Lizzie Griswold, Mr. John Carpenter.

Ladies' Auxiliary Committee:

Miss Cornelia Meeker, Miss Emily Childs, Miss Lizzie Griswold, Miss Salome German, Miss May Lonsdale, Miss Hattie Rockwell, Mrs. Lynott B. Root, Mrs. F. C. Ogden, Mrs. A. E. Baker, Mrs. L. W. McFarland, Mrs. J. W. Seaton, Mrs. J. B. Frazier, Mrs. M. T. Canfield, Mrs. Robert Patterson, Mrs. W. G. Saltsman.

The first general meeting of the enlarged committee, and of other persons interested, was called at Patterson's Hall, in New Hartford, May 7, 1888, at 7.30 P. M., and this was followed by weekly meetings at the same place, during which additions were made to the several committees, the day was fixed for the celebration and the arrangements for the same were perfected with a zeal and efficiency which ensured success.

As the acknowledged founder of New Hartford is stated to have begun the settlement in March, 1788, it was conceded from the first that a more auspicious month should be selected for the commemoration of the event. The 27th of June was the day appointed, and the rare perfection of that day, sandwiched

between two most unsuitable ones, will always be associated with the memory of the celebration.

The Oneida Historical Society also interested itself in the permanent record of the centennial, by adopting resolutions May 28th, that it would either contribute to the publication of the proceedings by the citizens of New Hartford, or give a place to them in its transactions. The latter alternative, after some consideration and delay, has been adopted. The contents of the pages immediately following, though necessarily somewhat miscellaneous, will add much to what was before known of the early history of one of the first settlements of Oneida County, and of its men, who made a good impress, there and elsewhere, on the times in which they lived. Foremost is Sanger, the founder, indissolubly associated with every good thing in the place—its farms, its manufactures, its churches, its newspaper and other institutions—filling most of the public positions in his region, with honor and efficiency, kind and helpful to the other early settlers, and of an integrity so rare as to be sure of historical record.

To the celebrated names associated with the land history of Oneida County—Crosby, Gage, Holland, Floyd, Kirkland, Steuben and others,—New Hartford adds Washington and Clinton, partners in its unsettled lands. The first was a practical land surveyor, before he became a general and president, and in the latter capacities had occasion to see and know much of the whole country. That he chose to invest in New Hartford is a sufficient certificate to the desirableness of its lands.

THE CELEBRATION.

Sunrise of June 27, 1888, was announced to the inhabitants of New Hartford by the firing of artillery and the ringing of bells. The principal streets of the beautiful village were already in holiday dress. Among the more prominent of the dwellings beautified with flags and portraits were those of Francis Butler, Gen. R. U. Sherman, Hon. James Armstrong, Samuel Patterson, Grove Penny, Charles McLean, George W. Rice, Dr. William J. Langworthy, L. W. McFarland, J. E. Groves, Rev. B. S. Sanderson, Mr. Ainsworth, Jerome Seaman, Morgan Butler, Joseph P. Richardson, C. Lansing Jones, George D. Babcock and Lynott B. Root. The old Eames house and the public school building, (the former residence of Judge Sanger) were also very tastefully adorned.

OPENING EXERCISES.

The first public exercises of the day were held at 9.30 A. M., in the village park, in the presence of a large concourse. Rev. I. N. Terry, pastor of the Presbyterian church, offered prayer. He said:

Almighty God, our Father in Heaven, our father's God and our God, we rejoice in the loving providence which has brought us here to-day. We adore thee for thy loving guidance and for thy protecting care over our great nation and people; that thou hast made us a God fearing and God loving nation. We thank thee for the way in which thou hast led us. We thank thee for the courage thou hast given us. We thank thee for the love of order and the love of truth. We thank thee for the Christian integrity which lights up the heavens of this people, and we thank thee also for those who laid the foundation of this settlement with a God fearing hand. Let us rejoice that as they built their own houses they also built the school house. Be thou present here with us, guide us through life and in heaven eventually receive us, through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Redeemer. Amen.

At the close of the prayer a large chorus of school children, under the leadership of their teacher, Miss Carrie Potter, sang the following selections: Chanting of the Lord's Prayer; "America;" "Let the Hills and Vales Resound;" "Bird Carol;" "Old Folks at Home;" "Columbia;" "Twilight Stealing O'er the Lea." The songs were all admirably rendered, and were heartily applauded by the assembled spectators.

Meanwhile, crowds of people continued to pour into the village, from the neighboring towns, by the local railroad trains, by the street cars, and by vehicles of all kinds, upon every road leading into New Hartford, till it was estimated that the number of strangers in town was from 5,000 to 8,000. The assemblage was one of marked respectability and intelligence and seemed to appreciate thoroughly the objects and felicities of the occasion.

An attractive feature of the Centennial was the collection of relics arranged in a vacant store. In it were hung several portraits of persons prominent in the history of the village, among them the following: William M. Winship, Samuel Lyon and wife, John Remington, Samuel Dakin and Jacob Sherrill. Among other interesting contents of this room were: A fan used for separating the wheat from the chaff 100 years ago, exhibited by Mrs. S. M. Foster; spinning wheel by Albert Tibbits; two pieces of carpet, the yarn for which was spun and colored by Mrs. Jesse Thomson and woven in New Hartford in 1822; a chair 200 years old by Hiram Merrill; a large lacquered tray 250 years old; a table, part of a chamber set of 200 years of age, by Mrs. H. Merrill; a sword in actual service when Burgoyne surrendered to the American army in 1777, used by Jacob Merrill; chair brought from England in 1786, by Mr. Wilcox, now owned by W. R. Griswold; cradle in which twins were born 1791; platter over 250 years old; workboard bought by Mrs. Samuel Lyon in 1812; spear over 150 years old used in Revolutionary war owned by E. L. Childs. Warming pans, flax hetchels, a gourd bottle stopped with a corn cob, and a crane and andirons which belonged to Jedediah Sanger, by Mrs. McFarland, were also in the collection.

THE PARADE.

The procession was formed on Genesee street shortly after ten o'clock, and half an hour later it moved in the following order:

Grand Marshal L. T. Sherrill.

Chief of Staff, William M. Storrs. Aids, George W. Chadwick, Jr., Arthur L. Sherrill, Allen W. Seaton, New Hartford; Members of Staff, Colonel Whitney, Colonel Addington, Paris; Captain Cowles, Dr. Millington, Rome; Colonel Fred P. Drew, Washington Mills; E. C. Milgate, Utica.

Hutchins' Band, 21 men.

Utica Citizens' Corps, Captain L. E. Goodier commanding, 44 men.

Jacobs' Military Band, 22 men.

Twenty-eighth Separate Company, Utica City Guards, Captain J. H. Remmer commanding, 57 men.

Carriages containing Officers and Speakers of the day.

Fort Schuyler Wheelmen, Lieutenant George Owen commanding, 20 men.

Genesee Bicycle Club, Captain Sid Nicholson commanding, 8 men.

Rutger Wheelmen, Captain Robert Sheehan commanding, 14 men.

Marshal James Mallory commanding the Second Division and Mounted Staff of 50 men.

Citizens' Military Band of Mohawk and Drum Corps, 28 men.

Remington Rifles, Captain A. J. Budlong commanding, 24 men.

Delegations from Posts Bacon, McQuade, Reynolds, Harrer and Ross, G. A. R., 47 men.

Citizens and Guests in Carriages.

Among those in carriages were Hon. James Armstrong, President of the village, Morgan Butler, President of the day, General R. U. Sherman, Prof. Oren Root, Rev. B. S. Sanderson, Rev. I. N. Terry, Henry Hurlburt, Dr. M. M. Bagg, Loton S. Hunt, S. W. Sherman, Alexander Seward, John G. Gibson, Rees G. Williams, Colonel George Young, Joshua Mather, C. W. Mather, John W. Boyle, George Hatfield, W. C. Rowley and others.

The procession moved up Genesee street to South as far as Mrs. Sherman's late residence, countermarched to Sanger avenue to Pearl street, Pearl to Clinton, up Clinton to A. P. Sexton's residence, countermarched to the Park, up Paris street to Mrs. Cleve-

land's, countermarched down Paris street, halting in front of the park, where the organizations were briefly reviewed.

The soldiers, on the return from the street parade, were fed at the canning factory, and the line was formed at two o'clock for the dress parade.

The dress parade was complimented by Major Everts, commanding the battalion. The companies formed on the west side of Genesee street, the guides were posted, sergeants reported to the commandant, the general orders were read as follows:

HEADQUARTERS PROVISIONAL BATTALION,
NEW HARTFORD CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION,
NEW HARTFORD, Oneida County, N. Y., U. S. A.

General Order No. 1:

I. The thanks of this command are due and are hereby tendered to the citizens of New Hartford, to the committee on arrangements, and to the grand marshal, Major Sherrill, for courtesies extended.

II. To our comrade, (chief of staff) W. M. Storrs, we extend congratulations and acknowledge our obligations to him, and assure him that we only voice the entire assemblage when we say he is the right man in the right place.

D. T. EVERTS, Commanding.

The commissioned officers then reported and were dismissed, the orderly sergeants taking charge of the companies, and the dress parade was then dismissed.

LITERARY EXERCISES.

An audience of about 2,000 people gathered under the magnificent maples and elms in the village park shortly before noon, and crowded up toward the spacious stage erected on the north side of the Presbyterian church. The platform was occupied by the officers and speakers of the day and others invited. Suspended over the stage, in the rear, was an oil portrait of Judge Sanger, the founder and benefactor of the town. A few minutes past noon Chairman Morgan Butler called the assemblage to order and said:

You are all aware that we have met here to-day to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of this glorious old town. We hope the exercises will proceed in a quiet and respectable manner.

COL. SPENCER H. STAFFORD.

The chairman called attention to the portrait of Judge Sanger suspended over the stage, and introduced Col. Spencer H. Stafford of Oneida, great grandson of the judge. Mr. Stafford said:

The portrait which you see, I had the pleasure after the death of my mother to send to the Oneida Historical Society for preservation. Prevented by ill health from making a pilgrimage to New Hartford and seeking out from the older inhabitants information as to the settlement of the place, and the advent of him who has been deemed its founder, I am afraid I can do but little, if anything, better than to recapitulate what has been heretofore written and printed.

Jedediah Sanger, born in Sherburne, Middlesex county, Massachusetts, after his arrival at manhood, established himself at Jeffries, New Hampshire, where in addition to the cultivation of a large farm, he engaged in merchandise, at the same time serving the public as a tavern keeper. While thus engaged, as was then the need and custom of the day, he was accustomed to load the teams of his neighbors and customers with the products he had accumulated and proceed to Boston—sell them and purchase such supplies as he required for his business. On the occasion of the last of those trips, and while on his return journey, he found himself, at night, a few miles away from his home and stopped at a roadside inn to await the morning. Quite early and before anyone had arisen, he was wakened by a loud knocking at the door of the hotel, and soon heard the landlord and the new comer in conversation, the latter stating that he stopped for the night at Colonel Sanger's house and had just come from its ashes. After rising and inquiring into the particulars of the startling tidings, he mounted his horse and hastened to the scene of the disaster. Without delay he sent a message to meet the coming teams and give orders to turn about and return the goods they were bringing, with information of the event which prevented his using or paying for them. So soon as he could arrange his affairs and come to a proper understanding with his creditors, having decided that it was useless to seek a successful restoration of his fortunes in his then location, he sought a new field of labor and of enterprise and found it here.

His purchase of the land which formed the site of this village was fortunate for him and for you, and in 1788 he commenced the work set before him. The following year he brought his family. From thence onward he was actively engaged in building mills and opening up and bringing into use the resources of the country; and as the agent for the Coxes and other landed proprietors, inviting and expediting the settlement about him. With those labors and enterprises he continued service for the town as its leading official, for the county or district as its representative in the assembly and the senate, for eleven years upon the commission of the peace as justice, and when the county of Oneida was organized was placed upon the bench as first judge of the Court of Common Pleas, serving there respected and honored until constitutional limitation as to age disqualified him for further service. That he was mainly instrumental in the establishment and location of the Seneca turnpike, which by its traffic, largely aided in the growth of New Hartford and Utica, and which continued to be a great thoroughfare until the completion of the Erie canal, is fully understood and acknowledged. His contributions in aid of educational and religious enterprises and structures, and in their subsequent support, were generous and ample, and as I used gladly and proudly to hear in my boyhood from the lips of his sole surviving child, my grandmother, his private benefactions and helpfulness were cheerful and unstinted.

It ought not, and can not, be pretended that he, and he alone, wrought the great work, the beginning and the results of which are being rejoiced in to-day. Very soon there gathered here and in the immediate vicinity ready, willing and effective helpers, comprising a galaxy of men whose industry, learning and public service, County, State and National, shed a lustre of fame and glory upon Oneida county in its earliest existence, and whose names still shine with undiminished lustre upon the record in no wise paled beneath the beams of light cast back upon those great spirits whom we have seen and known and honored as they have borne the banner of the county onward.

I speak not of the descendants of this ancestor, save to say, that the first and second generation have all passed into the rest of the grave. Of the third, none who saw him in life survive, but I and my cousins, Spencer S. Eames, and his sister, Mrs. Adams, now of Newark in this State; and only Mrs. Charles Hamilton of Utica, remains a resident of the county. My personal recollection of him is but slight—the little pettings of childhood only—although

I see now as my mind reverts to it, that long line of men and women who followed his body as it was borne from his home to the place of burial.*

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR JONES' ADDRESS.

After the band had played a selection, Rev. B. S. Sanderson, rector of St. Stephens Church, who during the day served as vice chairman, introduced Lieutenant Governor Edward F. Jones, and proposed three cheers for him. The cheers were heartily given, after which Mr. Jones spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Fellow Citizens:

A centennial anniversary, no matter how local, opens a retrospect so broad that it is impossible to do it justice. The subject is so comprehensive that one knows not where to begin. Our century of national existence has been an exemplification of geometrical progression when compared with the slow developments that peoples, nations and countries have hitherto attained. Even with the inspiration to be derived from our example the old world lags far behind. With us each generation outstrips its antecedent with such rapidity that we who were once young America and astonished our mother progenitors by the speed we attained, stand aghast at the velocity of the youth of the present day. In summing up the elements composing the American character there is one inevitable unanimous conclusion, to wit, we are a progressive people; but what a pity that the change involved by progress is not always improvement. It is often said and never gainsayed that this is a fast age. Ride and tie satisfied the grandfathers of us who are now past middle life. The succeeding stage coach for fast travel was all that could be desired. The steamboat on waterways was one of the wonders of the world. But when the railroad promised twenty miles an hour, who believed in its possibility or safety? But now the limited express whirling us through the air at a mile a minute is too slow for the day in which we live. It would seem as if nothing short of the abolition of

*Col. Stafford died December 25, 1888, six months after the delivery of this address. He was born in Utica and his boyhood was passed in Albany; was graduated at Williams College; studied law in Utica, and pursued his profession in Oneida and New York city, where he was established in successful practice at the outbreak of the civil war. He volunteered and was made major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel. On the surrender of New Orleans, 1862, he became provost marshal under General Butler, and was assigned the painful task of hanging Mumford for taking the Union flag from the United States Mint.

time and space would satisfy the desire for "speed to describe whose swiftness numbers fail." In fact, a complete annihilation of the distinctions of existence, following in such quick succession as to baffle our powers of comprehension, caused the developments of electrical science which gave us the telegraph and the telephone, and a new motive power, as well as turning night into day. Keeping in mind the possibilities of electricity, the alphabet of which we have not yet learned, who dares say that the story of the Arabian Nights is a fiction? The wonderful inventions that crowd so rapidly upon each other daze us to such an extent that we no longer challenge anything as impossible. Oil gushes from the earth in quantities so great that its consumption is impossible, and the best inventive talent is worried in devising new uses therefor. Whole cities are warmed and lighted with the gas that flows spontaneously from the ground. Were I to tell you that within the life-time of some who hear me there would be an invention not larger than the watch we carry in our vest pocket by which we could transport ourselves from place to place at will, would it defy your credence more than the common every day appliances which we now use would have challenged the belief of us in the earlier days of our manhood?

All this progress and change has not always brought with it improvement. The naked proposition meets us at every turn and demands respectful consideration. Is the human race better, is it happier?

The rapidity of our life has led us far astray from the habits and customs of our fathers as well as from many ancient landmarks of belief. In material we are ready to believe almost everything without question. As a people we have strayed unconsciously and are lost in the wilds of scepticism. To many the faith in which our fathers were so firmly grounded is but ancient history. There is a widespread tendency to what is known as liberal thought, even going so far as to raise doubts as to the truth of the Christian religion. With lightning speed the car of progress demands the right of way, thrusting aside all barriers of faith, but never offering anything to supply their place. The mission of progressive, liberal thought seems to be to tear down, and it never rebuilds. Liberty has become license in matters of belief at least, and in the assertion of our right to believe what we please. We are as a people fast reaching the position of believing nothing. If each person will privately and honestly confer with himself as to what we do and do not believe, and put the result

into a ballot box, we should all be surprised that so large a proportion of our people have simply drifted away from the faith of our fathers, and were in fact still drifting, we know not where. Whenever you cease pulling on the oars the boat will drift. The possibilities of safely landing on a smooth and sandy beach do not equal the probabilities that our frail craft, if it escape the maelstrom of obstruction, will be dashed in pieces on the rocks that line the shore.

Faith is the rudder of life—without it you are but a bubble on the wave of existence. The wise men of our day and generation have raised what they are pleased to term the banner of truth. Truth is the standard by which everything is to be tested. If a proposition will not bear the ordeal to which you would subject a problem in mathematics, then your conclusion is that it must be false, and should be rejected. This is the logic of those who would take from us our best anchor, our belief in the Christian religion, and turn us adrift without rudder or compass on the ocean of doubt, with not a safe harbor or good holding ground on its entire coast. Truth! Truth! How well the legend looks on the banner. How welcome the insidious, deceptive sound to our ears; but truth in this connection is the falsest and most unreliable leader that we have been commended to follow. It should no longer be suffered at the head of the column. Whether a proposition of belief is true or false so far as it is susceptible of proof by the finite mind is of little consequence if it will stand another, a more important trial. Is it true? Why need we care if it will bear that other test? If the more essential question can be affirmatively answered, is it good, will mankind be the better for its acceptance? Will the race be happier?

The tendency to liberalism has brought therewith the neglect of the observance of the Sabbath. How easy for a people who forget God's holy day, that recurs once in seven, to fail to observe anniversaries that are of patriotic importance and should be of general public interest, such as the discovery of our continent, the settlement of a town, the founding of our institutions, the incorporation of a city, great battles on the fate of which our national existence hung trembling in the balance, or even the observance of our national birthday, which happens but once in three hundred and sixty-five, and was consecrated by our forefathers to be forever observed. The commemoration of that day is as important a factor in the perpetuation of our republican form of government as the proper observance of the Sabbath is to the continuance of the

belief in the Christian religion. The celebration of the Fourth of July has fallen into disuse; it is one of the old fathers which this fast age cares not for. A suitable celebration of the birthday of our national independence should never be neglected. So important do I deem it that I would make its observance legally obligatory, and a reasonable expenditure for its maintenance a national charge. The observance of forms and ceremonies is a necessary discipline of the mind, and holds the same relation thereto that the constant practice of the athlete does to the keeping of the muscles of the body in such training as would insure ability to accomplish expectation in performance.

But we cannot wonder so much at the state of public opinion when we look about us and think for a moment of what our citizenship is composed. We have welcomed immigration from almost every country on the face of the globe. They come among us, they are with us, but not of us. They have helped to develop the wonderful resources of our glorious country. They challenged not only our admiration and respect for their courage and valor, but our never-ceasing regard when they fought so valiantly with the native born citizens in defense of our union. But it does seem as if it would have been better for them and better for us if when they landed on our hospitable shores they had forgotten the fatherland, assimilated with us, become Americans in heart as well as in name. Too many of our citizens of foreign birth, who have gladly dissolved their allegiance to foreign powers and potentates and taken the oath of citizenship, leave us to think by their actions that it has been done with a mental reservation. So long as those who come to us from foreign lands continue their national organizations, just so long will they fail to be imbued with that love of their adopted country which we Americans by birth consider of such great importance. Without that love of country known as patriotism, constitution and laws are but frail bonds to hold a republic in union.

Monarchies may continue to exist by the power of kings, but a government of the people has no tenure of life unless its foundations are laid deep in the hearts of the individuals thereof. The blood of our revolutionary sires, transmitted from generation to generation, should carry therewith germs of patriotism that would insure the observance of our national anniversary by every American born, and our example should be sufficient to impel those who have cast their lot among us from foreign lands to join

heartily in the celebration of events resultant in what the poet so graphically has termed the

"Land of the free and the home of the brave."

If you do not want your children or the generations that follow marching under the red flag of anarchy, inspire in their hearts a love for the stars and stripes. There is no way by which patriotism can be instilled in the minds of our youth so effectually as by the observance of public anniversaries. The centennial, which you have met this day to celebrate, is of the nature to which I refer. My regret is that I was called so late that I am compelled to speak of anniversaries in general, not having the time or opportunity to acquire the necessary knowledge to speak of this anniversary in particular, although it would seem fitting that I should do so, from the fact that I am a native of this county. In closing, I would thank your committee for the remembrance so courteously shown by their invitation, and you, my friends, for your patience in listening.

The address was listened to with attention, and many of the sentiments expressed elicited warm applause.

On motion of Mr. Sanderson, a cordial vote of thanks was tendered to the Lieutenant Governor for his presence and able address.

PROFESSOR OREN ROOT.

The next speaker was Professor Oren Root, of Hamilton College, and his subject "The American Home." He said: I have regretted somewhat that the message of your committee asking my presence came to me more in the form of a mandate than an invitation, yet I remembered how for thirty years I had lived beneath your trees and by your fireside in early manhood, and recollecting this, could not decline your committee's invitation. Others who have shared in the growth of the community can tell you better than I of your friendly relations; others can tell in more stirring words than I the deeper principles that underlie this celebration.

It has been said that such celebrations, however local, are of interest; but while I fully agree with this statement, I go further and say that there are no celebrations that last in a nation's life that are not local. We talk of Greek civilization and power, but it was because Greek power and civilization centered in the armies of Alexander, that they came to be a power in the world. Scientists

tell us that worlds like ours are still forming. In the clear August nights that are to come you will see meteors flashing through space, and astronomers tell us that we are passing through a star belt. The speaker alluded to the aurora borealis, and speaking of electricity said: It has been left for our age to bring this principle under control so that it lights our towns and turns the spindles in the factories. The Fourth of July nearly died away at one time as a national holiday, and I believe it was because it was a day for the celebration only of a great principle, and was made too general. We have proved the value of that principle, however, in our day, and applied it in blood to make all men equal, and we will remember it.

While riding through your beautiful village recently, a stranger asked me what you were going to celebrate. Will it be the glories of the past or the promises of the future? I said I did not know, but was sure that there was enough to celebrate. What is it that you celebrate to-day? Back of the blare of music and the flare of bright colored bunting we are here now to celebrate a century of American homes, and that is not a light thing. Judge Sanger first found a home here alone. If you read the history of such cummunities across the sea you will learn that the founders first gathered in the shadow of a church or castle as serfs or dependents. But Sanger, Butler, Higby and all the rest came here free; not to conquer men, but to subdue forests, and they won their living and prosperity. We are here in their memory to celebrate this century of the Christian American home, and in the name of American civilization thank God for these American homes. Our homes are not from the power of those over us, but were won honestly. The hills of Whitestown sent out their invitations to Massachusetts for those who would win their homes by work, and strong men answered the summons. Sanger turned the waters of the stream into the flume, and the spindles of your factories, from Chadwicks and Washington Mills to New Hartford, have helped to knit together your prosperity and your American homes.

We celebrate one distinct cell in American history. The germ of our American growth lies in the American town meeting. We are here to celebrate the wonderful assimilative growth of American towns. Have you ever in your schoolboy days watched the experiment of the chemist who drops a single wire into a glass jar filled with pellucid liquid, and leaving the jar in the sunshine allows its silent power to work? Upon the wire crystallizes

beautiful forms. So have we taken the crude features of civilization, and made of them an American community. How rapid the growth is, and yet you cannot see it. In our American national development, in the hills of New York, on plains of Ohio, and now in Red River of the North, has gone forth the potency of the town meeting, and the church and the power of American character and institutions. To-day, in that far cradle of the race from which we sprang there is an effort to assimilate, but they may not succeed as we have. The names of the settlers in this town have come from every land, and we in the open heart of republicanism have welcomed them. In the aggressive strength of new American life we celebrate a century of loving recollections, a century of clustering joys, a century of love that lives. Though not one of you, for I do not dwell beneath your trees, I am glad that I have been able to share in this centennial, and I know I speak your minds when I say thank God for the century that has been and a God-speed for the century that shall be.

The speaker was frequently applauded.

MAYOR MARTIN'S CONGRATULATIONS.

Mayor Martin, of Utica, was then presented, and greeted with applause. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen—It is quite unexpectedly to me that I am called upon to speak on this occasion, and I will merely express to you the congratulations of your sister town, which, though not as ancient as your village, has passed beyond it in growth. Thanking you for your kind reception, and again assuring you of Utica's congratulations, I will give way to a more interesting attraction—the band. [Applause.]

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Hon. Cyrus D. Prescott, of Rome, was the next speaker. He spoke as follows:

Neighbors and Fellow Citizens—We have met to-day not to celebrate important military events or national achievements, but to inscribe upon the dial of time that while enjoying the consummated results, we are not unmindful of the toils, privations and sufferings of the heroic pioneers who a century ago here penetrated the wilds of the primeval forest, and sat down to the siege of

conquering nature, aye, of transforming a "tangled wild wood" into fruitful farms, thriving villages, happy, beautiful homes; and the discordant sound of wild beasts into the melody of joyous childhood, the chimes of church bells and the busy hum of spindles. The gallant pioneer is the noblest type of American manhood. His glittering ax lays low the green plumed forest monarch, and on the surface of the emerald hued prairies he marks the sites of cities yet to be. Not for him the science of the school, not for him the graces of culture, not for him the joys of home, not for him the solaces of life. He reads the story of the ages written on the rocks, he hears the tales of mysterious forces whispered by the midnight stars; and the priest-robed mountains, and the smiling lakes, and the white-lipped sunset seas, are his palaces and his kindred. The army of civilization swells upon his pathway. Art, science, progress, the wealth of nations, the power and glory of the republic, follow. All honor and all hail to these brave hearts who led the vanguard.

This vicinity was the home of the brave, the eloquent Iroquois, the well styled "Romans of North America." Although this was the home of wild beasts and wilder, craftier men, with all the dangers of such environment, we shall fail to appreciate the situation of the founders of your thriving town and beauteous village, without a general understanding of the condition of our country also at that time. A long and arduous struggle for liberty and independence had but just ended—successfully ended. Washington had retired to private life, the army had been disbanded, and the United States were at last acknowledged to be free and independent.

A historian of the times thus graphically describes the situation: "Freed from all foreign domination, with a vast territory in possession, with a prospect of advancement in wealth, in population, in national greatness, beyond the power of imagination rightly to conceive, the world was all before them, where and how to choose, and their future career of good or evil was yet to be worked out. Yet how sad was the actual condition of these States, which had won independence at the point of the sword. Their present resources were dried up, their means were exhausted in a long and destructive war, their trade and commerce destroyed, their mechanics were ruined, their agriculture was withered, and the relations of man to man hardly at all defined by any laws, were not recognized and acted upon on the principles of justice and equity. A mountain of debt was pressing upon

them, and, worse than all, they were on the very brink of anarchy and political destruction. It was not enough that they had fought and won the battle for independence and the rights of man; it was not enough that they had established their claims to a free and equal position in the family of nations; it was not enough that they had wrought their work well thus far. There was still greater work yet to be done. There was a severer contest yet to be gone through. There was a crisis yet to be met whose importance was second to none in the history of America." Only eight of the nine States required by the resolution had approved the new constitution. Whether it would be approved by another and become the organic law of the republic; and whether thereunder it would march to the grand consummation of the present was then an unsolved problem. A pall of uncertainty hung over the land. In such times as these, Jedediah Sanger, 33 years of age, lately made bankrupt by a destructive fire, in March, 1788, came here and commenced a settlement. Four years before, Hugh White and family had located at Whitestown, and the year before, there had been a settlement commenced at Clinton.

Where we now are was an unbroken wilderness. Your beautiful Sadaqueda, uncontrolled, laughingly wended its joyous way to join the Mohawk. But a few miles away were the Oneida Indians upon lands reserved to them by the treaty at Fort Stanwix, November 5, 1768, which had been confirmed by the Commissioners of Congress in October, 1783, and was therefore permanent; and they prospectively contiguous neighbors. Only ten years before some wandering braves of this tribe had seized Heinrich Staring near Herkimer, and made unsuccessful preparations for burning him alive, for amusement. With such proclivities they were far from confidence-assuring associates.

The story passes current that a fair damsel essaying to pass from Mr. Wadsworth's to Mr. Mallory's, some three miles, through the forest, was lost, and the entire vicinity turned out in the search, which lasted several days, until in despair, they were counseling giving it up, when one Ferguson announced he would not give it up, that he proposed to find the girl and marry her. The search was continued, the girl found and the wedding had, with Ferguson for the bridegroom.

From the only known annals claiming to be of these times, it appears Mr. Sanger purchased one thousand acres here, lying upon and about equally divided by the Sadaqueda, and for which he paid fifty cents per acre. This might have been the limit

of his first purchase, but his subsequent sale of several thousand acres evidenced by the 257 deeds of conveyance from himself personally, recorded in the county's records, shows that with true financial skill he bought other tracts, probably at like favorable prices.

In 1789 Colonel Sanger brought to his forest home his family. He immediately began utilizing the water power of the Sadaqueda, by the erection that year of a saw mill, followed the next by a grist mill, being the third grist mill built west of German Flats, there then being one at Whitestown and one at Clinton. That at Whitestown had been erected in 1786; before this time the nearest was forty miles, at Palatine, and settlers generally used an Indian mortar.

Mr. Jones in his Annals of Oneida County, remarks "that in the first three years of its settlement, this town contained a band of pioneer settlers who compared favorably with those of any section of the country," and he thereupon mentions as some of them Ashbel Beach, Amos Ives, Solomon Blodget, Salmon Butler, Joel Blair, Agift Hill, Mr. Wyman, Stephen Bushnell, Oliver Collins, Joseph Jennings, Joseph Higbee, Nathan Seward, John French, three families of Kelloggs, two of Risleys, two of Olmsteads, and Messrs. Seymour, Butler, Hurlburt, Kilborn and Montague.

So far the annals are well, but why he omitted Joseph Hooker, Jotham Gaylord, Heman Baldwin, Cornelius Graves, Jacob Groves, Simeon Smith and others that could be named who bought lands of Colonel Sanger and migrated to this town prior to 1792, or John Campbell, Ezra Ensworth, Laban Dodge, Thomas Gaylord, Benajor Gaylord, Silas Gaylord, Edward Blackstone, Thomas Wadsworth, Moses Wadsworth, Messrs. Beckwith, Hooker, Gibbs, Mallory and Hull, who came about the same time, and especially Timothy Wadsworth, who has now living six children, five of them within our county and five over eighty years of age each, does not appear. Pardon me for mentioning the sad omission of my grandfather, Oliver Prescott, who in 1793 bought of Colonel Sanger the whole of Lot No. 93 in Bayard or free masons' patent, described as "situated on the south side of the Mohawk river in the County of Herkimer and State of New York," containing 492 acres of land, for which he paid 246 pounds of the currency of the State of New York. Portions of this property are now in the occupancy of Hon. Daniel M. Prescott and the widow of Anson Prescott. Oliver Prescott had before lived in Jaffrey, New Hampshire. As Colonel Sanger had resided there

from 1782 until his removal here, they had doubtless formed an acqaintance there that was continued here.

August 27, 1791, a church was organized here under the title of the "First Religious Society in Whitestown." So far as the records show, your beautiful village, then a mere hamlet in the forest, had received no name. It was in the town of Whitestown, and this was the first church organization in that town.

June 22, 1792, Colonel Sanger, with his usual foresight and generosity, by lease conveyed to this church organization the present site of the edifice before us, this beautiful park and the lands now unfortunately for the beauty of your village, occupied by the block of stores bounding one side of this park, and providing that the church should pay therefor for all time the yearly rent of "one wheat corn." As your years increase and subsequent centennials recur, it may become a fruitful subject of inquiry whether this rent has been regularly and faithfully paid.

The trustees then of the church, as stated in the lease, were John Tillotson, Needham Maynard, Joseph Jennings, Nathan Seward, James Steele, Jesse Kellogg, Uriah Seymour and William Stone; those accepting it on the part of the church were Powell Hall, Joseph Jennings, William M. Winship, Jesse Kellogg, James Steele, Nathan Seward and John Tillotson. How few of all these are represented here to-day.

As the description commences at a point four rods west of Sanger's barn, the antiquarian may easily locate that structure. The Sadaqueda, proving an abundant and never failing water power, as the settlement rapidly increased was successfully utilized for other purposes, and we find that as early as 1808 there had been added to the saw and grist mill an oil mill and paper mill at this place, and in 1811 Colonel Sanger deeded the "New Hartford Manufacturing Society" nine acres and twenty rods of land in the "Village of New Hartford, Town of Whitestown," with the water privileges covered by the same. This is the first known use of the name, or of the designation of your location here as a village.

The credit due never seems to have been publicly accorded to Samuel Lyon for his part in the early development of the unrivaled water privileges of the Sadaqueda, now unfortunately known as the Sauquoit creek.

One of the earliest mercantile firms of the village was Allen & Hurlburt, who were in 1814 doing a thriving business, and a whole flood of light is shed upon these times by a passage in an original

letter to them, in my possession, from their New York correspondents, Storm & Bailey, dated May 27, 1814:

"Skin teas of poor quality sold yesterday at auction for 8s. 9d. to 10s. We are of the opinion this article will still advance, as it is going out of market fast. Sugar 17 to 19. Molasses scarce, asking 8s. by the quantity. Cognac brandy 20s. St. Croix rum sold yesterday at auction for 13s. 6d. to 14s. 9d. Pepper 2s. Spice 2s. 6d. Alum 12d. Copperas 8½ to 9. Float indigo 24s. Rice 8½ to 9. Nutmegs 5 to 6. Cinnamon 60-100. Molasses rum first proof 10s. to 10s. 6d. Hear numbers complain badly, dry goods are so high. Ginghams 85 to 90 cents."

Postage on this letter appears to have been twenty-seven cents, going by ship to Albany, and by post from there to New Hartford, to which place it appears addressed.

The early history and development of New Hartford was largely due to, and was molded by Colonel Sanger, with watchful interest for the general good. It seems conceded that her multplied manufactories and advantages, by which for years she kept the lead of surrounding towns and villages, was due to him: by reason of his influence the Seneca turnpike was located through your village, controlling the travel and traffic, until the building of the Erie canal finally transferred her mercantile prestige to her struggling neighbor, Utica, which converted New Hartford into her suburb, and is covering her with the palatial homes of Utica's merchant princes. So "time at last sets all things even."

Jedediah Sanger was a model man for his or any time. Bankrupt when he left New Hampshire, with his success here came ability, and better far, a desire to discharge the principal and interest of all remaining obligations there. Possessed of great energy, decision of character, close application to business and strict integrity; at a time when only the best were sought to guide our public affairs, or administer justice between man and man, he was chosen as the first supervisor of the town of Whitestown, and held the office for three successive years. In 1794 he was selected to represent Herkimer and Onondaga counties in the assembly of our State, and was his own successor in 1795. In 1797 he went to the State senate and remained in this office until 1804. Although having no legal training, March 22, 1798, he was appointed first judge of the Court of Common Pleas (an office similar to that of our present county judge.) This office he filled until his resignation, March 5, 1810, having become no longer eligible for the office, because of age.

I cannot close my description of Judge Sanger, without relating an anecdote, for which I have ample authority, as illustrative of the home life of the man. The judge as senator, was engaged at Albany, and a new physician came and located in the village. On the slope above the judge's home was a fine piece of forest belonging to him. In the spring when the pigeons began to fly, the doctor, being a sportsman, observed these woods were the resort of many pigeons, and conceived the idea of there trapping some. Not desiring to trespass he obtained the consent of Mrs. Sanger, built a booth of evergreens near a good opening and proceeded to bait the pigeons. When they had been baited several days, the nets were arranged and he went early in the morning to watch and make his haul. Just as the pigeons began to light freely, the doctor was surprised and annoyed by seeing approaching the booth an indifferently dressed man, whom the doctor fearing might frighten the pigeons, quite roughly seized, hauled into the booth, and forcibly commanded to keep quiet. Soon the stranger appeared to forget the situation, and essayed to look out, but the doctor forced him back, and with some unchristian language informed him that if he did not keep still he would wring his old neck. The net was sprung, the returns were large, the pigeons killed. The doctor sorted out a goodly number, tied them with a cord, and presenting his visitor with a Spanish shilling, told him to take the pigeons to Judge Sanger's house, and present them to Mrs. Sanger with his compliments. Quietly the stranger followed the doctor out of the woods towards the Sanger mansion. To insure the delivery, the doctor lingered where he could see and hear the same. As the stranger neared the door with his burden of pigeons, Mrs. Sanger appeared, and announced her pleasure and surprise with, "Why judge, where did you get so many pigeons?" The judge then turned and thanked the doctor, hugely enjoying the situation. With his neighbors he was always the kindly, thoughtful citizen and gentleman.

September 24, 1824, "St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, of New Hartford," was organized at "Masonic Hall," Judge Sanger being one of its vestrymen. Four years later, by his will, he gave a continuing annuity of $250 per year to the church, to be used only towards the salary of its pastor, but with a care to the perpetuity of the church, carefully conditioned that it should become void, if at any time there should elapse six months in which no clergyman should be employed to officiate. This was the closing beneficence of his active life. He entered into rest June 6, 1829. This truth-

ful and well-earned epitaph, in my youth I have often read, upon the stone that marked his resting-place:

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
HON. JEDEDIAH SANGER,
WHO DIED
JUNE 6, A. D. 1829.
THE FOUNDER OF NEW HARTFORD.
HIS CHARITIES ARE WIDELY EXTENDED, AND HIS MUNIFICENCE
HAS REARED AND SUPPORTED SEVERAL EDIFICES
DEVOTED TO THE SERVICE OF HIS MAKER.
HIS VIRTUES ARE INDELIBLY IMPRESSED UPON THE
HEARTS OF HIS COUNTRYMEN.*

While I will not detain you, to name the long list of individuals identified with the progress, development and history of your village and town, I cannot pass without a reference to Judge Sanger's brother, Zedekiah Sanger, who early came here, and under the patronage and aid of the judge, became and was one of the most prominent of your business men of early times; as he was the most minutely, profusely polite of the old time gentlemen.

The statesmen of our State early appeciating the evils and dangers of slavery, by an act in 1799, provided for a gradual emancipation of the slaves therein. In 1817 they further provided that all should be free from and after July 4, 1827, which was proclaimed as the year of jubilee. In the easterly part of your town there resided a hard-fisted farmer, who owned a young athletic slave. The announcement of the emancipation acts made slave property of doubtful value, and with a sagacious desire to sell his to the best advantage, he offered his slave immediate freedom, if within a given time he would clear a certain piece of heavy timber land. The time was all too short. There was no alternative. With an inborn desire for freedom the hopeless task he undertook. Camping upon the grounds, he worked day and night for freedom. He took no rest, and but little sleep. When

* The fate that befel the mortal remains of Columbus, Bonaparte and others, which Shakespere successfully deprecated, and Steuben vainly sought to avert, and which seems to be one of the penalties of distinction, has followed those of Sanger, originally interred in the village cemetery at New Hartford, then in a family burial lot on his farm, and finally "at rest" in the Utica Forest Hill cemetery in the town of New Hartford.

the daylight failed him, by the light of the burning brush his toil continued. The days wore away faster than the trees. The last week of the limit was reached, and despair supplanted hope. He applied for more time to the master, but he seeing future benefits therein refused. Worn down with continued labor he concluded to abandon the effort. The situation became noised throughout the town, resulting in concerted action and a grand rally. The wood lot swarmed with men of stalwart arms, sharp axes and willing hearts. The lot was cleared, the contract was completed, and New Hartford wiped out slavery within her borders.

It is proper as part of the unwritten history of your village, that attention should be called to the fact that in 1843 the following document, of which I have the original, signed by members of the church in good standing, was presented at a church meeting:

To the Pastor and Members of the Presbyterian Church, in New Hartford:

DEAR BROTHERS AND SISTERS—The undersigned believing slavery as it exists in these United States to be a serious sin against God, and a flagrant violation of the dearest rights of man; a crime not surpassed by any other in its moral turpitude and multiplied abominations, and believing that no church can either present pure Christianity to the world or be truly prosperous, while it knowingly retains the practice of slave-holding in its communion, for the plain reason that Christ cannot approve of it; do therefore respectfully but earnestly request that this church may take such action in reference to the subject, as shall show to the world that we cannot hold fellowship with the slaveholder, or give countenance to one of the most wicked and horrible practices that ever desolated the earth, viz.: the enslaving of man.

They present this request because they feel deeply for the honor of the religion of Jesus; and because they feel that they owe it to the great God, to seek the purification of the church from this giant sin; and because they believe the evil of slavery will never be peacefully removed from our nation so long as it is retained in the Church.

They, therefore, hope and pray that such action may be taken in the premises as shall be owned and blessed of the great head of the Church and shall have a strong tendency under God to "break every yoke and to let the oppressed go free."

NEW HARTFORD, October, 1843.

DAVID SHAPLEY,	JEREMIAH PRESCOTT,
DEBORAH L. PRESCOTT,	ABRAHAM LOTT,
ELIZABETH L. HURLBURT,	JOHN G. KELLOGG,
ELIZABETH URE,	THOMAS SLY,
LYDIA ANN SHAPLEY,	HANNAH ALLEN,
SUSAN LOTT,	HANNAH SLY.

During all the early years of your village it was prevented from growth and expansion; but the last quarter of the century past has

seen a change, and under better influences and advantages, the barriers have been broken, and the beautiful hillside, where so oft in youth we coasted, I now find studded with home gems.

The old schoolhouse opposite the park, with its soft basswood plank for benches, has been appropriately supplanted by the old mansion on the hill, with all the modern appliances. Our people, like all others, have been the happiest when there was the least for the historian to record. When the better annals of our country shall be written, it will be found that the humble and silent achievements of peace are our highest glory.

Remember that to the early fathers and mothers of New Hartford you are indebted for the material and moral standing of the same—that it is a precious inheritance. This town, the abode of peace, comfort and abundance—rich in the memory of the past, of the able and worthy men it has nurtured—is now yours for the ensuing century. Upon this generation now rests the responsibility of maintaining its position and character.

The speaker's remarks received the close attention of his hearers, and were heartily applauded.

THE BANQUET.

Early in the afternoon a banquet was given in the storerooms of the New Hartford Canning Company. The rooms were tastefully trimmed with the national colors, and the long tables which had been prepared were decked with flowers and laden with a bountiful supply of edibles. The matrons and maidens of New Hartford turned out in force, and generously and attentively cared for the wants of all comers. At the tables of one building three hundred and sixty people could be seated, and two hundred and seventy-five at the tables in the other. Not only were all the soldiers and other invited guests fed, but visitors generally. Over seventeen hundred dinner tickets were issued, and when the tickets gave out all comers were fed. During the day fully twenty-five hundred people were fed, and the dinner was an elegant as well as a substantial one. The good people of the town fairly outdid themselves in their hospitality, and every guest was royally entertained.

THE AFTERNOON EXERCISES.

At three P. M., the exercises in the park were resumed. At the suggestion of Lieutenant Governor Jones, the ladies who had taken seats upon the platform during the dinner hour, were invited to retain them, and most of the officers and speakers of the day contented themselves with positions in front of the stage.

The first paper read was by Rees G. Williams, of Utica, on the

EARLY HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY IN THIS LOCALITY.

To-day we roll back the tide of history, and stand not amid the civilization and progress of the nineteenth century, but of the eighteenth, and among the men who shaped and formed and who set in motion the life of the region in which we live. For man of necessity is the grand agent, not alone to found institutions, to carry out principles, but to establish States and nations.

One hundred years ago, the Whitestown country, embracing nearly one-half of the State of New York, peopled to-day with more than two millions of inhabitants, then contained hardly five hundred. But under the spirit of adventure or quickening energies, New England poured in its stream of populations to transform the place with new activities, and fill it with the homes of men. And though seemingly unconnected with all this, Freemasonry took an important part in the shaping process, by which an uncultivated region became cultivated, and laid the foundation for the civilization and the enterprises which mark the life and progress of to-day.

July 30, 1733, the Right Honorable and Most Worshipful Anthony, Lord Viscount Montague, Grand Master of Masons in England, constituted and appointed Henry Price of Boston, Provincial Grand Master of New England. His first act was to constitute St. John's Lodge, in the city of Boston, in 1733.

June 24, 1734, a petition was presented by Benjamin Franklin and several brethren residing in Philadelphia to establish a lodge in that city. The petition was granted by the Right Worshipful Grand Master Henry Price, who at this time received authority to establish Masonry in all North America, and Benjamin Franklin was constituted the first Master of the new lodge. Almost at the same time the brethren in Portsmouth, N. H., petitioned for

the erection of a lodge there, which was also granted. But turning his attention to New England, Grand Master Price constituted lodges in its various villages and towns. From these lodges came the Masons who were the pioneers of this region and who influenced its civil and Masonic life even to the present hour.

April 6, 1792, the Grand Lodge of New York issued a warrant to establish a lodge in Herkimer county. It was constituted by the name of Amicable Lodge, and situated in New Hartford. From 1792 to 1799 inclusive, the following members were admitted to the privileges of the Lodge:

1792—Jedediah Sanger, Jared Crittenden, Isaac Jones, Jonas Platt, Arthur Breese, Benjamin Merrills, Elias Kane, Jesse Woodruff, Evans Wharry, Seth Ranney, Abijah Putnam, Michael Myers.

1793—Thomas R. Gold, John Beardsley, Uriah Wright, Ebenezer Butler, John N. Wemple, Amasa Andrews, John Myers, Gaylord Griswold, William Veder, Caleb B. Merrills, David Ostrom, Asa Parmalee, Jonathan Hall, Lysimore Wilder, Jared Steele, Ebenezer Britten, Reuben Long, George Doolittle, Abel French, Elizur Mosely, Jonathan Moore, Nathan Smith, Noadiah Hubbard, Timothy Tuttle, John Post, Alexander Enos, James Steele, Oliver Collins, Elijah Flowers, William Colbreath, Ephraim Blackman, Lemuel Leavenworth, Samuel Sizer, Edward Salisbury, Eliakim Elmer, Richard Willis, Luke Wemple, Samuel Collins, Jonas Wyman, Nathanial Marsh, William Sayles, John Tillotson, Benjamin Pike, Alexander Dorchester, Amos Mathews.

1794—John Ballard, John Choat, Ebenezer Butler, Jr., F. W. Kellogg, Loring Webb, Richard Sanger, Levi Sartwell, Needom Maynard, Alpheus Wheelock, Daniel Perkins, Thomas Brown, Josiah Jennins, Joseph Farwell, Amos Ives, Lot North, John R. Bone.

1795—Joseph Kirkland, John H. Perkins, Stephen White, Richard Starkweather, Mathias Hurlburt, Jesse Pierce, Levi Hill, John Edgett, Hiram Innus, Thomas Norton, Eli Butler, Thomas Caselty, Ephraim Waldo, James Henry, Richard Perkins, Elias Merrills.

1796—Amos G. Hull, Benjamin Morris, Asahel Jackson, Philo White, Barnabas Lathrop, James Sheldon, Daniel Chapman, George Standard, John Eames, Grove Lawrence, Uri Doolittle, Selah Seymour, James Dorchester, Asa Way, Jonathan Patten, John Kendall.

1797—Elnathan Andrews, Asahel Gridley, John Goldsmith, Artemus Jackson, James Chapman, Warren Hicox, William

Henry, Kanak Mills, Stephen Turner, William Sage, Ezekiel Clark, Thomas Sayles, Caleb Jackson, Joseph Pierce, Windsor Stone, Ebenezer Pardy, Gershum Hubbel.

1798—Samuel Hall, Lemuel Jackson, Waitsill Dickenson, Richard May, Freeman Enos, Theodore Woodruff, Ebenezer Hawley, Jeremiah Whipple, Joseph Yaw, James Green, Joshua Ostrom, Stephen Ford, Abraham Van Epes, Jonathan Barker, Eleazur House, Richard Whitney, Joshia Whitney, Asahel Higby, Justus Tower.

1799—James Jackson, Ebenezer Kimball, Oliver Hovey, Joshua Johnson, Enoch Storey, Job Herrick.

The first officers of the Lodge were John J. Morgan, John Post and Michael Myers. As these men took a leading part in the affairs of this portion of the State, it is fitting for a moment to dwell upon the main features of their lives.

John Jordan Morgan, the first Master of the Lodge, was born in the City of New York, November 7, 1768. He was the son of John Morgan and Mary DeLancey, his wife. John Morgan was a native of Wales and a sea captain. He intended his son for the British navy, but his intention was frustrated by the breaking out of the war of the Revolution. John J. Morgan was a lifelong resident of New York. He was twice married. His first wife was Catharine Warne, of Jamaica, Long Island. Some time after her death and the death of their child, he married Eliza Baldwin, of Cork, Ireland. After his second marriage he adopted a niece of his first wife. She assumed the name of Morgan, and in 1826 Catharine Morgan was married to John Adams Dix, then a young artillery officer and aid-de-camp to Major General Jacob Brown of the United States Army. In 1822 John J. Morgan was elected from New York City as representative in the congress of the United States. He served in the Assembly of the State, and also as collector for the Port of New York.

In private life he was a scholar of rare accomplishments. He spoke and wrote the French language with ease and fluency. In domestic and social life he had the manners and courtesy of the gentleman of an age altogether passed. He was an ornament to the society in which he moved. In his religious life he was a communicant of Trinity church, New York, and served as vestryman for many years.

He was a large land holder in Oneida, Herkimer and other counties of New York. He held them under patent of the State. It was a matter of pride with him to say that he was the first white

man who owned these lands after they had been sold by the Indians, and his descendants are still in possession of the original documents which note the transference of these lands to him.

He built a summer residence between the towns of Clarkville and New Berlin, and gave it the name of "The Unadilla." For thirty or forty years he spent his summers there. He died at Port Chester, while visiting his son-in-law, General Dix, and was buried in the family vault, Trinity church yard, New York.

John Post, the first Senior Warden of the Lodge, son of Elias and Maria Post, was born December 28, 1748. He was married January 7, 1776, to Margarietji Bellinger. There were born to them eleven children: John, Jr., Maria, who died in infancy, Maria, Frederick, Catharine, Elias, Deborah, Cataline, Elizabeth, Helen and Rebecca. Elias Post, his father, after an eventful life, was found dead in his bed by his son John and Baron Steuben, who was an intimate friend of the family His wife was the daughter of Colonel Bellinger, who was an aid to General Nicholas Herkimer, and fought at Oriskany.

John Post was a staff officer in the Revolutionary War. He took part in the surrender of General Burgoyne and in the expedition of Sullivan. He was present at the Battle of Monmouth, and also at the surrender of General Cornwallis, which virtually closed the war.

In 1790, in connection with a Mr. Martin of Schenectady, he engaged in trade with the Six Nations. He purchased large quantities of ginseng, which he exported to China, it being supposed at that time a remedy for the plague. After his removal to Utica, later in that year, he still continued dealing with the Indians, and was the first merchant in the place. About this time he established a line of stage boats on the Mohawk River, to run between Albany and Utica. These boats were styled "The Accommodation" and the "Diligence." For the times they were regarded as comfortable and very useful conveyances. They furnished room for twenty passengers and were propelled by means of poles, and though remarkable for their day, they furnish a marked contrast to the splendid steamers of our modern commerce, which show our national progress. He also established a line of freight boats, which during the season of navigation were employed in carrying produce to Schenectady and bringing back merchandise.

Previous to his settlement in Utica he had purchased near the Mohawk River, land on which he caused a log house to be built.

This was on the east side of what is to-day Genesee street, and near the corner of Whitesboro street. At first he kept his goods in his house, but in 1791 he built a store on the corner of Genesee and Whitesboro streets. In this store he carried on for many years an extensive trade with the Indians and white settlers. He extended his business to Floyd, Manlius and New York, and became a man of wealth. He served as first postmaster in the village of Utica, and held the office for many years. On July 13, 1792, he purchased from the representatives of General Bradstreet 89½ acres of land—known as Lot No. 95 in the Cosby Manor. This land now includes the very heart of our present city of Utica.

On June 5, 1805, a petition from John Post and others, residing in Utica and vicinity, County of Oneida, was received, recommended by Amicable Lodge, No. 23, to establish a Lodge of Master Masons in the village of Utica. The Grand Lodge of New York granted the petition, Oneida Lodge was constituted, and John Post became its first Master, and held the office for several years.

In 1806, he took into partnership his son-in-law, Giles Hamlin, who purchased a large stock of merchandise. A fire broke out and destroyed his property, and in a few moments swept away his wealth, leaving him a bankrupt. Shortly after this he removed to Manlius, where he resided until his death, which took place December 5, 1830. He was buried at Jamesville, near Manlius.

Michael Myers, the Junior Warden of the Lodge, was born at Elizabeth, N. J., (formerly Auville,) February 1, 1753. He came to Herkimer with a company of soldiers from New Jersey. At the battle of Johnstown, in 1781, he was seriously wounded in the leg, crippling him for life. His brother Mathew, who was associated with him, was killed in the battle.

In person General Myers was dignified and of aristocratic bearing, and a man of marked ability. After the close of the war he remained at Herkimer—there he married Catharine, the eldest daughter of Captain Henry Harter. She was born in February, 1758, at the village of Prescott, Canada, where her parents had been taken as prisoners in the French and Indian wars. While residing at Herkimer there were born five sons and three daughters: Peter M., Henry, Nancy, Catharine, Mathew, Michael, John and Margaret, the last of whom is still living at Little Falls at the ripe age of eighty-seven.

He very soon became largely interested in the purchase of real

estate in the village of Herkimer and surrounding country, and became the owner of the homestead of his father-in-law. He was also the owner of a few slaves who lived on his estate until the time of his death. He was by far the most prominent man and leading character in this part of the State. In 1790 he was a member of the Assembly from Montgomery County, and in 1791 he was the first and only member from the new county of Herkimer. In 1796 he was a member of the State Senate, which office he held for four years. In 1791 he was the first judge of Herkimer County, a position which he also held in 1794.

March 5, 1794, the Grand Lodge of New York issued a warrant for holding Amicable Lodge, No. 36, in the village of Herkimer, of which Michael Myers was the first Master, and held the office for many years.

After a long and useful career in public and Masonic life, he died on February 17, 1814, at Herkimer, and was buried at that place. In the year 1887 his remains and those of his family that were buried there were removed to Oak Hill Cemetery, which has lately been consecrated as the resting place of the dead of Herkimer.

But among the Masons who left enduring impress upon society, whose power was wide and influence abiding, was Jedediah Sanger, the founder of New Hartford. He was born in Sherburne, Mass., on the 17th of February, 1751.* (O. S.) He received the education common to boys at that period in New England, and subsequently became a merchant. In 1771 he was married to Sarah Rider, and was the father of four children. She died in 1814. He married for his second wife, in 1815, Sarah B. Kissam. She died in 1825. He married for his third wife, in 1827, Fanny Dench, who survived him thirteen years.

In 1782 he removed to Jaffrey, N. H., where he engaged in business. Two years later a fire destroyed his property; the loss left him a bankrupt. Having heard of the famous White's Town country, he removed there, and in 1788 purchased one thousand acres of land on the Sauquoit creek. Under his quickening touch New Hartford became a thriving settlement in the midst of the forest, which had once been the home of the savage. With Gen. Myers and others, he was a pioneer in the founding and growth of Hamilton Oneida Academy, now a College, with all those influences and benefactions which flow from the higher institutions of learning. It is the glory of Masonry, then weak in its numbers, that the corner stone of that institution was laid by Masonic

* See Family Record in Appendix.

hands, making 1794 a memorable year in the history of the College. He was closely identified with St. Stephen's Church, New Hartford, which through the years has sent out its wholesome and enduring stimulus to the life of the community. He not only gave the land on which the church stands to-day, but he endowed it in his will with an annuity for the support of the clergyman to minister at its altar.

He held many positions of public trust. He was elected the first supervisor of the town of Whitestown. In 1794 and 1795 he was sole member of assembly from Herkimer county. In 1796 he was elected senator for four years. When Oneida county was organized, in 1798, he was appointed the first judge and remained in office until the year 1810, when he became disqualified by age.

By an act of the legislature of the State, passed March 5, 1795, the town of Sangerfield was formed—named after Judge Sanger. In consideration of its being named in his honor, he presented fifty acres of land to that religious body which should first erect a church edifice. The Congregational Society having first organized, but the Baptist having erected the first house of worship, the land was equally divided between them, both societies profiting by his generous gift. And in the Masonic Institution a Lodge was formed in Waterville bearing his name, to testify the esteem in which he was held by the fraternity.

His zeal and love for the Order brought him into wide prominence in the councils of Royal Arch Masonry. He was a delegate from Horeb Chapter, New Hartford, to the city of Hartford, Conn., January 25, 1798, to assist in the formation of the General Grand Chapter of the United States. His ardor led him to make these long journeys, and at that period of our history difficult, to promote the welfare of this branch of Freemasonry. The expenses necessary for this purpose were cheerfully and willingly met by himself, the increase of the Order being to him the reward he sought in all his trials and labors.

At the formation of the Grand Chapter of the State of New York, March 14, 1798, he was deemed worthy to be chosen to one of the highest offices of that august body, in connection with the celebrated De Witt Clinton. For many years he attended the Councils of the Grand Chapter of Royal Arch Masons in the city of Albany.

His devotion to the institution of Masonry induced him to furnish a home in his own dwelling for Masons destitute of a Lodge, for their meetings in Masonic work. In the room, beautifully and

amply furnished, he himself presided for seven years as Master of Amicable Lodge, No. 23. This small and humble beginning has been fruitful in the increase of Lodges of the Order. The grain sown in weakness has sprung up in golden harvest. Through conflict and opposition, through peril and difficulty, Lodge after Lodge sprang into existence; Masonry asserting its right to live by the truths it teaches and the grand brotherhood it unfolds.

And the first Lodge that grew out of Amicable Lodge in New Hartford, was Amicable Lodge, No. 36, Herkimer, April 6, 1794. At intervals other Lodges followed:

August 14, 1795, Otsego Lodge, Cooperstown, Otsego County.

November 4, 1796, Aurora Lodge, Fairfield, Herkimer County.

December 29, 1796, Steuben Lodge, Steuben, Herkimer County.

January 18, 1797, Western Star Lodge, Unadilla, Herkimer County.

March 22, 1797, Bath Lodge, Bath, Steuben County.

January 5, 1799, United Brethren Lodge, Cazenovia, Chenango County.

January 7, 1799, Tioga Lodge, Union, Tioga County.

January 9, 1799, Village Lodge, Marcellus, Onondaga County.

February 13, 1799, Roman Lodge, Rome, Oneida County.

November 23, 1799, Federal Lodge, Paris, (located at Clinton,) Oneida County.

Upon all these bodies Judge Sanger impressed the principles of Freemasonry so strongly, that though their members have passed away, their successors feel and are moved by them until this hour. He was so imbued with the spirit of Masonry and of the Gospel, owe no man anything, that debts incurred, through no fault of his were religiously paid; and he stands as a monument of Masonic integrity and those charities which are the glory of the Order. When he died a true man passed away, but the impetus he gave to the life, the energies, the enterprises of his time has not passed away. For public spirit, liberality, high-mindedness, inspiration for progress and the welfare of the race never die.

Judge Sanger died June 6, 1829, and was buried in New Hartford.* As a grateful remembrance of his character and virtues a mural tablet has been placed in the church he loved, and for the welfare of which he so earnestly labored.

Apart from those already mentioned, there were others who left an abiding impress on their time and our time. Men whose spirits were tempered by the War of Independence, and virtues strength-

* See foot note at page 27.

ened by the trials and conflicts through which they passed. In the brief and passing notice I mention Colonel William Colbreath. He held the office of sheriff of Herkimer County in 1791 and 1796. At the organization of Oneida County in 1798 he was chosen sheriff, and was the first officer who ever served process on what was known as the Military Tract. Though he had served in the War of the Revolution, his title was acquired after the war in the service of the State. In social life he was full of humor and took great delight in scenes of mirth. His manners grew out more from a mind naturally strong, rather than from one educated in the schools or the courtesies of life in society.

Evans Wharry occupied a prominent position in the early history of Herkimer County. He served in the American army under General Montgomery at the assault of Quebec, but most of his service was under the command of General Schuyler. In 1798 he was appointed a Judge of the Common Pleas, and continued to serve in that office until he was retired by constitutional limit. He had personal relations with Washington, Hamilton, Clinton, and other great leaders in the struggle for American Independence. His death occurred in 1831 at the ripe age of eighty-two years.

Jonas Platt settled in Whitesboro. He was the first county clerk of Herkimer County in 1791, and of Oneida when it was organized into a county, in 1798. He was a Member of the Assembly in 1796, and of Congress of the United States in 1801. He was a State Senator for several years. In 1814 he was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of the State. He was a candidate for Governor but was defeated by Daniel D. Tompkins, who afterwards became Vice President of the United States.

David Ostrom, a soldier in the Revolutionary War, was the first supervisor of the town of Paris. For several years he served as a member of the Legislature, and was County Judge from 1798 until 1816.

General George Doolittle was a soldier in the army of the Revolution. For many years he was a member of the Legislature of the State, and was the first Brigadier General commissioned in the County of Oneida.

Elizur Mosely, M. D., was postmaster at Whitesboro for several years. When he gave up the office he was known as the oldest postmaster in the United States. In 1798 he was Assistant Justice of the County Court. In 1799 he was sheriff of Oneida County.

Thomas R. Gold was born in Connecticut and educated at Yale College. He was eminent as a lawyer, standing at the head of his profession in Central New York. In 1796 he was a

member of the State Senate, and of the Assembly in 1808. He was a Representative in Congress from this district in 1804 and in 1810–12. In conjunction with General George Doolittle, he set up the first cotton factory at New York Mills in the year 1808.

It may be fitting here to mention among other Masons, whose influence remains in this portion of our State, the names of George Washington, first President of the United States, and George Clinton, Governor of New York. They were owners of valuable land in Oneida County. The name of the Governor is perpetuated in this connection by the village of Clinton. Even then and later the land of our county was more valuable than that of Washington's dearly loved Mount Vernon. This is witnessed to by the fact that it has been sold, and still is sold at a higher price than the land in Virginia once owned by the Father of his Country.

The name of Clinton suggests a fact pregnant with meaning in the history of Masonry. The small beginning at the close of the last century, has spread into wider and more splendid issues. The few chapters of Royal Arch Masonry have increased into many until the grand body of Royal Arch Masons in the State of New York, stands to-day in intelligence and power, an influence such as no man can estimate. And it has been a force to stimulate the Order in other States of the Union, until the group of Grand Chapters, like stars in a planetary system, merges in and forms a still more magnificent system in the General Grand Chapter of the United States. The germ cast into the ground with weakness and tears, has sprung up and covers the land; rich in its growth of good deeds, of nobler charities, and those principles which exalt and ennoble human nature.

It is a fact significant in its meaning, that while the forest has become a fruitful field, and the land once the home of the Indian is now the foundation of towns and cities, Masonry has advanced and become a part in their activities and life. While times may change and villages rise into towns, the homes of teeming populations, Masonry remains unchanged in its principles, old as the revelation of truth, yet ever new and fresh and inspiring to the thoughts, enterprises and achievements of man. And while our cherished Utica, and the towns that all around mark American civilization shall stand, Masonry shall exist, a beauty and a power. It has so wrought itself into our social and national life that the corner stones of our temples for learning, for justice, for public use, are laid by Masonic hands; Masonry perpetuating itself in all the great interests which occupy man, and which broaden and deepen, and give abiding strength to human institutions.

After a selection by the band Charles D. Adams, of Utica, read a paper on

GENERAL OLIVER COLLINS.

Gen. Oliver Collins was born at Wallingford, Ct., August 25, 1762. While a mere boy he enlisted in the Continental Army, in the company of Captain John Couch, in the regiment of Colonel Thaddeus Cook. This regiment did service on Long Island, and later was in the battle of Saratoga, under Gen. Gates. Oliver served during the war, and came home a sergeant. He married Lois Cowles, the daughter of an adjoining neighbor, in Meriden, November 5, 1783.

In the spring of 1787 he settled with his wife and two children on a farm he had taken up, on the Middle Settlement road leading from Whitesboro to Middle Settlement. All Whitestown did not then contain two hundred souls. There was no mill then nearer than Palatine. The neighbors took turns in carrying their grists down the Mohawk, and he among the rest. The first mill in Whitestown was built in 1788, on the Sauquoit, near White's house. It was known as the Wetmore mill. There was a lawsuit about this mill, which was terminated in the Court of Errors in 1805. The case is reported in 2 *Caine's Cases in Error*, 87. The history of this mill and the lawsuit is given in Jones' Annals of Oneida County, page 785. Gen. Collins cleared up his farm and lived upon it till his death, August 14, 1838, having reached seventy-six years.

Lewis Collins, Oliver's ancestor, came from England to Charlestown, Mass., in 1630. He was then a man in middle life, possessing property, and had with him grown up and educated sons.

Robert Collins, the fourth in descent from Lewis, was, in 1689, a settler in Wallingford, Ct. In that year he signed the petition to set off Meriden as a parish in Wallingford. He was then twenty-two years of age, and continued a resident of the parish of Meriden till his death, at the good age of seventy-eight years. From him sprang the Collins family in Wallingford. Oliver was his grandson; as was Jonathan Collins, of West Turin, who settled in the Black River country in 1797.

Oliver Collins was a sturdy and enterprising pioneer, and an able and social man. He did his part in advancing the prosperity and good name of the settlement.

The first town meeting in Whitestown was held April 7, 1789, in the barn of Hugh White. Among those elected to the town

offices were—Jedediah Sanger, supervisor; Oliver Collins, collector; Hugh White, one of the poormasters. The next town meeting was held in Capt. Maynard's barn. Before all the electors had arrived the election was opened, the ballots cast and canvassed. The late comers objected to this too great promptitude. So the election was by vote declared void, and the meeting adjourned till the next day, when a new election was held. The old officers were then mostly re-elected, whereupon the old and the new clerk certified the officers chosen at the second election.

In December, 1797, Horeb Chapter of Royal Arch Masons was organized in New Hartford. It continued until anti-masonic times, with a membership of about fifty. Oliver Collins took his first degree in December, 1797, and was probably a charter member. To be a Royal Arch Mason at this time was a great distinction.

In December, 1805, Nathaniel Stacy, formed "The Universalist Society of Whitestown." This was the third Universalist society formed in this State. It long continued to be the parent society in Western New York. Hugh White and Oliver Collins were early and prominent members of this society. The little white church below the village of New Hartford, on the bank of the creek, which remained till lately, was its place of worship. The Puritanic strictness of the New England Collins, it seems, did not survive the emigration into the Mohawk Valley.

In politics Oliver Collins was always a democrat, and a zealous one. It is related by our local historians that in 1801, after the election of Thomas Jefferson, the few of the Democratic party in Oneida County "barely sufficient to form a corporal's guard," celebrated the victory by a public dinner at White's Tavern in Whitesboro. Oliver Collins was among the fourteen celebrants. A cannon brought from Rome, was stolen and sunk in the creek. Another gun was dragged down from Fort Stanwix, amid many cares and perils. Before the time came to fire it, the gun was spiked with a file. One of the unterrified fourteen Democrats, Shadrach Smith, a blacksmith, cleared out the rat-tail file, when the nineteen guns were given according to the programme. In the next *Whitesboro Gazette and Cato's Patrol*, some offensive partisan,—a Federal poet—reviled and ridiculed in verse, the ardent and unterrified democracy.

In his "Pioneers of Utica," Dr. Bagg gives the name of this poet as John H. Lothrop, and says of him: "He was a writer of fluent and graceful English, enlivened by playful fancy and lively

wit, and chastened by a cultured taste." Dr. Bagg's book also gives a portrait of this poet, which shows him good looking and genial, like many other mischievous partisans. The doctor furthermore quotes from his verses with explanatory remarks, as follows:

After showing how

> The rabble all in council met
> To plan a Democratic fete—

it tells how at early dawn

> "Crawled forth two demos, torch in hand,
> "To roar their thunder through the land."

and how

> "The gun—a fed'ralist, I trow,
> "A terror to Columbia's foe."
> "Took its flight,
> "Protected by the friendly night
> "Without the aid of cart or carter,
> "And dove six feet right under water."

A messenger was dispatched and another cannon obtained, but

> "O transient gleam! Misfortunes new,
> "Befell the Democratic crew!
> "A rat-tail file dropt from the skies,
> "And plugg'd the gun before their eyes."

The Democratic account of this affair says the poetry was "low and blackguardly in language; its only merit was its rhyme." The Democratic historian moralizes: "The little petty persecution at Whitesboro, no doubt made scores of Democrats in the county." Partisan feeling, it would seem was very much the same in 1801 as now.

When the militia was organized in the Whitestown country, Oliver Collins received a captain's commission. He rose in regular military gradation to the rank of Brigadier General. While holding this rank the war of 1812 was declared. In this war he rendered valuable military services to his country.

He was three times in command of the militia forces at the important post of Sacketts Harbor. In the spring of 1813 General Dearborn became greatly alarmed for the safety of Sacketts Harbor, and feared the British under Sir George Provost, might cross from Kingston on the ice and overpower our forces. The militia in several counties was ordered out *en masse*, under the command of General Collins. This force was assembled at Sacketts

Harbor and Brownsville, and remained on duty for a month, till the ice thawed and the apprehended danger had passed.

September 13, 1813, a draft for three months was ordered in Montgomery, Madison, Otsego, Herkimer, Oneida, Onondaga, Jefferson and Lewis counties. The command was given to General Collins. His troops did duty at Sacketts Harbor and Brownsville.

This draft and service occurred during the costly preparations for the miserable failure of General Wilkinson in his boasted descent upon Montreal. So important was the contemplated expedition of Wilkinson, that the Secretary of War went to Sacketts Harbor in September to consult with the officers of the army, and to save the delay of communications between the army and the war office in Washington.

The issue of the expedition was most inglorious. General Wilkinson was arraigned before a court martial and removed from command. He was succeeded by General Izard.

In the latter part of 1814 General Collins received command of the post of Sacketts Harbor. The United States regular army was mostly with General Brown on the Niagara frontier. So important was the defense of Sacketts Harbor, that the Governor sent his aid-de-camp, Colonel Washington Irving, with orders to the commanding officer, to make such requisitions on the militia as he might deem necessary. After consultation with Colonel Mitchell, General Collins called the militia *en masse*, from Herkimer, Jefferson, Lewis and Oneida counties. Oneida and Herkimer furnished two thousand five hundred men, and Jefferson and Lewis four hundred, which made the whole force at the harbor about six thousand. The whole American flotilla on Lake Ontario was massed at this place. The strength of the enemy did not justify our naval officers to take the offensive on the lake. The garrison consisted of the thirteenth regiment, of five hundred strong, a battalion of artillery, a few hundred militia and the sailors and marines of the fleet. Such was the situation when the militia was called out by General Collins. The call was promptly obeyed. The millions of public property which were constantly menaced by the enemy, were successfully defended and preserved.

From mismanagement in the commissary department the provisions furnished were inferior and not altogether wholesome. The season was very rainy and the streets of the town and environs became almost impassable. Disease made its appearance in the militia, and was very fatal. Panic seized them, and desertions became numerous. In some instances commandants of companies

ran away with portions of their command. Strict discipline became necessary, in consequence of which much dissatisfaction prevailed. As was his duty, the commander of the post kept its defences until the garrison was reinforced by the arrival of General Brown with his regulars.

In general orders General Brown highly complimented General Collins for the great zeal he had manifested in the public service.

On the expiration of his term of service, General Collins ordered a court martial for the trial of deserters. The court was held at the New England House in Utica. There was some disposition to interfere with the execution of the light sentences. Orders were given a company of regulars in the town to prevent any interference, if attempted. The regulars loaded their pieces with ball cartridges and the convicted deserters were drummed out of camp to the tune of the Rogue's March without any interference.

At the close of the war General Collins retired to private life, upon the farm he had chosen, and made a valuable and pleasant home. He spent the rest of his days in providing for the education and settlement of his children and for a serene and happy close of his own life. He was dearly beloved by his own family and intimate friends, and enjoyed the confidence and esteem of a large cirle of acquaintances and the sincere regard of all who knew him. In this sketch is shown the sturdy New England pioneer, with his wealth of enterprise and health. Coming to a new country, laying down his hearth stone, rearing his family, teaching them all he knew, preparing them for their life work, better than was his lot, and sending out his children to repeat his efforts, and to achieve if possible, a greater success.

But one family of his descendants remains in this State. The rest have carried the family tradition and name to Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, California, and the District of Columbia. And sometimes his great grandchildren must think of the old red farm house on the Middle Settlement road, and recall the memories that cluster about it. I remember the genial old grandfather who loved them, and feel proud of him and his beginnings in the Whitestown country.

This is a short reference to the family of General Collins.

Ela—His son born in Connecticut, read law with Gold & Sill at Whitesboro. He opened an office in Lowville, N. Y., and was an eminent lawyer in Northern New York, holding for many years the office of district attorney, when a district embraced several counties. He was elected Member of Congress, and was a member of

the Constitutional Convention of 1821. Three of his sons and a daughter removed to Ohio where his sons became distinguished. The daughter alone is left of his large family.

January 20, 1799, being a widower, General Collins married Keturah Kellogg, daughter of Phineas Kellogg of New Hartford. From this marriage were several children.

Sarah—married James D. Doty who was with General Cass during his exploration of the west, an account of which was written and published by Schoolcraft. Afterwards Mr. Doty was a Federal Judge, Governor of Wisconsin, Member of Congress, and later Governor of Utah.

Eliza—married General George D. Ruggles, a brother of the wife of Silas Stow. General Ruggles was prominent in political and military matters in Northern New York. He removed to Wisconsin about 1840.

Mary—married Dr. Seth Adams, who was a graduate of the old Fairfield Medical College, when its Faculty was Drs. Willoughby, March, McNaughton and Hadley. He commenced his profession in Lowville and practiced there till his death in 1873.

Charles Oliver—graduated with honor at West Point. He entered the army, preferring the service to a professorship at the Military Academy. He married a daughter of Commodore Bailey and died in the service at the age of forty.

Alexander L.—read law in Utica and began practice at Cleveland, Ohio. In the collapse of 1837 he lost his beginnings and removed to Wisconsin, where he took rank as an able lawyer and leading advocate. He is still living but has retired from active practice.

Catharine—is the wife of General Julius A. White of Chicago, who made a name as a soldier during the Rebellion. His children have taken to the profession of journalism, in which they have been successful.

PRESIDENT DWIGHT IN NEW HARTFORD, 1799.

Rev. Mr. Sanderson read a paper prepared by Hon. John F. Seymour, who unfortunately was unable to be present.

Citizens of New Hartford and Members of the Oneida Historical Society:

We have assembled to celebrate the One Hundredth Anniversary of this beautiful village. The earliest settlements of white men on our continent were made under great dangers and difficulties. The country was a wilderness, inhabited chiefly by

Indians, whose language was unknown to the settlers and whose business was savage warfare. After our successful Revolution had opened the way, the people of New England sought homes upon the rich lands of New York State. They found that roads had to be made through forests, grist mills must be constructed to get flour, and saw mills be built to obtain lumber for houses in which to live; but the interest of New Englanders was aroused by the reports received by them, and they came on foot and on horseback from all parts of New England to see for themselves.

One of the earliest incidents which I have found in the history of New Hartford is a narrative, which I quote largely, of a ride taken to it from Connecticut on horseback by the Rev. Timothy Dwight, then President of Yale College, with the Rev. Jeremiah Day, afterwards also President of the same institution, together with some gentlemen from the south. (I refer to Vol. III of Dwight's Travels.)

They set out on this journey September 19, 1799, and crossing the Taghkannock range of mountains, visited Saratoga Springs, and on their way passed a village of Shaking Quakers, which village consisted of a small number of houses moderately well built, and kept both within and without doors in a manner very creditable to the occupants—everything about them being clean and tidy.

Messrs. Dwight and Day kept a record of their journey up the valley of the Mohawk, in which they stated that the settlements along the river were almost universally scattered plantations, almost all of the inhabitants being of Dutch extraction. That between Schenectady and Utica, a distance of eighty miles, they saw only three churches, and only four places which could properly be called villages, and only a few miserable looking schoolhouses. Messrs. Dwight and Day also published accounts respecting New Hartford and Utica so that you can compare the then probable future of the two villages, with the results of time.* They say that in 1794 there were but two houses in Utica, and but six in 1796; in 1804 there were 120, besides a numerous train of merchants' stores, and other buildings. New Hartford was the first New England settlement which they found in this region, and that it presented to their view a very neat church ornamented

* These books of travel can be found in the library of the Historical Society at Utica.

with a pretty steeple. The same church we now see but under a new steeple. The houses also were built in the New England style and were generally neat, and, for so recent a settlement, all unusually good. The lands were excellent, well cultivated, and every thing wore the cheerful air of rapid improvement. The business of tanning is also mentioned as carried on upon a large scale, and they further say that no settlement, merely rural, since they left New Lebanon, could be compared with New Hartford for sprightliness, thrift and beauty.

From Utica to this village a turnpike was begun at that time and was considerably advanced, and they reported that it would be extended thereafter into the western country as far as the circumstances of the inhabitants would permit, and that no improvement could be more necessary in this region.

Of Utica, these gentlemen state that it is built on the spot where Fort Schuyler formerly stood, and its site being the declivity which bounds the valley of the Mohawk, and here slopes easily and elegantly to the intervale, that the houses stand almost all on a single street parallel with the river, now Whitesboro or Main street.

The settlers were almost wholly traders and mechanics, and it was reported that Utica's business had become considerable. Their expectations of future prosperity were even then raised to the highest pitch, and not a doubt was entertained that their village would at no great distance of time become the emporium of all the commerce carried on between the ocean and a vast interior. Our travelers say they found the people of Utica laboring, and in a fair way to labor a long time under one very serious disadvantage, namely, that the lands on which they lived were chiefly owned by persons who resided at a distance, and who refused to sell or rent except on terms which were exorbitant, reminding us of the old struggle between resident and non-resident landowners. From this criticism we exempt John R. Bleecker, of Albany, one of the largest landowners.

The travelers inform us that "a company of gentlemen in Holland, who have purchased large tracts of land in this State and Pennsylvania, and among them a considerable tract in this neighborhood, and who are known by the name of the Holland Company, have built here a large brick house to serve as an inn." That large brick house is still standing and occupied as an inn on the northeast corner of Hotel and Whitesboro streets at Utica.

President Dwight and his party intended to go to Niagara Falls,

and they rode from Utica to New Hartford, and in the afternoon proceeded to Lairdsville, *at the entrance* of the *Oneida Woods*, a distance of seven miles. Mr. Dwight relates that before they arrived at Lairdsville, he had become convinced that to complete their intended journey was impracticable, and that while they were at Utica they were told by their landlord that it had rained every day for a fortnight before their arrival. Of the truth of this account they had the most ample proof, besides our Utica reputation for rain. The last thirty miles of their journey, the mud had obliged them to walk their horses. The persons who had come in from the western country had united in representing the season as more rainy, and the roads as deeper than had ever been known before. If they should proceed, they must make their way through three hundred and sixty miles of the softest soil of this country, much of it encumbered with roots, stumps, and other concomitants of new roads.

While they were at Lairdsville, ten travelers came in from the west, their horses were drenched with mire to the hips and shoulders, and the riders were pale, and broken spirited with excessive fatigue, and the distinguished party wisely concluded that to pursue a journey of pleasure under such circumstances would have been madness. Thus terminated the ride of these notable travelers to New Hartford.

In the comparisons made by these intelligent witnesses, New Hartford can claim the prize, and if by the location of the Erie canal from the Great Lakes of the west to the Hudson river, some portion of the commerce of the west has carried Utica ahead of New Hartford, New Hartford is yet the beautiful town whose hills overlook the valleys of the Sauquoit and of the Mohawk, and we can stand upon these lovely hills and predict at no very distant day the union of New Hartford and Utica.

Rev. Mr. Terry read the following paper prepared by William Wallace Wotherspoon, Jr., representing the fifth generation of the

DOUBLEDAY FAMILY.

Major Ammi Doubleday was born in Lebanon, Conn., April 17, 1759, and died in New Hartford, January 31, 1839, in the eightieth year of his age, and in full possession of all his faculties. He was a soldier of the Revolution, lying at Dorchester Hill the night it was fortified, March 4, 1776, to the close of the war, including the

severe winter at Valley Forge. He bought his farm in New Hartford in 1816, was made an elder in the Presbyterian Church, April 14, 1817; married Lois Tilden of New Lebanon. She died in New Hartford, aged seventy-eight. Rev. John Waters, born in Lebanon, N. H., September 5, 1775; lived in New Hartford; was one of the founders of Knox College; moved to Galesburg, Ill., where he died, aged eighty-seven. He married Wealthy Doubleday, who died in her eighty-seventh year. Charles McLean, born in Glasgow, Scotland, October 6, 1802, settled in New Hartford in 1824, died October 7, 1877.

General C. W. Darling presented a letter from Charles F. Hurlburt of Brooklyn on the

LYON AND SHAYS FAMILIES.

First I will speak of Samuel Lyon. Mr. Lyon was born in New Jersey, September 9, 1780. After living in his native town for some time, he took up his residence in Bennington, Vt., and there he married Eunice Haynes, a daughter of David Haynes, March 11, 1802. In 1805 he came to New Hartford, and his first residence was on South street, where Mrs. Gates Chapman now lives. This house was subsequently burned. In 1824 he bought the house on the corner of what is now Genesee and South streets. This house was built by Judge Sanger. Mr. Lyon bought it of Frederick Stanley. It was a very large and fine house for those early days. And here I will remark that the attic was one immense room, and it was used for some time as a Masonic Lodge room. My good wife (a granddaughter of the subject of this sketch) tells me that this big room was full of nooks and corners, which could be used to keep the goats in that the brethren were supposed to ride, or as "lockups" for the refractory or hilarious members. Whether they were so used will be forever buried in mystery. Mr. Lyon had six children—two sons and four daughters, all of whom are now deceased but the youngest daughter, Mrs. A. R. Grosvenor, now residing in Utica. The widow of John, the oldest son, is now living on a portion of the old estate, just below the site of the Universalist meeting house, which was destroyed by fire some years ago. Mr. Lyon was a large owner of real estate, but it has since his death passed out of the hands of the heirs, except that portion now owned by Mrs. John Lyon, before referred to. Mr. Lyon bought the paper mill of Judge

Sanger, and he carried on the business for many years. It then stood beyond the "Stone Factory." In 1825 George Cone moved the mill to the grist mill site—a distance of nearly a mile. It was considered a great feat in those days. He bought the grist mill property of Jacob and Lewis Sherrill in 1826. He also had a store opposite his residence, which was carried on for many years, with his son-in-law, Hiram Shays, as his business manager.

Mr. Lyon died in January, 1851, in the seventy-first year of his age. (Mrs. Lyon died a few years before him.) In an obituary notice of Mr. Lyon, the writer of it used these words: "He was an honest man; his word was as good as his bond." It will be seen that Mr. Lyon came to New Hartford but seventeen years after Judge Sanger, and therefore he may be classed among its oldest inhabitants.

Hiram Shays was born in Rensselaerville, Albany County, January 6, 1799. He was the son of Daniel and Ruth Shays, and the grandson of General Daniel Shays, an officer of the Revolution, and who afterwards, was the leader of Shays' Rebellion. He came therefore of sturdy stock. He came to New Hartford about 1821 or 1822, and on December 28, 1824, married Persis E., the second daughter of Samuel Lyon. They had three children. The oldest, Julia, died in infancy; the oldest son, Edward L., died in March, 1886; Emilie P., the youngest daughter, is the wife of the writer of this sketch. Mr. Shays was always a strong democrat. On the 4th of November, 1833, he was elected to the Assembly by a majority of about one thousand. On July 22, 1843, he was appointed postmaster of New Hartford, and retained the office until 1849. New Hartford was always a Whig stronghold, but in 1853, Mr. Shays was elected Supervisor, the first Democrat who had been elected to that office in the town. Mr. Shays lived for many years in the house (one of the oldest buildings in the town) next south of Mr. Lyons, his father-in law. He died there on the 30th of August, 1855, after long years of physical suffering, aged fifty-six years.

THE DAKIN FAMILY.

The following paper prepared by Frederick C. Ingalls of Utica, on the Dakin family was presented: Samuel Dakin emigrated from New Hampshire and came to New Hartford in the autumn of 1815. He was the third son of Amos and Sarah Dakin, and was born in Mason, New Hampshire, November 17, 1770. He was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1797, studied law, and upon

his admission to the bar, entered upon the practice at Jaffrey, N. H. In 1801 he married the daughter of Rev. Stephen Farrow of New Ipswich, N. H. Mrs. Dakin was a woman of energy, intellectual force and great beauty of character. At the time of Mr. Dakin's arrival in 1815, New Hartford was a larger and more important place than Utica, and he located there. He could not immediately begin the practice of his profession, as the law then in force required a prior residence in the State of three years. He therefore engaged in teaching and preparing young men for college, continuing this occupation for six years. He then resumed the practice of law and entered into partnership with Judge James Dean. He was a Justice of the Peace for many years and held other offices of trust. He was the attorney of the Oneida, Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians, whose confidence and esteem he always enjoyed in the highest degree. He had been a member of the Congregational Church in New Hampshire, but upon the organization of the Episcopal society in New Hartford, he became a member of that church, and was ever afterward an untiring worker in its behalf. He was a member of Amicable Lodge of Freemasons of New Hartford. Mr. Dakin died January 29, 1844, at the age of seventy-three years. His wife survived him more than ten years. The children were one son, Samuel D. Dakin, and four daughters, Mary L., who married Cyrus Ingalls, Sophia, who married Frederick Hurlburt, Martha, who married Sanford M. Foster, and Sarah E., who married George W. Risley. Two only, Martha and Sarah, are now living, and only one, Mrs. Martha Foster, now resides in New Hartford. Samuel D. Dakin was graduated at Hamilton College in 1821. After spending two years teaching in Maryland, he took up his residence in Utica, having married Mary P. Mumford, a daughter of Thomas Mumford of Cayuga. He then began the practice of law, in connection with Willliam J. Bacon, but soon afterwards turned his attention to journalism, and became part proprietor and principal editor of the *Utica Sentinel and Gazette*. He continued his residence in Utica until the year 1839, when he removed to the City of New York, where he engaged in large and widely extended business operations. He was a man of great business capacity and energy, and possessed extraordinary personal influence over all men with whom he came in contact. He died suddenly in the midst of his most active life, in January, 1853, at the age of fifty. In an obituary notice, printed in the *N. Y. Evening Post*, William C. Bryant, who was his personal friend, said of Mr. Dakin: "His business trans-

actions were of the most extended and complicated nature, reaching from Maine to California, and whoever was brought into frequent contact with him became his friend and adviser. * * His whole moral and mental condition was cast in a large and liberal mold. All his views, whether of business or domestic life, were comprehensive and generous. No difficulties were to him insurmountable, no obstacles too great to be overcome. Pursuing his objects with an activity almost marvelous, he yet preserved their fires pure and bright on the altar of his sympathies and affections. He had received a finished education and had preserved all that delicacy of taste, that love for the beautiful in art and literature, which is so often crushed out by the rude jostling of active life."

Samuel D. Dakin left five sons, all of whom are graduates of Hamilton College. Three of them are still living: George W. B. Dakin, at Cherry Valley, N. Y.; Richard L., in Chicago; Edward S. Dakin,* in New York City.

NEW HARTFORD'S MANUFACTURES.

The following interesting report was presented by James Harris of New Hartford:

The Sauquoit creek, with its great fall, giving it the immense power that was so soon recognized by the pioneer, has been the magnet to the banks of which have been drawn, almost exclusively, the industries of the town. And as a matter of convenience your committee has considered the history of the manufacturing industries as they are placed in turn along the creek's banks, beginning at its entrance into our township and following along down to its exit.

In 1813, John Chadwick, Abner Brownell and Ira Todd, founded the Eagle cotton factory on the site of the present stone factory at what is now Chadwicks. The firm dissolved some years after, Mr. Chadwick remaining at the Eagle mill. Extensive additions were erected in 1843 and 1844, and filled with machinery. On the evening of June 25, 1844, the mill, a frame building, was struck by lightning, and both building and machinery were destroyed by fire. A new and substantial mill, constructed of stone, soon took the place of the former building, and was fitted with improved machinery. The mill was still further enlarged and improved by the late Hon.

* Died December 6, 1888.

George W. Chadwick, who succeeded his father in the general management of the business. Before the death of Hon. G. W. Chadwick, the company was incorporated, and at the present time has a capacity of about fifteen thousand spindles or three hundred looms. Steam and water are used for power. The officers of the company are Benjamin Groff, President and Treasurer; William Kershaw, Secretary. Next below Chadwicks on the creek is the saw mill, erected early in the century by John Mosher, and afterwards run by his son, Abel Mosher, for many years. A few years since Jonathan Tibbitts, who succeeded to the old saw mill and added a plaster mill and cider mill, "doing off" a room where he slept alone, was one night murdered in his bed mysteriously and robbed. Thomas Lewis next succeeded to the business and added a mill for grinding corn-meal and feed for horses and cattle.

Next below, Levi Beebe, at an early day, erected a calendar factory, where the cloth from the factories, then coming from the hand looms rough and unsightly, was run through heavy metal rollers and the surface finished smooth, ready for market. This mill was afterward converted into a scythe shop by Abner Bartlett, who was succeeded by Amasa and Charles Millard. It was next, in 1817, converted into a machine shop by Amos Rogers, Jr., and Oliver S. Rogers; afterwards converted by Allen Sweet into a factory for manufacturing cotton yarn, and in 1835 converted into a foundry by Daniel Blackman, and carried on by him until 1846, then by Huxford & Rogers, and afterwards by Rogers, Spencer & Co.

Next below on the creek is the site of the tannery erected by John Mosher at an early day, and carried on by him and his son, Abijah. In the year 1818 this was converted into a machine shop by Amos Rogers, Sr., his son Oliver G. Rogers and Allen Sweet. The business after a few years, was assumed by Oliver G. Rogers, who continued until the year 1837, when his son, Amos Rogers, succeeded to the works and carried them on until they were destroyed by fire in July, 1866, the firm being Rogers & Spencer.

At a later date this same site was purchased by the late Hon. George W. Chadwick, and still later transferred by him to a company organized for the purpose of bleaching cotton goods. A large and handsome brick building was then erected by the company which is now known as the "Utica Willowvale Bleachery." The present officers of the company are, George H. Wiley, president; Robert S. Williams, vice president; Ephraim Chamberlain, secretary and treasurer; and Bradford C. Divine, superintendent.

Next below is the site of a grist mill and saw mill, which stood near the old tollgate, and was erected early in the century by a Mr. Barnard. Solomon Holmes was the miller. The saw mill was owned by a stock company, each stockholder running it in turn, one week at a time. Next below and a little above the highway bridge stood a saw mill at an early day; below the bridge is John Pringle's saw mill. Next below, at Checkerville, now Washington Mills, was the woolen mill, built by a Mr. Ducroix, and called the Leeds manufacturing company. It was short lived, and soon after was converted into a plaster mill and saw mill. A brook from the east near here flows in, on which is the noted wagon shop of Peter S. Eastman. Next below is the site of the old Kilborn grist mill, converted into a woolen factory by Frederick Hollister, afterwards carried on by Kernan & Helm, and now owned by the A. T. Stewart estate of New York city. Next below was the "Mechanics' Cotton Factory," built in 1813, by a company of mechanics, afterwards converted into a satinet factory and known as the "dumb factory," run by James S. Foster, D. C. Mason and others. August 30, 1841, Frederick Hollister purchased the property of D. C. Mason and J. Manchester and converted it into a woolen factory, painting the outside in squares, about one foot square, of various bright colors, like the squares of a checker board, and the place came to be known as Checkerville. Later on the factory, a frame building, was destroyed by fire, and Mr. Hollister built a large stone factory on the site, which he named Washington Mills, from which the village was named. These mills burned down and another stone factory built on the site was in turn burned down. Next below was the saw mill and plaster mill erected early in the century by "Forest" Kellogg (called "Forest" from the fact that he was the first white child born in New Hartford, then a wilderness,) and this site is now occupied by the extensive hoe and fork works of Lewis & Babcock manufacturing company. This company carry on a branch of their business in Nashville, Tenn., which makes them one of the largest if not the largest of the kind in the country. The present officers of the company are, Lewis H. Babcock, president; Ladd J. Lewis, secretary and treasurer; and C. H. Philo, general manager.

The business was organized in 1865, under the name of Babcock, Brown & Co.; later on it became Huntley & Babcock, and at the present time is as above stated. Next below was the grist mill and saw mill, also erected by Forest Kellogg. The grist mill, after remaining many years, was destroyed by fire, and at that

time was managed by Everson & Hayes. Below this site was an oil mill, erected by Jedediah Sanger. Just above this site a cotton factory was erected by a company incorporated under a special act, March 30, 1810, and at that time known as the "New Hartford Manufacturing Society." The original incorporators were, Frank Stanley, Richard Sanger, Jacob Sherrill, John Eames, Amos Hull and Joseph Kirkland. The water power was improved, and the present wheelhouse of the factory built under the management of Samuel Hicks, about 1834. A further improvement was made in the water power by changing the ditch to its present location, and the stone addition on the south side of the main building was erected by Kellogg Hurlburt, as manager, about the years 1837 and 1838. The present organization began its corporate existence in 1870, under the name of the "New Hartford Cotton Manufacturing Company," by purchase from Adams, Blackington & Co., of South Adams, Mass., who came into possession of the property soon after the close of the civil war. The incorporators at that time, all of whom formed the first board of trustees under the new organization, were Charles McLean, James Dutton, Ichabod A. Miller, George D. Babcock and James Campbell. On the evening of November 23, 1882, the old stone factory building and machinery were destroyed by fire. The present brick structure as it now stands, which was in process of construction at that time, was completed during the following summer. The capacity of the mill is 9,600 spindles, or 240 looms, and its officers are, John W. McLean, president; Richard U. Sherman, vice president; and James Harris, secretary and treasurer. Mr. Harris is also the superintendent and general manager of the business.

Next below is the grist mill erected as early as 1790, by Judge Sanger. It was later, on September 13, 1806, sold to Jacob Sterling and Timothy Soper, who together run the business but little over a year, when Mr. Soper transferred his interest to Mr. Sterling, and he managed the mill until December 1, 1818, when he sold the property to Jacob and Lewis Sherrill, May 10, 1826. The Messrs. Sherrill sold the property to Samuel Lyon, and Mr. Lyon on March 14, 1851, sold the property to Charles McLean and he continued to run the business up to a recent date, when his son, John W. McLean succeeded him and is now managing the business. Across the raceway, and just in the rear of the grist mill, at a very early date, was a bark mill, and also buildings occupied by people who wove bedticking on hand looms. This business was continued until so recent a date that it is fresh in the memory of many of our townspeople.

The original of the knit goods business in the village of New Hartford was instituted in May, 1864, by James Armstrong, of New Hartford, and Henry Hurlburt, of Utica, who commenced the business of manufacturing shirts and drawers in a brick building owned by James Armstrong, and known as the Half Century factory, it having been used for many years by James Reed for the manufacture of bed tick yarn. The business was conducted by Armstrong & Hurlburt on a very small scale, they running but one set of machinery.

At the end of the first year Armstrong bought out the interest of Hurlburt, and continued the business until April 1, 1870, when the mill was wholly destroyed by fire. The business was then transferred to its present location on the opposite side of the pond, and A. E. Baker became associated with Mr. Armstrong. The business was enlarged at that time, and was run by Armstrong & Baker until December, 1873, when George H Armstrong became a member of the firm, which from that time has been known by the firm name of Armstrong, Baker & Co., having increased from one set of machinery to five sets of cards and spinning and eleven sets of knitting machinery, producing over 200 dozen of shirts and drawers daily, and employing over 100 hands. On the site of this mill was the tannery owned and operated by Stephen Childs for several years. Next below was a brick building owned by Charles McLean and operated by him as a coloring factory. This building was burned down and on its site a frame building was erected by John W. McLean, now occupied by the New Hartford Scotch Cap Factory, which was incorporated in 1887, by John W. McLean, Frank S. Lowery and Alfred J. Wainman. Next was Jacob & Lewis Sherrill's carding mill, which was destroyed by fire, and on its site was erected a building in which Lane & McLean carried on a calendar and coloring factory, and still below this was a saw mill and a paper mill, built in 1807, by Leonard Kellogg, Nathan Seward, Asahel Higby and Thomas Sayles and continued till about 1824. Next is the Utica Cotton Company's mill, erected in 1814 by the "Capron Cotton Manufacturing Company." The heaviest stockholders were Seth Capron, of Whitestown, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer and Asahel Seward, of Utica. It was later on owned by E. B. Shearman & Co., and since 1865 has been owned by C. C. & H. M. Taber, of New York city. Their agent and manager is William H. Cloher, Jr. Its present capacity is 11,544 spindles or 250 looms.

Next below was a saw mill, then below is one of the three cotton

mills constituting the New York Mills. Its origin under the present name was in the year 1840, but was the outgrowth of a grinding or grist mill built in the year 1796, by General George Doolittle, of Whitestown. The name of this mill was the "Burrstone," from the circumstance of the French burr millstones being used in it for grinding purposes. About the year 1815, General Doolittle, the mill owner, desired Benjamin Stewart Walcott, his son-in-law, and who was reared a cotton manufacturer in Rhode Island, to change the grist mill to a cotton mill, which task was undertaken and accomplished in a creditable manner. In the year 1824 a proposition was received from Benjamin Marshall, of New York, inviting Mr. Walcott to join him in the erection of the New York Mills and the manufacture of fine shirtings, the first attempt made in the country at producing yarns of the finer grades.

The partnership thus entered into resulted in establishing the New York Mills as it now exists, with the exception of the change from the copartnership to the corporate form in the year 1884. The capacity of the mill now is 18,588 spindles or 450 looms, broad and narrow. The present officers of the company are William D. Walcott, president; Samuel R. Campbell, vice president, and W. Stuart Walcott, secretary and treasurer. W. Stuart Walcott is also manager of this, the Upper New York Mills.

Henry Hurlburt, of Utica, read a very interesting paper as follows:

EARLY HISTORY AND REMINISCENCES.

As a native of New Hartford, I was glad to see the suggestion of the Oneida Historical Society, that there should be a celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town. Those who are acquainted with our local history are well aware that this place has a very interesting and important history of its own.

In the month of March, 1788, Colonel, afterwards Judge Jedediah Sanger, a native of Massachusetts, came to this lower valley of the "Sauquoit," as it is now called, but which is a corruption of the original Indian name *Se-dau-quate*, or, as some say, "Sadaquada," and purchased one thousand acres of land, through the centre of which runs the Sauquoit creek, and which includes the whole of the present village of New Hartford. Col. Sanger was

doubtless attracted to this spot by the beauty of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the excellence of its water power, as well as by its proximity to the landing-place on the Mohawk at Old Fort Schuyler, now Utica. For this land, as stated in Jones' Annals, he paid five hundred dollars, or fifty cents per acre. The year following his purchase he sold the half lying east of the creek to Joseph Higbee for one dollar per acre, thus securing to himself the west side, on which the business portion of the village stands, free of cost.*

He began at once the clearing of the forest and the erection of a saw mill and a grist mill—those indispensable requisites of a new settlement. The year after this, in 1789, he brought his family to reside here. In 1790, Joseph Higbee, Nathan Seward and John French brought their families from Connecticut and settled on the east side of the creek, on lands that had been purchased the year before by Mr. Higbee. Soon after this, the fame of the Whitestown country spread over many parts of New England, and many people of culture and refinement were induced to leave their pleasant homes in New England, and make new homes for themselves and their children in this then far off wilderness of Central New York.

The Sauquoit creek, a most remarkable stream for its size, having a constant flow from its source to its mouth, was rapidly lined with mills of various sorts, the business of which centered in New Hartford, and for a long time its business far surpassed that of Utica; so much so that the people of the latter often went to

* The verifier of this interesting story in Jones' Annals, of the purchase of one thousand acres at fifty cents per acre, and the sale of half of it, in the first year, at one hundred per cent profit, searches the records in vain for deeds to confirm it. New Hartford lies mainly in the two Patents, Bayard's (or Free-Masons'), on the east side of the Sauquoit, and Coxe's, on the west side of that stream. Book 1 of Deeds recorded in the Oneida County Clerk's office, at page 196, shows a deed from John G. Leake to Jedediah Sanger, dated November 18, 1790, of lots Nos. 71, 72, 94 and 108, in Bayard's Patent, each lot 492 acres, consideration of deed £910 4s., making about $1.16 per acre in United States currency, and page 153 of the same Book records the deed of Jedediah Sanger to Joseph Higbee, dated December 30, 1791, of lot No. 108, one of the four above named, for £200, making $1.06 per acre, ten cents less than its cost. The water power in the Sauquoit is reserved, however, in the last deed. At page 208 is the record of a deed from John Redman (apparently one of the aborigines) to Thomas Williams, Ezekiel Williams, Asaph Atwater and Nathan Kelsey, dated July 18, 1790, of lot No. 1 in the 7th division of Coxe's Patent, 183 acres, for £73 4s., or $183 in United States currency, just $1 per acre. At page 200 is recorded the deed of George Washington and George Clinton to Jedediah Sanger, dated July 22, 1790, of lot No. 2, 7th division, Coxe's Patent, 234 acres, for £118 10s., equal to $296.25, or about $1.27 per acre. These last two lots (Nos. 1 and 2, Coxe's Patent) are on the west side of the Sauquoit, directly opposite to the lot No. 108 in Bayard's Patent conveyed to Joseph Higbee as above. The three deeds conveying 909 acres in all, cover most of the site of New Hartford village.

the former to supply their wants. This prosperity continued until the opening of the Erie Canal. Then the leading merchants and mechanics and professional men began to turn their attention to Utica; and the construction of railroads from Albany west a few years afterwards, caused all important commercial transactions to centre in Utica. But while the Sauquoit creek continues to flow, New Hartford will be an important centre for the production of cotton, woolen and other goods, that will stimulate and reward its people.

One of the most notable things in the early history of New Hartford, is the superior character of its inhabitants. Many of these were men of education and refined manners, and some of great business energy. Such were General Joseph Kirkland, John H. Lothrop, Samuel A. Talcott, William H. Maynard and James Dean, of the legal profession; and in the medical profession such men as Amos G. Hull, the first president of the Oneida County Medical Society, Charles Babcock, his partner and successor, and Uriel H. Kellogg, the latter of whom had the honor of being the first white child born in the place. Among the merchants were such men as Frederick Stanley, John B. Wilbor, and Daniel Stanton, his partner, Richard and Zedekiah Sanger, Daniel Randall, John H. Handy, Joseph Allen, Joseph Butler and Kellogg Hurlburt. And among the farmers were such men as Jedediah Sanger, Jacob and Lewis Sherrill, General Oliver Collins, Thomas Palmer, Ashbel Beach, Amos Ives, John Eames, Eli Butler, David and Allen Risley, James S. Foster, Truman and Forris Kellogg, Benjamin Douglass, James and Samuel Wells, Dan Eells, Peleg B. Pratt, Peleg Gifford, Major Dickinson, Captain Gardiner, William Winship, Thomas and Ezekiel Williams, Nathan Seward, John French and the Higbee brothers. And in other pursuits were Samuel Lyon, the miller and paper manufacturer; Samuel Hicks, for many years superintendent of the New Hartford Cotton Mills; and Samuel Dakin, for a long time the presiding Justice of the village court. To these may be added Jonathan Richardson, Jesse Shepard, Peter Hull, Nathan Manson, and John Remington, in various other occupations. These were all men of character and influence, and did much to promote the interests of the place. And they had wives worthy of them, who did their full part to rear their sons and daughters for the honorable positions they were afterwards to occupy.

To say nothing of the sons, many of the daughters of these parents were of such worth as to attract the attention and affection

of the best men, not only in private, but also in public and professional life. For instance, Samuel A. Talcott, the distinguished Attorney General of the State, married a daughter of Frederick Stanley; Greene C. Bronson, who was successively Member of Congress, Attorney General and Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, married the daughter of Deacon Kilbourn; Peter Clark, a prominent lawyer of New Jersey, married a daughter of David Risley; John D. Caton, a Judge and prominent business man of Illinois, married a daughter of Jacob Sherrill; Charles P. Kirkland and Edmund A. Wetmore, married daughters of John H. Lothrop; and Judge William J. Bacon, John G. Floyd, John M. Holley and Charles Tracy, married daughters of Joseph Kirkland.

There are some important events in the history of this town, which are well worthy of our attention. The first in the order of time is, that New Hartford had the high honor of erecting the first church edifice, not only in Oneida county, but in the state of New York, as far west as Utica. This church was organized August 27, 1791, by the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Edwards, of New England, as a Congregational Church, but in 1802 it became strictly Presbyterian in its mode of government and discipline. Its church edifice was erected in 1793, although not entirely finished until two or three years afterwards. This venerable structure still remains on the same spot where it was originally placed, and it still continues to be occupied by the same society as its cherished church home. Though the building is now essentially the same, it has from time to time undergone alterations, both within and without. I have not forgotten its appearance in my early days. Then it had two rows of windows, and a tower in front. On the inside, the galleries occupied three sides, and the pulpit was perched high in the air at the south end. The audience occupied square pews, both in the gallery and below stairs. The house was warmed by two huge black stoves placed near the front entrance, and the stove pipes extended along the whole length of the building, and went out at the rear. The elevated pulpit was in accordance with the fashion of the times, and compelled the worshippers to "look up" for the needed inspiration to the performance of their duties. I well recollect the sober and dignified appearance of my early pastor, the Rev. Noah Coe, as he stood there to dispense the Word of Life; and the no less dignified air of James Wells, the chorister, and that of his brother Samuel, his assistant, at the opposite end of the house, as they led in the songs of Zion; and also of "Squire

Dakin," who played the bass viol, whose still soberer countenance would lead one to suppose he was playing a funeral dirge rather than seeking to inspire us to be joyful in the service of the Lord. When I first attended church there, the boys, for the most part, were seated in the gallery, while their parents occupied the lower part of the house. But it was found by experience that this practice must be given up, for the boys, as boys will, when left to themselves, engaged in all sorts of fun in a quiet way, even when Parson Coe was delivering his most solemn appeals. He found that human depravity often breaks out early in life. Not only did they indulge in whispering and laughing to an unseemly extent, but they left on the side of the pews more enduring signs of their wickedness. Thus, for instance, I remember that some boy had drawn on the inside of a gallery pew a picture of a board laid across a log of wood, and a boy seated at each end of the plank, and underneath this picture were these wicked words:

"Paul says unto Peter,
Let's get a rail and teter,
But Peter says unto Paul,
What if we should fall?
We'd both go to h—ll."

After a season of such an experience as this, of the separation of parents and children, the boys were remanded to the care of their parents below, and in due time, not only the gallery, but the square pews, double rows of windows, and black stoves were replaced by the present modern and graceful improvements.

Before closing my remarks upon this part of my subject, I must allude to what now seems to be a singular fact. The Rev. Joshua Johnson was installed as the second pastor of this church in October, 1795. It is related that some time previous to this, a council was called to examine him. The council, unexpectedly to the people, decided that Mr. Johnson was not sufficiently sound in his doctrinal sentiments. When questioned upon the subject, he stated that the objection to his ordination was, that he could not assent to the doctrine "that before saving grace could be applied to the conversion of the soul it must feel an entire willingness to be damned." A new council, however, was called from New England, and he was ordained as pastor of the church with their full approbation. It may seem strange to us that such an event should occur in these latter days, and we may remember it as one worthy of record. This "Hopkinsianism," as the doctrine was called, prevailed for a time among some of the Churches in Connecticut

and Massachusetts. I remember hearing the Rev. Dr. Nathan W. Taylor, Professor of Didactic Theology in Yale College, relate an anecdote to his students on this point, in order to show how little some people who are carried away with theories, know the real state of their hearts. He said that the Rev. Dr. Strong, the venerable pastor of the old Centre Church, of Hartford, Conn., in making his round of pastoral calls, visited an old lady, who told him plainly that she did not believe a person could be a true Christian if he was not *willing* to be damned for the glory of God. The Doctor tried to reason with her, and told her there was no such doctrine in the Bible. He told her that while it might be *just* in God to punish the sinner—and to this all must subscribe—it was an entirely different thing for any human being ever to be *willing* to be damned—that God had made us with a strong desire for happiness, and constantly appealed to this desire to engage us in His service, and be forever happy in Him. But Dr. Strong found that all his arguments were in vain. The old lady still insisted that her position was right, and that the only assurance of her being a Christian was that she was willing to be damned for the glory of God! When the good Doctor saw how useless it was to argue with a person so firmly fixed in her theory, he took his departure. The next year, in making his pastoral calls, he made the old lady another visit. She soon began on the same theme as the year before, and still insisted that she was right. He tried once more to reason with her, but he might as well have talked to the winds. At last, he said, "Well, madam, you say *you* are willing to be damned for the glory of God; and now, if God is willing, I do not see why *I* should have any objection!" The poor woman thereupon became exceedingly angry at the thought that her pastor could be willing she should be damned! But it disclosed to her the real state of her heart, and she never broached the subject to him again.

The Presbyterian was not only the first but for a long time the only Church in New Hartford. There is an amusing account of the formation of the next religious organization, which I give for what it is worth, but it is related as a fact by a gentleman of the olden time, whose word I have never heard impeached. He said that one of the original settlers on the east side of the creek, who was not only a regular attendant but apparently much interested in the affairs of the church, became very much incensed against one of his neighbors on account of the intrusion of the latter's turkeys upon his lands. And when he found he could get no

adequate relief from the owner of the fowls, he brought the matter before the church, of which the owner of the intruders was a member. But this was a case in which the church decided that it had no jurisdiction. Such, however, was his wrath, not only at the owner of the turkeys, but at the church also, for not punishing him, that he forthwith abandoned the old society and joined with others in establishing another church.

During the same year in which the Presbyterian church edifice was erected, another notable event occurred in the history of New Hartford, and this was the publication of the "Whitestown Gazette" in this village. This was the first newspaper ever published in the State of New York west of Albany. Its first number is dated July 10, 1793. Its proprietors were Jedediah Sanger, Samuel Wells and Elijah Risley. Its printer was Richard Vanderburg. After a while it was discontinued, but was re-established in May, 1796, Samuel Wells becoming the proprietor and William McLean the printer.

In 1798 it was removed to Utica, Mr. McLean becoming the owner of it, and changing its name to "Whitestown Gazette and Cato's Patrol." Subsequently it underwent various changes of name and proprietorship, and was successively edited by John H. Lothrop, William H. Maynard and others, until finally it became the property of Seward & Williams. Six months after the first issue of this paper in New Hartford, another paper was started in the village of Whitesboro under the name of the "Western Centinel." But to New Hartford belongs the high honor of issuing the first newspaper that was ever published in the State west of the Hudson river.

Wherever the people of New England went we see the marks of their Puritan origin. They regarded the church, the schoolhouse and the newspaper as indispensable to the order and well being of the community. Before the first settlers of central New York had been here five years away from their pleasant New England homes, and before they had had time to make their roads, build their bridges and secure to their families many of the luxuries of life, they went to work to establish schools, erect edifices for the worship of God, and through the printing press diffuse intelligence among the people. Of this, the early history of New Hartford gives us a conspicuous example.

The third important event in the history of the place is the establishment of its cotton mills. The town of Whitestown, of which New Hartford formed a part, had, as far as known, the dis-

tinguished honor of erecting the first two cotton cloth mills in the State of New York. The first mill was erected by the Oneida Manufacturing Company, on the site of the lower mill of the present New York Mills Company. This company was incorporated March 9, 1810. The New Hartford Manufacturing Company was incorporated March 30th of the same year, just three weeks after the Whitesboro company. The incorporators named in the act passed by the Legislature, were Frederick Stanley, Richard Sanger, Jacob Sherrill, John Eames, Amos G. Hull and Joseph Kirkland, with a capital of $200,000; and they were empowered to make cotton and wool cloths; but so far as I know or ever heard, only cotton goods were ever made at this establishment. The building first erected by this company was a solid stone structure, and was continued to be used for manufacturing purposes until within a few years, when it was burned down.

My father, Kellogg Hurlburt, a young merchant of the place, was early chosen to take the general management of the business, and I have always understood that he began this supervision from about the time of the breaking out of the last war with Great Britain. He bought the cotton, sold the goods, attended to the finances, and appointed the manufacturing superintendent, all, of course, under the supervision of the board of directors. This mill, as is well known, is just south of the business portion of the village, and nearly opposite the last residence of Judge Sanger.

At a subsequent period, Mr. Hurlburt formed a partnership with John Chadwick and Abner Brownell in conducting the same kind of business at the Eagle Mills, further up the Sauquoit creek, now known as Chadwick's Mills. At a later date, he and his partner Abner Brownell, sold out their interests to John Chadwick, and purchased the Franklin factory at the village of Sauquoit, and carried on the cotton manufacture for a long period under the firm name of Hurlburt & Brownell. Then he disposed of his interest in this establishment to his old partner Mr. Brownell, and returned to take charge again of the old New Hartford mills, in which he had a large interest as a stockholder. Here he found things in a somewhat dilapidated condition. As soon as possible, he replaced the old machinery by more improved patterns, and built a long brick wing to the old stone structure. These improvements, though much needed, made a few of the old fogy stockholders grumble at the cost, but they were afterwards led to see that the company was amply repaid for the expenditure. It was always his aim to have men of character and ability for superintendents,

and secure good families to do his work. Their interests and comfort were carefully studied by him, and they in return showed their zeal and regard in every way they could. Among the superintendents during his management, I well recollect two, Daniel Keith and Mr. Andrews. Mr. Keith was there many years and performed his duties with diligence and skill and sought in various ways to promote the best interests both of the employer and the employed. While he was there, he showed great interest in introducing religious services among the working people, and my father seconded the movement by offering the best building in the "Factory yard" for such service. This offer was gratefully accepted by the people, and religious services were continued there for some years, and resulted in the formation of the present large and flourishing Methodist Episcopal church in the village. Mr. Keith went from there to Augusta, Ga., where he took charge of the first cotton mill ever erected in that now flourishing manufacturing city. Mr. Andrews, the next superintendent, was a man of fine personal appearance, of more than ordinary dignity of manner and of a strongly religious character. Two of his sons are now holding positions of great honor and distinction, one as a Judge of the Court of Appeals in this State and the other as a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal church—positions where they rank among the first and best.

There are several other manufacturing industries that had their origin, so far as this State is concerned, in New Hartford; but their history I leave to those who are more familiarly acquainted with these specialities.

There is another institution I must not pass by unnoticed—and one the younngsters of my day will not easily forget—and that is the old village schoolhouse. When it was erected, I know not, for it was long before my early school days. It stood on the south side of the village "green" and next to the lot cornering on South street. It was a plain wooden building, two stories high. The lower story was for the boys and the upper for the girls. In those days, the good old maxim of King Solomon, "Spare the rod and spoil the child," was not only believed in, but literally applied. The schoolmaster seemed to regard it as one of his necessary duties to inflict corporal punishment for even slight transgressions, by way of asserting the dignity of his office, and inspiring his trembling pupils with a proper sense of his authority.

When I went to school there, James McElroy, a kind and courteous gentleman out of school, swayed the sceptre of authority. This sceptre was generally in the form of a well-seasoned birch stick. If a boy was caught whispering to the one next to him, the master caught him by the ear and marched him to the middle of the room—or made him hold out his hand to receive a few strokes from the ferule. If he repeated the offense, he not only had a like infliction, but was made to stand there a while to be gazed at by the other scholars, as a terror to evil doers. If, however, his offense was of greater magnitude, such as throwing a wad across the room, or making other boys laugh, he was called out to the teacher's desk and had inflicted upon his back and legs a goodly number of strokes from the aforementioned birch stick well seasoned in ashes. While I was at that school there were not many scholars that escaped at least one flagellation each term—a term consisting of twelve weeks, which cost the parents one shilling per week—whippings included. So severe were these punishments at times, the marks of the stick were visible long afterwards. I have, even at this late day, a vivid recollection of one of the scholars coming into the school-room one morning with his pants rolled up above his knees, to show the horrid marks upon his flesh of the work of the rod the day before. But "the good old times" of such impressive instruction have happily passed away, and teachers now seek more to win than to worry their scholars—to rule by love rather than by fear.

The old school-house after serving its day and generation, finally gave way to a more substantial structure of brick, and this has been succeeded by a school of much higher grade in the fine old mansion of Judge Sanger. But we boys of the olden time have some tender recollections of our school boy days. We cannot soon forget our sports on the village green, summer and winter evenings, and the friendships there formed that have lasted through all the years of our earthly pilgrimage and made us feel as though there were few others so dear to our hearts as the friends of our youth.

It is a matter of interest to us of the present day, that we should know something of those who were prominent in the social and business affairs of the place. Of Judge Sanger, the first settler and patriarch of the village, I need not speak, for others will do him and his family full justice.

On the corner of Genesee and South streets stands one of the most stately mansions ever built in New Hartford. It is now

occupied by the McLean family. I am informed that it was built by Judge Sanger, but when I first knew anything about it, it was in the possession of Frederick Stanley. Mr. Stanley was a pleasant and courtly gentleman of the old school. By his first marriage he had two children, a son and a daughter. His son, Henry, I never knew, for he died early, but a lady who knew him well told me that this Henry Stanley was "the handsomest and most accomplished young man in the county." His sister, Julia, married Daniel Stanton, the leading merchant in this place, if not in the whole county. Mr. Stanton was a gentleman of fine personal appearance, and of much more than ordinary culture of mind, and one of the best conversers I ever knew. He left New Hartford for a larger sphere of activity, and became a partner in the great auction house of Shotwell, Fox & Co., New York city, and there acquired a handsome fortune. After this he took his family to Europe and spent several years there to gratify his refined tastes.

Mr. Stanley's second wife was a sister of Seth Grosvenor, a leading merchant of New York. Another sister married Elisha Williams, of Hudson, who was one of the most brilliant advocates at the public bar. Mrs. Stanley was a lady of such stately bearing and polished manners that her brother sportively called her "the Duchess." She had two children, a son Frederick, and a daughter, Mary Eliza. Frederick grew up to man's estate, studied law and moved west. His sister became the second wife of Samuel A. Talcott, at the early age of sixteen. These daughters of Mr. Stanley were beautiful women—though of different types—and were called "the belles of Oneida county."

Mr. Talcott while practicing his profession in New Hartford was chosen Attorney General of the State, which office he held for eight years and then resigned to practice in New York city. He was regarded as one of the ablest lawyers as well as one of the finest looking men in public life. I recollect hearing Judge Dean say that Chief Justice Marshall remarked at the conclusion of one of Mr. Talcott's arguments, that it was the ablest he had ever heard in that court. Such an opinion from such a source was the highest commendation any lawyer could possibly receive. As Mr. Talcott was the special favorite of Mr. Van Buren, who called him "gem of the State"—he would doubtless have recommended him as the successor of Judge Marshall had he lived and been able to practice his profession at that time.

Mr. Talcott's son by his first marriage, John L., removed to Buffalo, became a judge of the Supreme Court, and continued on

the bench until he became disqualified by age. He was also a man of marked ability and in personal appearance much resembled his father.

Another prominent residence was that of Richard Sanger, at the head of the business street, and recently known as the Golden place. This was one of the few brick dwellings of that period, and was built and occupied by him for many years. He married the sister of Eli Butler and had three sons and one daughter. The sons afterwards engaged in business in Utica, Henry, the oldest, becoming the teller in the Old Utica Bank, and Gerry and Richard engaged in the hardware business. Henry afterwards became cashier of one of the leading banks in Detroit and continued to hold this position until his death. Richard died many years since, but Gerry still lives at a very advanced age, and now resides, I believe, in New Haven, Conn.

Doctor Charles Babcock, one of the "beloved physicians," resided in the house next beyond Mr. Sanger's, on the Seneca turnpike. He had two sons, Pratt and William. Both of them went west to seek their fortunes. Pratt is still living in the State of Illinois and has secured a good share of this world's goods for his declining years. His good mother still survives at the age of ninety-five, and resides with her only daughter, Mrs. H. G. Abbott, in Utica.

A little beyond Dr. Babcock's stands the former fine residence of John H. Lothrop. He married the daughter of the well known and venerated Kirkland of Clinton. Mr. Lothrop, though bred a lawyer, became the cashier of the Ontario Branch Bank in Utica, and continued in this position until his death. His eldest son, Rev. Dr. Lothrop, was for a long period the pastor of the old Brattle Street Church, Boston, and died only a few years ago at an advanced age. The only remaining son, William, still lives and resides in the city of New York. The eldest daughter married Charles P. Kirkland, but she survived only a few years. Another daughter married E. A. Wetmore of the old and well known firm of Wetmore & Denio, and her younger sister, Frances, married Professor John H. Lathrop of Hamilton College, and afterwards President of the University of Missouri, Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, President of the Indiana State University, and again President of the University of Missouri, in which office he died.

Opposite Mr. Lothrop's house is the one long occupied by Judge James Dean, the eldest son of James Dean, the founder of the town of Westmoreland. Judge Dean was the first white boy born

in Oneida County. He was a man of excellent character and of dignified deportment, and was honored with different offices by his fellow citizens, such as County Clerk, County Judge and as a Member of the Legislature.

On either side of his residence are the dwellings of Jacob and Lewis Sherrill, which are still occupied by some of their descendants. These gentlemen were not only wealthy persons, but were also interested in the manufacturing interests of the town.

In the rear of Mr. Lothrop's residence, on the high ground, on the back road to Clinton, stands the house long occupied by the Rev. Noah Coe, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Coe was a man who commanded general respect for his unswerving integrity, dignified manners and devotion to his master's service. His wife was the sister of Professor Goodrich of Yale College. This brother married the daughter of Noah Webster, the celebrated lexicographer. Mr. Coe had three children—two sons and a daughter. Charles, the eldest son, was a schoolmate of mine. He was a remarkably bright boy—but so high spirited he could not brook the restraints of home and took a sudden departure for the west, to the great grief of his parents and friends. The only news they ever had of him afterwards was that his clothes were found torn and scattered in the wilds of Wisconsin, leading to the sad conclusion that he had been killed by wild beasts. Frederick, the younger son was of a more sedate and thoughtful character, and he, in the course of time became a highly esteemed and useful lawyer in the city of New York. Elizabeth, the daughter, grew up to be a beautiful woman, and married her cousin, a son of Professor Goodrich of Yale College.

General Joseph Kirkland lived on South Street; also in the house on the main street, now occupied by Francis Butler. He removed to Utica at an early day and became one of the most prominent men of the place. He was a man of courteous manners and dignified bearing, interested in everything that pertained to the welfare of the town, and ever ready to assume any burdens his fellow citizens might impose upon him. He was chosen to be the first mayor of the city, and while holding this office, the dreaded Asiatic cholera made its first appearance here. The citizens generally fled in terror to other places, all business, excepting that of the physician and apothecary, was suspended. But General Kirkland stood manfully at his post through the dread ordeal, and issued daily bulletins for the information of those who were away from the stricken city. General Kirkland was blessed with a large

family. His oldest son, Charles P., was a prominent lawyer, both in Utica and New York City. William, another son, devoted his life to the cause of education, and four of the daughters married men in the legal profession, three of whom were afterwards Members of Congress, and one also a Judge of the Supreme Court of this State.

William H. Maynard was one of the ablest men that ever graced the Oneida bar, and was as prominent as a political thinker as he was in the legal profession. But he was cut off in his prime. As a member of the State Senate, he attended the Court for the Correction of Errors in the city of New York just as the cholera began to make its appearance there, and he became one of its early victims. As he had no family he left in his will $20,000 to endow a professorship of Law and Political Economy in Hamilton College; and his mortal remains now lie deposited by the side of the revered Kirkland and others in the cemetery on College Hill.

I should like to speak of the Seward and Williams and other families that once lived in New Hartford and afterwards gained prominent positions in the business circles of Utica, but my limits forbid. I can only now allude briefly to the record of my father's family as identified with the early history of the town, and because it is more familiar to me than any other.

My grandfather, Mathias Hurlburt, was born in Farmington, Conn., married Clemence Kellogg in New Hartford, Conn., and after living there a brief period removed to Richmond, Berkshire County, Mass. Here my father, Kellogg Hurlburt, was born in 1783, the closing year of the Revolutionary War. His brother, Augustus, was also born there in 1789, the year that Washington was inaugurated as the first President of the United States. Not long after this, probably in 1791 or 1792, my grandfather brought his family to New Hartford, in this State. Here his son, Benjamin Franklin Hurlburt was born in 1793, the year in which the *Whitestown Gazette* was first published.

The coincidence in the births of these three brothers with some notable events of history, although of no importance in themselves and useless except in fixing in the minds of their friends the date of their births, never probably produced any tinge of the conceit of the old gentleman who, when his grandson learned that Washington died in 1799, went to his grand parent and said, "Grandpa, do you know what great historical event occurred in 1799?" "Certainly, my son." "Well, what was it?" "Why, my boy, it was the year in which I was born." The youngest of the family,

Thomas J. Hurlburt, was also born in New Hartford in 1801. These brothers all grew up to man's estate and were engaged in various business pursuits, first in New Hartford, and afterwards in other places.

After the death of Mathias Hurlburt in 1814, his youngest son, Thomas J., became a member of my father's family, and was trained up for mercantile life. After spending a few years in Utica, he went to Rochester, and from thence to Detroit where he became connected with a leading bank, and was subsequently appointed cashier of its branch in the interior of that State. At a later period he had a position in the Treasury department in Washington, D. C., which he held until his death at the age of eighty-three. His brother, Benjamin F., engaged in business in Rochester after leaving New Hartford, acquired a handsome estate there, and lost it all by endorsing too freely for an old merchant in whom he placed the utmost confidence. Then he returned to New Hartford and continued there until his death in 1858.

His older brother, Augustus, though engaged in other business, had a strong taste for architecture, and only wanted the advantages of an education in that line to have become an accomplished architect. As it was, he did much for the improvement of the appearance of his native town. He did what he could towards remodeling of the old Presbyterian church edifice, and for the renovation and beautifying of various dwellings in different parts of the town. When the flood tide of emigration to Utica took place he went there also, and remained there many years, but finally returned to spend the last years of his life in the home of his early years, and there he died December 3, 1871.

My father, Kellogg Hurlburt, was married in New Hartford to Sarah Manson, December 14, 1806, by the Rev. Samuel F. Snowden. During the first period of his married life, he occupied, with Mr. Stanley, the house on the corner of Genesee and South streets. In this house his oldest child, Mary Augusta, was born. Afterwards, he took the house on South street vacated by General Kirkland upon his removal to Utica. A few years after this he built the house now known as the parsonage of the Presbyterian church. He continued to live here until he decided to change his residence to Utica, where he could conduct his business to greater advantage, upon the opening of the Erie canal. This life work of manufacturing cotton goods continued until his decease in 1847. While he was in Utica, he was chosen the first cashier of the Oneida Bank, but owing to certain complications, for which he was in no

way responsible, he retired from the post, and devoted his whole attention to his former business.

My mother was a native of Framingham, Mass. When but eighteen years old, in 1803, she came to New Hartford—traveling all the way on horseback—threading her way through the wilderness, crossing bridgeless streams, and undergoing all the dangers and fatigues of such a journey, as best she could. This journey took her two weeks to accomplish. It is no wonder, when New England families in those days were about to leave their homes for these western wilds, their friends and neighbors assembled in the house of prayer, to commend them to the care and protection of Almighty God. I remember the elder Dr. Guiteau, of Trenton, telling me in my early days, that when he first came here, he was six days coming from Albany—a journey that can now be accomplished with ease in less than three hours, and from Boston in less than ten hours. It is by such contrasts as these we are able to appreciate the advantages we enjoy over those of our fathers in things that pertain to our material comfort.

The Seneca turnpike, which was made through New Hartford in the year 1800, was for a long time the only thoroughfare in this region from Albany west. Over this pike great covered wagons, drawn by four and six horses, were almost daily seen, carrying their loads of merchandise to different points in the western parts of the State. And over the same route Parker & Co.'s stages conveyed their tired passengers at the rate of from three to five miles an hour, except when the mud was so deep they had to unload and assist in prying their conveyance out of the mud.

In those days the mails were infrequent and uncertain. Postage was high and newspapers were scarce and scanty of news. No daily papers were issued except in the large cities. My only recollection of newspapers then, was in seeing once a week, a man on horseback, with his saddlebags stuffed with the Utica Weekly Gazette and Observer, and blowing his horn as he approached the dwellings of his subscribers.

A few words now on the domestic life of the people. The families of that day were, in general, much larger than those of the present time. This was doubtless owing, in part at least, to the comparative cheapness of living. A family could then live on a sum that would now only comfortably support a single person. They lived a more simple and rational life than we now do, and with all our modern improvements and refinements, they were at least as happy and contented as the men and women of the present generation. One great blessing of that period was, that marriage

took place earlier in life than at present, and the practice was almost universal.

Nearly all the early settlers of New Hartford were from the eastern States, and hence much nearer to each other than now, since the country has been flooded by the more ignorant classes of Old World. Then people delighted to help each other. If a man had a house or barn to raise, his neighbors were ever ready to assist in the work. When he gathered in his corn, they came with pleasure to the "husking bee," and when the good housewife wished to make her "apple sauce" for the winter, the neighbors were informed of it, and the boys and girls assembled at the appointed time for the apple paring, and a glorious time they had of it. How well I remember on such occasions the sport the young folks had in throwing the parings over their heads, to see who would be their future husbands and wives. And the sleigh rides, too. The young man would take his girl in his "cutter" by himself alone, and a dozen others would do the same, and they would all go to some place not many miles away and have a merry time. But now the merry makings and simpler enjoyments of those early times have nearly all passed away; and the increase of population and wealth have introduced more formal and expensive, though less hearty and enjoyable modes of living.

On the 12th of April, 1827, New Hartford was set off from the town of Whitestown and became a town by itself—as Utica had been ten years before. This event caused general rejoicing. But there were a few who took sadly to heart their separation from the good old town to which they had long belonged. One of these was William Curtis, a merchant in that village, and at that time, if my memory serves, the town clerk of the old town. When, therefore, the villagers in their joy placed a cannon on the hill near Judge Sanger's residence, and made the place ring with its echoes, Mr. Curtis was so much incensed by the sounds that he responded by having the bell of the Presbyterian church toiled, as it was customary to do at that time on funeral occasions. This, of course, aroused the indignation of those who were firing the gun on the hill. I recollect, as though it were but yesterday, the impression made upon me, when Nathaniel Caulkins, a sharp visaged and determined man, who stood by the gun, exclaimed in language and tone more expressive than polite, "Boys, load the cannon with stones, and if that bell does not stop tolling, fire into the old belfry and tear it to pieces!"

Happily the bell soon ceased to toll and the old belfry was

saved. And it is the prayer of all the old residents and the descendants of those who erected the old meeting house, that this venerable structure may long continue to be a gathering place of the people for the worship of God—and that as the old and the young, from far and near, come to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the town, the bell of the old church, now released from the doleful service to which it was once subjected, may lead all others in the good old town in ringing out the Old century and ringing in the New.

LETTERS OF REGRET.

Many letters of regret were received, several of which were read during the day.

FROM HON. D. E. WAGER.

ROME, June 22.

L. B. Root, Chairman, &c.—Dear sir: Your invitation to the New Hartford Centennial for June 27, is received. It would afford me much pleasure to be present at the Centennial exercises of a town so rich as is New Hartford in early and interesting reminiscences, but that pleasure I must forego and be content with a perusal of the record that day made, narrating a few of the many things the pioneers of that town contributed to make Oneida county the central gem in the galaxy of counties in the Empire State.

Yours, &c., D. E. WAGER.

FROM HON. JAMES S. SHERMAN.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 18.

L. B. Root, Chairman, &c.—My dear sir: I am in receipt to day of your invitation to be present at the Centennial anniversary of the settlement of New Hartford. I am very sorry I shall not be able to be present. With many thanks for your kind remembrance of me,

I am cordially yours,

J. S. SHERMAN.

FROM REV. DR. ANSON J. UPSON.

"THE WAVERLY,"
372 Genesee St., Utica, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Root: Let me thank you as the Chairman of the Committee of Invitation for an invitation to the New Hartford Centennial. It is to me a very pleasant remembrance. I wish I could promise to attend. It would give me real pleasure. But I fear I must content myself with offering daily thanks that I have been permitted to return and live once more in my old home in the vicinity of New Hartford.

Cordially yours, ANSON J. UPSON.

FROM DR. H. B. MILLARD.

L. B. Root, Chairman, &c.: I beg to acknowledge your kind invitation to be present at the New Hartford Centennial. As I go abroad shortly after the date of the celebration, I shall be obliged to remain here till the last moment. I regret very much that I cannot attend. As I did not leave New Hartford till I was 21, I may say I "grew up" there, and a fair place to "grow up" in it is. Its green fields, its wooded heights and smiling valleys will always be dear to my memory. I have traveled in many lands and have not seen many fairer, more peaceful, nor more lovely villages than my own birthplace. My only regret is that for so many years I have seen so little of it. With renewed thanks,

I am, yours sincerely,
H. B. MILLARD, M. D.,
4 East 41st street, New York.

FROM S. N. D. NORTH.

ALBANY, June 25.

L. B. Root, Chairman, &c.—My dear sir: I greatly regret that it will be impossible for me to attend the Centennial celebration of the settlement of New Hartford, on Wednesday. I have a sincere attachment for the town and a profound respect for its noble history. I was born in old Kirkland, just south of New Hartford, and I lived seventeen years of my business life in Utica, just north. So that between the two the soil of your town had been my most familiar trail. I know every tree and rock on that old turnpike and the faces of the sturdy farmers that dwell thereon. So many of them in homesteads built by ancestors who conquered the wilderness, are as familiar to me as the letters of the alphabet. The only fault I ever had to find with them grows out of their apparent willingness to keep the turnpike in a condition uncomfortably suggestive of the primeval pathways that the forefathers trod. But I can forgive them even that, on this anniversary occasion, and I hope that everything will conspire to make the celebration memorable and enjoyable. Thanking you for the invitation, believe me

Sincerely yours, S. N. D. NORTH.

FROM EDWIN H. GOODRICH.

MILWAUKEE, June 22.

L. B. Root, Chairman—Dear Sir: Your invitation to the "Centennial Anniversary" of the settlement of New Hartford is received. It would afford me great pleasure to be present on that occasion, but I am unable to do so. I regard the village of New Hartford, which was the home of my parents, and in which I was born 69 years ago—in which my boyhood and youth were passed, with the kindliest remembrance and deepest interest, and have a strong desire to return there for the purpose of once more seeing the scenes of my childhood and renewing the acquaintance of the few persons now remaining whom I formerly knew, but that pleasure must be deferred until another year. The old landmarks are not forgotten, and I can with closed eyes see the

once familiar faces in the village school, also the good old faces of those of mature years, from the village and surrounding country, reverently gathered together on Sunday morning in the old Presbyterian meeting house to receive the ministration of the Rev. Noah Coe. The latter have long since passed away, to be succeeded by others whose hair is now white in turn and whose sight is dimmed by age. To all of my friends and acquaintances who may be present at the celebration and banquet, I present my sincere regards, and I hereby express to the members of the Committee of Invitation my thanks for the courtesy extended to myself and family.

Yours, very respectfully,

EDWIN H. GOODRICH.

FROM REV. WILLIAM L. PAGE.

12 WAVERLY PLACE, ROCHESTER, June 14, 1888.

Rev. I. N. Terry—Dear Brother: I write you a few words for the historian at the coming celebration at New Hartford. I take this liberty as in the year 1862 I supplied for some time the pulpit in the Presbyterian church in New Hartford, stopping in the family, Sabbath days, of old Mr. Sherrill of blessed memory. My grandparents, Minnierva Hale, and Lucinda Patrick Hale, his wife, were among the early settlers of New Hartford. After spending two years here, Judge Sanger induced them to buy land of him in Sangerfield. So they became the very first settlers of that town. Judge Jones, in his Annals of Oneida County, gives the date of Hale's settlement in Sangerfield with accuracy. Just two years previous to that date they came to New Hartford. At that time there was only one log house in the city of Utica, occupied by two men engaged in gathering ginseng root. This can be taken for accurate statement of historical fact, notwithstanding contradictory statements have been made within a year or two. My grandparents came from Columbia county via Hudson and Mohawk rivers on a flatboat, poling their way. At Utica they landed. Needing help to get their goods up the bank, Mrs. Hale went to the log house. Both men were in. The door stood open, and one who first caught sight of this unexpected visitant exclaimed: "My God! where did you come from?" The other immediately said: "If the Lord has sent us a woman, don't use such language as that." She had only to tell her errand, and both men were on their way to help, while she remained in the cabin. While living in New Hartford they buried two children, both born there. The grave of the first child was the first burial in the old New Hartford burying ground by the roadside. The funeral sermon was preached by the Indian minister, Rev. Samson Occom, author of the hymn beginning, "Awakened by Sinai's awful sound." My grandmother lived to see a large congregation gathered around the spot where she laid her first born child. In Sangerfield they raised a family of ten children, only one of whom now survives, Mrs. Lucinda Hale Mills of Oaks Corners, Ontario county, N. Y. The farm cleared by Minnierva Hale in Sangerfield has never passed out of the possession of the family, being now owned by his grandson, A. Jerome Hale, of Waterville. In the cemetery at Sangerfield Center, a magnificent monument has been erected upon the Hale lot by A. Jerome Hale. Yours most respectfully,

WILLIAM L. PAGE.

FROM REV. PETER KIMBALL.

PERTH AMBOY, June 25, 1888.

In the fourth month of my 96th year, I write without any glasses as follows: I went to New Hartford, October 26, 1816. Rev. Noah Coe was the Presbyterian minister, Samuel Dakin, a village teacher, Wm. Curtis, grocer, Samuel Lyon, paper maker, and Judge Sanger, Richard Sanger and Messrs. Randall, Allen, Richardson, Porter, Higby, Seymour, Sherrill, Allen and Dr. Northrup were some of the prominent men. I began teaching a village school November 5, 1816, and continued to April, 1818. In my school were Wm. Curtis, Jr., Morgan Francis, Truman Butler, John and Perces Lyon, Cordelia Richardson, Wm. Porter, Julia Porter, Betsy Seymour, Julia Sherrill, Edwin and Allen Sherrill, Joseph Butler and others. To me these were pleasant memories; only wish I had better known how to help my pupils. I recall Dr. Babcock, Mr. Bronson, Mr. Lanterman, Hunting Sherrill Pierce and his dear Dicey, Mrs. Randall, Mrs. E. Kellogg, James Dean. The execution of John Tuhi for murder took place at Utica, in the presence of 10,000 people. The winter of 1817 was very cold, good sledding with six inches of snow. I well recall Mrs. Root and her son, who were so kind to me in 1879, and Rev. Mr. Terry, the Presbyterian minister. Also Mrs. Foster, daughter of Mr. Dakin; Mrs. McElroy and her sister and husband Dr. Babcock.

PETER KIMBALL.

FROM REV EDWARD B. FURBISH.

LOCKPORT, June 27, 1888.

My Dear Friend: The kind invitation from your committee to be present at the exercises celebrating the "Centennial" year of the beautiful village of New Hartford was duly received. Am sorry that my desires to be present are overwhelmed by pastoral duties. Their "lines have fallen in pleasant places" who have had their homes among the beautiful hills which mark the union of the Sauquoit and Mohawk valleys, and whose lives have been affected by the best of men from New England, Scotland and the north of Ireland. May the influences of the day, with review of the past, strengthen the holy purpose to perpetuate the blessings which the past has given to the present. With much love for the village and people, Sincerely yours,

EDWARD B. FURBISH.

June 28.

Our regret was sent late hoping until the last we might be able to attend. Then being called out of the city to attend a funeral did not return in time to send congratulatory telegram as I would like to have done. With regard and regrets, E. B. F.

FROM REV. CHARLES W. HAYES.

WESTFIELD, N. Y., June 20, 1888.

My Dear Mr. Root: I thank you sincerely for your kind invitation to attend the Centennial Commemoration of the Settlement of New Hartford. I should not let any slight consideration prevent my accepting it, but I am obliged to attend a meeting at Geneva on that day, on some important church matters,

and must deny myself the great pleasure of meeting you and other old friends at such a specially interesting festival. For myself, and those of my family who are old enough to remember it, our residence at New Hartford, now some thirty years ago, (1857 to 1863) is still, and always will be, a delightful memory; and we hope and pray that God's blessing may be upon the dear old place and its people for all time to come. With very kind regards, I am,

Yours very truly, CHARLES W. HAYES.

FROM PRESIDENT DARLING.

HAMILTON COLLEGE, CLINTON, N. Y., June 25, 1888.

Lynott B. Root, Esq., Chairman Committee of Invitation New Hartford Centennial—My Dear Sir: I regret that absence from home will prevent my presence at the New Hartford Centennial Anniversary. Such occasions, recalling local history, should not fail to excite the deepest interest, and are in many ways exceedingly profitable. Thanking your committee for its kind invitation, I am, Sincerely yours, HENRY DARLING.

FROM GEORGE P. SANGER.

UNION CLUB, BOSTON, June 25, 1888.

Lynott B. Root, Esq., Chairman Committee of Invitation, New Hartford, N. Y.—Dear Sir: I regret that I cannot accept the invitation, received this day, with which I am honored by your committee, to attend the Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of New Hartford, N. Y., to be observed at that place on the 27th inst. From my earliest boyhood I have heard of that town and of the connection of Judge Sanger, a brother of my grandfather Sanger with it, and it would give me great pleasure if I could, to be there at its Centennial Jubilee; but unfortunately for me it will be impossible. With thanks to the Committee for the Invitation, I am,

Yours very truly,
GEORGE P. SANGER.

FROM SPENCER S. EAMES.

NEWARK, June 25, 1888.

Mr. Lynott B. Root, Chairman—Dear Sir: I had hoped to be able to accept the invitation extended to me by your committee to attend the Centennial Celebration at New Hartford on the 27th inst., but business engagements which I find impossible to postpone prevent my leaving home on that day. I regret being denied the privilege of participating in the pleasures of the day with you. Extending to the gentlemen who compose your committee my kind regards, believe me, Sincerely yours,
SPENCER S. EAMES.

FROM WILLIAM K. LOTHROP.

NEW YORK, June 25, 1888.

Lynott B. Root, Esq., Chairman, New Hartford—Dear Sir: I regret more than I can express, my inability to accept your very kind invitation to attend

the Centennial Anniversary of the Settlement of New Hartford, N. Y. Trusting that the celebration may be a memorable event in the history of Oneida county, I am, with respect, Yours very truly,

WILLIAM K. LOTHROP.

FROM REV. D'ESTAING JENNINGS.

ST. PAUL'S RECTORY, WHITE HAVEN, Pa., June 19, 1888.

L. B. Root, Chairman—Dear Sir: Permit me to thank you for your very kind invitation to your Centennial Anniversary, and to say that I can think of nothing which would give me greater pleasure than to be with you on June 27th, were it at all convenient for me to do so. But I am tied up from that pleasure. My thoughts will be with you, certainly. Wishing a complete success to your undertaking, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

d'ESTAING JENNINGS.

FROM REV. LOUIS J. SELLIEZ.

PHILADELPHIA, June 13, 1888.

Lynott B. Root, Chairman—My Dear Sir: I am in receipt of an invitation to the Centennial of the Settlement of New Hartford. There being nothing in it to indicate to whom I am indebted for this great courtesy I take the liberty of presuming that it must be from you. I wish, therefore, to tender my grateful acknowledgments for the same and to express my profound regret at my inability to be present upon so interesting an occasion. With my congratulations for what has been accomplished, and best wishes for the future prosperity of New Hartford, I remain with the assurance of my high esteem,

Sincerely yours, LOUIS J. SELLIEZ.

FROM EDWARD LOOMIS.

ONEIDA, June 16, 1888.

Mr. John F. Seymour—Dear Sir: It has been suggested to me that you were likely to have some part in the New Hartford celebration, and that the following items, connected with the history of my father who was a life-long resident of Westmoreland, and who died there in April, 1854, might be regarded as of some special interest on that occasion.

Erastus Loomis emigrated to this town (Westmoreland) in 1794, and in 1797 was employed to "ride post" between Whitesboro and New Hartford, in this county, and Cazenovia, now Madison county. He made his trips weekly on horseback, carrying two newspapers, (the only ones printed at that time in the county,) one published by a Mr. McLean, at New Hartford, and the other by a Mr. Barnard, at Whitesboro, and also carried whatever letters there were of importance for individuals residing west of Whitesboro, as there was at that time no post office west of that place in Central New York. Those letters he carried in his coat pocket, and received for each, one shilling.

It illustrates the character of this employment, at this time, when it is stated that there was no house standing from Judge Dean's (now Hecla) to Wamps, (now Wampsville,) a distance of fourteen miles.

Respectfully yours, EDWARD LOOMIS.

Regrets were also received from Mrs. Harriet McLean Moss, of Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Harriet Wells Royce, of Albion, N. Y.; Mrs. Fannie Squire, of Oakland, Cal., and many others.

The names of some fourteen hundred persons were registered by them during the day, in the book kept for that purpose.

Nothing but the highest praise was heard on every side for the banquet, which was so elegantly served by the entertainment committee, with George W. Rice as chairman, efficiently assisted by Thomas W. Marks, M. T. Canfield, C. O. Jones and others, and the ladies' auxiliary, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Frazier, with the aid of other members of her committee. The success was more than creditable. At table number one, where the special guests of the day were served with an elaborate bill of fare, Miss Rena Bailey presided, and was most efficiently assisted by Misses Fannie Richardson, Lizzie G. Griswold, Mrs. William French, Mrs. Prescott, Miss Delia Prescott, Miss Jennie Barnes and Miss Mallory. At table No. 2, Miss Anna Kellogg, presided, assisted by Misses Mary and Lettie Cook, Miss Fannie Case, Miss Addie Newell, Mrs. Wallace Cheney, Miss Madge Patterson, Miss Jennie Gough, Misses Lizzie, Carrie and Ella Hatfield.

Dr. M. M. Bagg offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the guests at this centennial, are unwilling to separate without giving expression to the gratification we have enjoyed in the exercises of the day, and acknowledging our thanks to all who have taken part in the preparation and the carrying out of its proceedings. To the committees, both of ladies and gentlemen, who have so successfully contributed to our intellectual, social and physical enjoyment, we feel truly indebted, while they have provided speakers who delighted us with reminiscences of the past and eloquently impressed upon us the lessons of the occasion, they have cheered us with a hospitality which is unparalleled, overflowing in measure and dispensed alike to every comer.

The formal exercises closed at 5 P. M., after which a parade of the Calithumpians, under the command of Grand Marshal C. O. Jones. It was headed by Hutchins' band, and in the line were

about fifty mounted Indians, cowboys, Spaniards, clowns, etc., a drum corps, and fantastics on foot.

FIREWORKS.

The crowd was largely augmented in the evening by visitors from Utica. All the Belt Line cars from various lines which could be spared were brought into requisition, and they were crowded to the roof. Probably a thousand people went up from Utica in the evening. The fireworks furnished by George A. Clark & Co., of Utica, were displayed as soon as it was dark enough, and the display was a very fine one. First animal balloons were sent up to amuse the children. Then the following set pieces were sent up from the front of the Golden place, amid the hearty applause of the assembled throng: "New Hartford, 1788–1888," double American star, Polka dance, brilliant cross, ha! ha! fairy dance, sun of glory, falling waters, American star, Swiss triangle, beautiful bombs and flights of rockets, race between Cleveland and Harrison fire balloons, and "good night." The race between the fire balloons was a very interesting and exciting one. Both republicans and democrats claimed a victory for their favorite balloons. Altogether the display of fireworks was one of the most enjoyable events of the day, and fitly closed the New Hartford Centennial.

APPENDIX.

THE OLD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

BY REV. E. H. PAYSON.

At the regular meeting of the Oneida Historical Society, on January 28, 1889, Rev. E. H. Payson, formerly pastor of the Presbyterian church of New Hartford, read a historical sketch of that church, of which an abstract is here given:

The original settlers of the town were from New England, where they had been taught the value of religion and religious instruction in promoting the highest interests, the greatest prosperity of any people. Under influences like these, they sought at an early day to erect in their new home a standard of Christianity, and to build an altar around which they might congregate, and from which might ascend the incense of thanksgiving and praise to the great giver of all good. They therefore engaged earnestly in preparing the way for the public worship of God, and to establish on a permanent foundation the institutions and ordinances of the gospel.

The first record that I find having reference to the formation of a religious society is the following: At a society meeting called according to law, held at the barn of Jedediah Sanger, in Whitestown, the sixth day of June, 1791, Joseph Higbee, moderator, voted that the subscribers to the covenants, which circulated in the New Hartford and Middle Settlement, so called, in said Whitestown, for the purpose of promoting a religious society, and to build a meeting house, will abide the judgment of Ephraim Blackman, James Dean and Captain Isaac Jones respecting the place where said meeting house shall be built. At this time there was considerable rivalry between this place and the neighborhood south, each striving to be the greatest. The influence and liberality of Judge Sanger succeeded in fixing it on the present site. On June 20, 1791, the following trustees were elected: Jedediah Sanger, James Steel, Needham Maynard, Jesse Kellogg, Nathan Seward, Joseph Jennings, Uriah Seymour, John Tillotson and William Stone. It

was voted that the name of the society should be "The First Religious Society of Whitestown," and this name, only changing the name of the town, it still retains. Rev. Dr. Hillye was preaching at Whitesboro at the time, but no religious organization then existed there.

The church was organized by Rev. Jonathan Edwards, D. D., then a pastor in New Haven, Conn., August 27, 1791. The meeting for this purpose was held in Mr. Sanger's barn. At its organization it consisted of thirteen members, as follows: Joseph Higbee, Thomas Gaylord, Jotham Gaylord, Bildad Merrill, Jonathan Nurse, John Tillotson, Ephraim Smith, Kirkland Griffin, Solomon Kellogg, Salmon Butler, Elias Hopkins, Ruth Kellogg and Elizabeth Tillotson. Mrs. Dolly Wells, wife of Samuel Wells, was the first person uniting with it after its organization. The polity of the church at first was Congregational, and was retained until 1802, when the Presbyterian form of government was adopted and since retained. Rev. Daniel Bradley accepted a call and was formally installed pastor in February, 1792. Mr. Bradley was not only the first pastor of the church, but the only pastor in all the new settlements in this region. He continued as pastor until December, 1794.

There is some discrepancy in the records as to the exact time when the house of worship was built. It was probably commenced in 1791, but was not completed until 1792. In the building contract is an item which stipulates that the society shall be at the expense of raising the house, except the liquor and the master workman. The church was finally dedicated November 29, 1797. December 25, 1795, a resolution was adopted thanking Judge Sanger for a lot of land of 110 acres. The church was destitute of a pastor for two years after Rev. Mr. Bradley resigned, and Rev. Mr. Steele served the ensuing three months.

In June, 1796, Rev. Joshua Johnson was called, and he was installed October 25, of the same year. The statement that there was an ordination ball at that time is not correct, and so far as I have any authority I desire to contradict it. The church increased in numbers. December 15, 1800, Mr. Johnson was dismissed and for two years the society was again without a pastor.

October 6, 1802, it was voted to proceed to the choice of ruling elders. In the month previous, Thomas Gaylord was chosen delegate to the first meeting of the Oneida Presbytery. October 6, 1802, the first elders were chosen, and they were installed October

31. They were Thomas Gaylord, Ithomar Parsons and Ashbel Beach.

Rev. Samuel F. Snowden was installed September 9, 1802, as pastor of the church. He was dismissed at his own request in October, 1813. In this year the church was formed in Utica and Rev. Henry Dwight was ordained and installed as pastor of the First Presbyterian church, Utica.

In February, 1814, Rev. Noah Coe was called as pastor, and he was installed October 19, 1814. His ministry occupied more than one-third of the entire time of the church, and it enjoyed its season of greatest prosperity. At the time he began his labors there were less than 100 members, but during his ministry there were many revivals. In 1816, 1819, 1820, the revivals added over 100 members to the church. September 1, 1824, St. Stephen's Episcopal church was organized by Rev. Mr. Treadway. Their church was consecrated September 4, 1826, by Bishop Hobart.

In 1826, extensive repairs were made to the Presbyterian church, the galleries being taken down and the location of the pulpit was changed from the side to the end. About 60 families were added in 1826, the pastor being assisted by Rev. Mr. Phinney and Rev. Mr. Nash. In 1831 over 100 members. During Mr. Coe's pastorate there were added, 425 by profession and 114 by letter, a total of 539. In March, 1835, the pastoral relation was dissolved.

In April of the same year Rev. Moses C. Searle began preaching to the people and in September he was installed pastor. In 1838, 30 were added to the church, and in 1841, about 20. In 1839 a class forming the Methodist Episcopal church was organized. January, 1842, their house of worship was dedicated. Mr. Searle was dismissed in June, 1845.

On the last Sunday in that month I began to preach to the church, and was installed as pastor October 14, 1845. In the spring of 1848, 20 were added to the church. During the first six years of my ministry 66 were added. In 1851 the church was entirely remodeled, and after the work was finished $100 was left in the treasury. Following are the names of those who have been officers of the church to the time of my pastorate:

Thomas Williams and Ephraim Smith were elected deacons at the organization of the church. It was then Congregational. Bildad Merrill was elected deacon in 1798 to fill the place of Mr. Smith, resigned. The first elders were Thomas Parsons, Thomas Gaylord, Ashbel Beach, elected October 9, 1802; Constantine Seymour and Gustavus Kilburn, January 24, 1808; Samuel Hecox in

1813; Ammi Doubleday and Uriel H. Kellogg, July 14, 1817; Hunting Sherrill Pierce, Charles Land and James Wells, July 3, 1824; Lewis Sherrill and Abiram Mills, June 30, 1827; Ezekiel Williams, November 5, 1828; Warren Gates and Nathan Williams, June 22, 1833; John A. Reed and Dan C. Mills, July 2, 1837; Herman Baldwin, Joseph Allen Sherrill and Isaac T. Teller, May 2, 1841.

FAMILY OF JEDEDIAH SANGER.

From his Family Bible, in Oneida Historical Society, and other sources.

CHILDREN OF RICHARD AND DEBORAH SANGER.

1. ZEDEKIAH, born Nov. 27, 1730, O. S.
2. DEBORAH, " Mar. 4, 1732, "
3. SAMUEL, " July 7, 1735, "
4. DEBORAH, " Nov. 12, 1737, "
5. DANIEL, " Feb. 13, 1739, "
6. MARY, born Sept. 30, 1742, O. S.
7. JOHN " Feb. 24, 1746, "
8. ZEDEKIAH, " Oct. 4, 1748, "
(1) 9. JEDEDIAH, " Feb. 17, 1751, "
10. ASA, " May 11, 1753, "

The addition of eleven days to the above dates, severally, converts them from Old to New Style. Hence—

(1) JEDEDIAH SANGER was born Feb. 28, 1751, N. S.; died June 6, 1829.
Married Sarah Rider, May 1771, who died Sept. 26, 1814.
Sarah B. Kissam, Aug. 31, 1815, who died April 23, 1825.
Fanny Dench, Oct. 3, 1827, who died May 1842.

CHILDREN OF JEDEDIAH SANGER (1) AND SARAH RIDER.

1. SARAH, born May 2, 1772; died May 12, 1777.
(2) 2. SARAH, born March 8, 1778; died Aug. 12, 1861.
Married John Eames in 1794, who died March 23, 1823.
3. WALTER, born March 1, 1781; died Jan. 1, 1802.
4. ZEDEKIAH, born April 1783; died Sept. 1802.

CHILDREN OF JOHN EAMES AND SARAH SANGER (2).

1. ORLANDO, born June 24, 1795; died June 25, 1849; married Sylvia Seward, Oct. 8, 1818; born Jan. 24, 1799; died Sept. 28, 1849.
2. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, born June 26, 1797; died March 26, 1815.
3. ELBRIDGE GERRY, born March 28, 1800; married Sarah Caulkins, Feb. 14, 1822.
4. SARAH SANGER, born March 4, 1803; died Feb. 15, 1887; married Spencer Stafford, Jr., June 21, 1821, who died Oct. 26, 1866.
5. WALTER, born June 23, 1805; married Elizabeth Jessup.
6. JEDEDIAH SANGER, born Sept. 26, 1807; died April 8, 1836; married Helen J. Crary, Feb. 25, 1829; born Oct. 5, 1810; died Sept. 28, 1846.
7. JULIA ANN, born April 3, 1810; died 1863; married Maynard French, Jan. 1829, who died June 17, 1866.

8. CHARLES PINCKNEY, born May 22, 1812; died April 30, 1831.
9. CHARLOTTE M., born Feb. 17, 1816; died Aug. 14, 1848.

CHILDREN OF ORLANDO EAMES (3) AND SYLVIA SEWARD.

1. SARAH S., born Oct. 12, 1819; died April 7, 1849.
2. MARIA H., born Oct. 25, 1821; married John K. Adams, Aug. 28, 1851; who died April 26, 1855.
3. LUCIA MARY, born Oct. 25, 1823; died Nov. 13, 1848.
4. SPENCER S., born June 24, 1826; married Mary A. C. Trowbridge, June 25, 1856.

CHILDREN OF E. GERRY EAMES (3) AND SARAH CAULKINS.

1. JOHN, born March 13, 1826; married Mary E. Fishuse, May 18,1851; died Aug. 17, 1870.
2. CHARLOTTE, born 1828; married, June 19, 1848; died 1849.
3. CHARLES, born Nov. 19, 1833; died Dec. 27, 1874.

CHILDREN OF SARAH S. EAMES (3) AND SPENCER STAFFORD, JR.

1. SPENCER H., born April 7, 1822; died Dec. 25, 1888; married Esther Dudgeon, April 7, 1853, who died Feb. 25, 1870.
2. JOHN EAMES, born Feb. 1, 1824; died Aug. 10, 1860.
3. JEDEDIAH S., born June 22, 1826; died Feb. 24, 1828.
4. EMELIA ANTHON, born June 21, 1829; died Feb. 4, 1839.
5. WALTER S. E., born July 10, 1830.
6. SARAH MARIA, born May 22, 1833; married Rev. Thomas N. Benedict, Nov. 14, 1854.
7. CORNELIA WINNE, born May 21, 1836; died June 2, 1884.

CHILDREN OF WALTER S. EAMES (3) AND ELIZABETH JESSUP.

1. WILLIAM L., born Nov. 29, 1838; died Oct. 1868.
2. ALICE S., born March 31, 1840; married Dr. William R. Fox, Oct. 6, 1859; died Dec. 17, 1872.
3. FANNIE S., born April 1, 1842; married James L. Hall, May 29, 1867.
4. CHARLES E., born Dec. 14, 1844; married Maggie Duncan, July 19, 1866.

CHILDREN OF JEDEDIAH S. EAMES (3) AND HELEN J. CRARY.

1. JULIA F., born Jan. 4, 1831; died March 10, 1850.
2. SARAH E., born Feb. 7, 1833; died Jan. 3, 1834.
3. HELEN E., born Jan. 24, 1836; married Charles Hamilton, Aug. 23, 1854.

CHILDREN OF MAYNARD FRENCH AND JULIA ANN EAMES (3).

1. JEDEDIAH SANGER, born March 26, 1830; died April 19, 1848.
2. SARAH EAMES, born July 21, 1832; died Nov. 21, 1840.
3. CHARLES, born Sept. 3, 1834; died Sept. 1834.

4. JOHN MAYNARD, born Sept. 7, 1835; died Oct. 15, 1840.
5. CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA, born Oct. 20, 1837; married William H. Taylor, December 23, 1861, who died April 27, 1863.
6. JULIA MAYNARD, born Jan. 2, 1841.
7. RICHARD HENRY, born Oct. 22, 1842; married Percy Thompson, July 4, 1871.
8. MAYNARD, born March 6, 1845.
9. THOMAS FINE, born Jan. 22, 1848.
10. WILLIAM BRADFORD, born Feb. 20, 1850; died Nov. 11, 1853.

INHABITANTS OF NEW HARTFORD IN 1790.

The following is a list of the male heads of families residing in New Hartford in 1790, from the United States census of the town of Whitestown, in 1790, published in the Oneida Historical Society's Transactions, 1884.

Atwater, Asaph,
Beach, Ashbel,
Blair, Joel,
Blodgett, Solomon,
Bushnell, Stephen,
Collins, Oliver,
Cook, Trueworthy,
Gaylord, Jotham,
Gurney, Bezelial,
Hale, Memon,
Heminway, Isaac,
Higby, Joseph,
Ives, Amos,
Jennings, Joseph,
Jewett, Samuel,
Kellogg, Aaron,
Kellogg, Frederick W.,
Kellogg, Freeman,
Kellogg, Jacob,
Kellogg, Jesse,
Kellogg, Solomon,
Kellogg, Stephen,
Kelsey, Nathan,
Miller, Amock,
Nurse, Jonathan,
Olmstead, Ashbel,
Olmstead, Gamaliel,
Risley, Allen,
Risley, Elijah,
Sanger, Jedediah,
Savage, Gideon,
Staples, George,
Seward, Nathan,
Steel, James,
Tillotson, John,
Wells, Samuel,
Williams, Thomas,
Williams, Ezekiel.

IS LOCAL HISTORY WORTH STUDYING?

BY PROF. FRANCIS M. BURDICK,
Of Cornell University.

ANNUAL ADDRESS BEFORE THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 11, 1887.

In his address to the law-school graduates, at the recent Harvard celebration, the younger Wendell Holmes made this striking assertion: "The law has got to be stated over again. The work" necessary to this restatement "is now being done. Under the influence of Germany science is gradually drawing legal history into its sphere. The facts are being scrutinized by eyes microscopic in intensity and panoramic in scope."

The same may be said of general history. It must be rewritten. And here, too, the work necessary to the new version, or rather to the new history is being done. Here, too, eyes microscopic in intensity are discerning facts hitherto unknown, and eyes of panoramic scope are discovering the true relations of these new facts to each other and to old facts.

The original, fruitful historian of to-day, is not a mere chronicler. Battles and sieges, emperors and princes, speeches and diplomacy, legislation and statecraft are not the only subjects of his narrative. He delves beneath the surface to discover the sources of all religious, social, economic and civil phenomena.

It is in the search for these sources, that the rich and hitherto unworked veins of local history have been discovered. The rush of historical students to these new regions of investigation may well be likened to the stream of adventurers that overflowed the new gold fields of California. Local historical societies are springing up on every hand. A mere list of those in the United States fills a good sized pamphlet, while a volume of several hundred pages is needed to contain a bibliography of their publications.

Such has been the zeal evinced in this new field of research, and so thorough and minute are the inquiries pressed, that skepticism has already uttered its *cui bono?* and in *ex-cathedra* tones has announced that "the history of the town pump business is being overdone."

It is the question thus raised of the worth and the limits of local historical inquiry that we are to consider to-night.

Is the labor now put upon the study of local history wasted? A sufficient answer to this question, I submit, is afforded by the achievements of the Oneida Historical Society. It has gathered much historical material which must always remain valuable. It has identified and marked by appropriate monuments interesting historic sites. Names and deeds which richly deserve to live in memory have been rescued from oblivion. Interest in local annals has been quickened. It has shown that the life of every community is worth studying and recording, and that a community does not gain a proper sense of self-respect without such attention to its own history.

If we pass from the work of one society to the results attained by the whole body of investigators in local history, the answer becomes clear and overwhelming. It is not my purpose to attempt an enumeration of these results, for they are as the sands for multitude. I can hope to do no more than give samples of their achievements.

Their effects have been most fruitful in the study of institutions. A hundred years ago it was generally held that the State had its origin in the social compact made between men in the primitive state of nature. Closely connected with this doctrine was the belief in a well defined law of nature, by which all human laws were to be tested. These ideas produced not only most fantastic explanations of existing institutions, but pernicious theories of government. To-day the law of nature and the social compact are exploded theories. How were they shattered? By brilliant speculation? Not at all; but by the most careful and painstaking investigations into the origin and development of particular communities by the microscopic study of local history.

To Rousseau or Hobbes or Locke, the patient delving in musty records, in dry chronicles, in antiquated customs, of Maine, Coulanges, Von Maurer, Nasse or Laveleye, would have seemed ludicrous. But such delving has revolutionized political and institutional history. I do not wish to be understood as intimating that these distinguished writers have personally engaged in compiling the annals of petty communities—in chronicling the fortunes of the town pump. But I wish to emphasize the fact, that they have made free use of such chronicles—that without them their epoch making books would have been impossible. I will go farther, and assert that whoever produces a careful, accurate history of any town, village or city of Oneida county is doing work which sooner or later will prove useful to such master thinkers. This, I say,

because these writers have demonstrated the unity of history. No man liveth to himself. Nations and even petty societies act and react on each other—their history is more or less intertwined. More than this—it has been shown that analogies numerous and striking "exist between customs and institutions of countries and times most remote." As these analogous institutions have been more closely scrutinized, it has been discovered that they are not fortuitous, but are survivals of ideas and practices of a primitive age, or are copied by one society from another, or are the inventions of people similarly circumstanced. In whatever way they arise, their existence is conclusive evidence of the unity of the human race and the solidarity of its history—the fellowship of its fortunes. In the light of this discovery history no longer appears a mass of disconnected fragments, but reducible to a body of organized knowledge, no part of which can be perfectly understood, without an acquaintance with every other part. If this view is correct, every true historian must be such as Mr. Freeman describes—he must know everything that is to be known of some period or country. Here he must be minute, even microscopic in his investigations. At the same time he must have such a general acquaintance with the history of other times and lands as will enable him to appreciate the significance of the facts he has discovered, and their relations to those disclosed by other workers. He must know the part which the nation or community he is studying has played in the great drama of human development.

Perhaps one of the best examples of the valuable results to be gained by the minute study of local customs, is that of Laveleye's history of land ownership. Most patiently and carefully did he explore the history of a great number of communities—modern and ancient, European, Asiatic, African and American, with this conclusion—that the earliest ownership of land was communistic, while the idea of individual property in land is comparatively modern. It is true so much of his conclusion as asserts that community ownership is the primitive tenure by which land was held has been called in question by later writers—but they have followed Laveleye's method of investigation—and agree with him so far as this, that nearly every branch of the human race at some stage of its development has treated its land as common property. And this is the essential part of his doctrine. Such a discovery throws a flood of light on many obscure points in law and history, as a single illustration will show. The common lands of the English manor were, until quite recently, looked upon by historians,

and still are by lawyers, as originally the exclusive property of the lord of the manor; and the rights of common enjoyed by the tenants were ascribed either to feudal rules or the lord's generosity. But this theory is now seen to be untenable. The manor is now known to have succeeded the village community, and the lord's waste was nothing else than lands which were formerly owned in common by the villagers—who had changed into the tenants of the feudal lord. Whatever claim the lord had acquired over these common lands, had resulted from sheer encroachments on the rights of the tenants. These common lands in England were very extensive when their enclosure by the feudal chiefs began in the thirteenth century, and the early statutes, like those of Merton and Westminster second, virtually recognized ownership in the tenants. But as the barons controlled Parliament, they had no difficulty in establishing by legislative acts their own claims and dispossessing their tenants whenever they desired. Although this policy continued from Henry III to Victoria, so stubbornly did the tenants resist, that as late as 1845 the common lands in England and Wales embraced about eight million acres, nearly one-fourth of the whole territory. During that year a general act was passed authorizing the division and enclosure of every variety of common. This was to be made according to the theory which has already been referred to—a theory that sprung up after the origin of the manor became obscure—that the lord was the owner of the soil, and the tenant entitled only to a share in its use for specific purposes; or in the language of the lawyer that the first had the fee, the second an easement. Under this act more than five million acres have been divided, of which two-thirds have gone to the lords of manors—to the impoverishment of many a tenant and the economic injury of the State. When Russian serfdom was abolished, the peasant communities retained their common lands while English tenants under enclosure acts are deprived of theirs. This does not indicate that a Russian czar has a keener sense of justice or greater wisdom than a British Parliament. It happened because in Russia the historic relations of the communities to the land were known, while in England they had been forgotten, and their rediscovery came too late. It has been asserted by a competent judge, that had such a work as Laveleye's appeared two generations ago, no such legislation as that of 1845 could have been enacted. The English people, with the knowledge now possessed of common lands, would have seen that they went to those who were historically as well as justly entitled to them.

Sir Henry Maine is another writer who has demonstrated the importance of studying local institutions. In none of his masterly writings has he done this more clearly than in his work devoted to establishing the kinship of Indian and European village communities. Much of the data upon which he founds his argument was gathered at first hand, by personal investigation conducted on the spot, while engaged in the performance of official duties in India. He found that the whole course of Anglo-Indian administration was determined by the peculiar usages and institutions of the petty organizations into which the crowded population of India is grouped. He was led to study them, therefore, by practical considerations, as well as by an academic interest in their history. None of his information he assures us was obtained from "the slippery testimony concerning savages which is gathered from travelers' tales." All that was not the result of personal observation was gained from experienced British administrators or educated natives. In this respect he differs greatly from some of his predecessors. He does not find as Raynal and Diderot pretended to find in India a century ago, communities living in a state of nature and innocence. He does not undertake to ascribe all the peculiarities of the people of that country to their consumption of rice, as did Buckle, for he has taken pains before indulging in any such broad generalization to learn the fact, that rice is a product of the coast only and is not the ordinary food of the people. But the discovery which he did make was that the modern village community of India is identical with the village community of Europe; that these groups once common to the whole Aryan race had in India been arrested at an early stage of development, and with them many of the primitive Aryan institutions and ideas. He found "that a large part of ancient Europe survives in India."

Institutions which have been long dead in the Western World, or exist in a greatly modified and crippled condition, stood before his eyes in full life and activity. He was thus able to add to the researches of Von Maurer and Nasse, materials not to be obtained from the most profound study of European communities, and to apply to the whole body of facts the comparative method. New meaning is thus given to many of the customs which have been handed down from ancient times, and we are taught anew the lesson that we cannot fully understand our own institutions without studying those of distant ages and climes.

But it may be said, the local communities in this new land of

ours afford no such field for investigation as those of the old world, the study of our brief and modern life can yield no such fruit as that to be gathered in the mysterious East. This view did until quite recently prevail to the stifling of all thorough inquiry into our early institutional history. But the brilliant achievements of Maine, Freeman, Hearn and others won by the use of the comparative method in historical researches, have aroused a new spirit. Attention is now turned upon early American history, as never before. The first settlements in each colony are being subjected to the most microscopic scrutiny, often with novel, always with valuable results. Public authorities are printing the early records as well as all available documents relating to that formative period in our national life. Local historical societies are encouraging the production of monographs upon every stage in the development of communities. Universities are subjecting the origin and growth of our local institutions to the most minute and critical examination.

One of the most striking contrasts afforded by our local institutions, is that between the New England town and the Virginia county. It early arrested attention, but not until recently has any adequate investigation been made of the origin and course of development of these characteristic institutions. The explanation of their differences formerly given was that New England was settled by Puritans and Virginia by cavaliers. Even Bluntschli in his great work "The Theory of the State," seems to ascribe many of Virginia's peculiarities to the fact that "the Episcopal church with its aristocratic constitution found ready recognition there." A careful study of early local history shows that these explanations do not explain. The New England township is seen not to be an original creation of Puritan political genius, and the Virginia county not the result of cavalier perversion. When the Puritan settlers organized their petty self-governing communities, they reproduced in the main an institution of the mother country. The officers, the laws, the customs of these new towns were mostly copies, not inventions. Even the three constables, who by the town laws of Salem for 1676 were to be at the three great doors of the meeting house and allow none to go out till all the exercises were finished, to see that all the boys sat on the three pairs of stairs in the meeting house, including those of the pulpit, and to keep the dogs out of the meeting house, were not only officers well known to the English parish, but were then performing precisely the same duties as pertained to them there. Such characteristics of these

societies as are not conscious reproductions, are found to have their types in the more primitive village communities—in the peasant groups of Germany, the Russian mir or the Hindu village. In short the New England town came into being not because its inhabitants were Puritans, but because they were Englishmen, left free to build such political structure as was suited to the English love of freedom and their surroundings. The towns in Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies in 1630, did not differ so widely from the Virginia settlement of 1619 as is commonly thought. When the first representative assembly ever assembled in America met in James city on July 30, 1619, its members were not representatives of counties, but consisted of two burgesses summoned from three cities, three hundreds, three plantations, Argols gift and Kiccowtan. Ten years later, twenty-four settlements—not counties—sent burgesses. Not until 1631 did the consolidation of these primitive local units begin. The impulse in this direction was given not by the cavalier settlers but by orders from London. The original Virginia settlements had monthly courts and each had its church, which was the center of its social and political life as truly as was the meeting house in New England. From the very first it was made the duty of the captain of the watch in the Virginia settlement to take care that all should attend church service, and he was authorized to go in and out of private houses to see that no one was neglecting his duty, or profaning the Sabbath by gaming or otherwise. By a colonial act of 1624, "places for worship were to be provided in every plantation; and penalties were imposed upon minister or layman who failed to attend divine service." It is plain that the Puritans did not monopolize all the virtues, not even that of enacting Blue Laws.

Again we are told that the church door was the public advertising board of the parish, upon which all sorts of notices were posted, from that of a person's leaving the country to the crying of stray cattle—a good indication that the church was generally attended. Nor was the government of the church aristocratic—at least in theory. The vestry was composed of the minister and "the most sufficient and selected men" (in the language of the act of 1643) chosen by the freeholders and landholders of the parish. Extensive authority was exercised by the vestry. It chose the minister, fixed his salary and provided his glebe lands and house. It had charge of the poor. Every fourth year its members were to "procession," or as it was called in Old and New England "perambulate," that is, verify the bounds of each man's lands.

The church wardens, chosen by the vestry from its own number, could present criminals to the county court.

Another line of proof opposed to the theory that the town had its genesis in the Puritan congregation is afforded by the story of Puritan settlements in Virginia and Maryland. The first Puritan congregation of the New World was organized in southern Virginia by emigrants, who came over with Governor Dale, and some of whom stood high in his favor. It grew rapidly by reason of the Puritan emigration to America. These settlers, like those of New England, were from the sturdy and intelligent middle classes. Moreover, after the persecution of dissenters in Virginia which began in 1631, deprived some of the churches of ministers, they sent to Massachusetts for divines. Three went in response to this call; and thus the Virginia Puritans had the advantage not only of the spiritual but political instruction of men who had been pastors and leaders in New England towns. And yet we do not discover that the local institutions of the Virginia Puritans differed in any important respect from those of the cavaliers.

The same is true of the Maryland Puritans, the first of whom were refugees from Virginia. Their original settlement was near the present site of Annapolis. For a short period they formed a close community, quite like their brethren in New England. They were led to do this for purposes of defense. A tract of 250 acres was divided into lots of 15 acres, each settler taking one and the leader of the church holding the rest, evidently for the benefit of new comers. The colony soon began to receive additions from Virginia, but the new comers attracted by fertile and abundant land, took up large plantations, instead of Elder Bennett's small town lots. As soon as the original settlers found that they were in no danger of an attack from Indians or whites, they deeded their petty holdings to Bennett, and following the example of their more daring fellows, became extensive planters. These settlers were typical Puritans. In their struggle with Governor Stone for control of the colony, in their management of its affairs after their victory, in their compromise with Lord Baltimore, and in their subsequent history they showed themselves brave warriors, sagacious in politics, earnest in religion, devoted to the principle of local government. But all this did not enable them to evolve the township in colonies where soil and climate made the cultivation of vast estates by slave labor profitable.

Since the civil war and the abolition of slavery, villages, small towns and cities have been rapidly multiplying in the Southern

States. There is much reason to believe that with the change from the large plantation tilled by slaves, to moderate farms, a diversified industry and public schools, township government will supplant that of the county.

Another view of the town which is clearly seen to be mistaken in the light of recent research, is that presented by Mr. Palfrey—that it grew up in Massachusetts, and was thence borrowed by other colonies. Mr. Irving Elting published last year a monograph on the Dutch village communities along the Hudson, which presents in an admirable manner the evidence in support of the view that these towns were not copied from New England models, but originated in the local municipal institutions of Holland.

One of the villages described by Mr. Elting, has for the student of institutions a peculiar value. New Paltz was settled exclusively by French Huguenots. Now we know that the French settlements in America present a striking contrast to the English in the matter of local self-government. In not a single French colony do we find anything resembling the New England town, the New Netherland village, the Virginia parish. Nowhere were the French settlers allowed to govern themselves and nowhere did they display the least capacity for self-government. But this band of French refugees in New Paltz are no sooner domiciled in a land where they have the opportunity to govern themselves than they evince a desire and ability in that direction equal to the English or Dutch colonists. It is true that Dubois and his associates had spent some time in the Lower Palatinate before emigrating to America, and there had learned something of the local institutions of Germany. This experience has left its mark not only in the name given to their American home—New Paltz or Palatinate, but in the social and political usages, which were mainly those of the German village community—such as government by the Twelve Men and exclusive family proprietorship. And yet they must have possessed considerable capacity for self-government before leaving France, or their brief lessons in Germany would not have enabled them to make a successful experiment here. As we reflect on the bright fortunes of this French township by the Hudson, we cannot help fancying what would have been the present position of France and what the population and institutions of this continent, had French colonists been allowed freedom of political development. It is customary to ascribe the differences between French and English colonies to race peculiarities. But were they not due rather to the character

and policy of the home administration? The French monarchy had gathered up into its own hands all the powers of government. It was strong enough to extend its despotic sway to the pettiest American settlement. It kept sleepless watch of its colonists, both in guarding them against enemies and in managing their affairs. They were held in leading-strings, were never encouraged or permitted to think or act for themselves. In England the authority of the monarch was limited—the centralized despotism of Louis XIV was unknown. The English government, had it wished, could not have supervised its colonies as did the French. They were allowed to shift for themselves; to a great extent to found such local institutions as they pleased. As a result they rapidly outstripped their French rivals, not only in numbers but in political energy, and when the critical struggle between them came their superiority was quickly shown. Petted and vigilantly guarded, Canada was no match for her sturdy, because self-nurtured, English neighbors. France lost her colonies in America by over-care: England won a continent by neglecting hers.

One of the most interesting fields of inquiry entered by the student of American local history is that connected with the common-lands of the New England and New Netherland town. His investigations here have especial value just now, when so much is spoken and written in favor of State ownership of land. Appeals are often made by the supporters of this doctrine to the fact already spoken of—that private property in land is of modern origin, and arguments in its support are drawn from the equality of fortunes which characterized primitive political societies when the ownership of land was communistic. It is asserted that the aggregation of vast landed estates as in England follows naturally upon the State's surrender of its common ownership to individuals; that the only remedy for such evils is to return to the ancient practice. Now if there was ever a favorable opportunity for an experiment in this direction, it was afforded during the early colonial period. Fewer obstacles to its success cannot be imagined than then existed. Local institutions were plastic: there were no vested rights to be dealt with as in an old country: the majority of the first settlers were equals, socially, politically, in fortune. Moreover, without premeditation, seemingly by instinct, the settlers reverted to the primitive community ownership of lands. Towns regulated the use and disposition not only of the common-lands, but of individual holdings as well. Certainly here was promising progress toward State ownership. If one would learn

how general was the communistic tenure of lands during the early colonial period, he should read some of the monographs published under the editorship of Dr. Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, especially his papers on the village communities of Cape Ann and Salem. He will find there, also, some account of the method by which common property in land was transformed into individual property. Here, as in many other cases of social and political development in this country, we are able to trace every step in the process of transformation, and thus supply some that are not discoverable in old world history. It is not desirable at this time to follow the course of events in detail. This fact is, however, worthy of being emphasized. The change was brought about, not by old landowners—the aristocracy, so far as there was one, in these settlements—but by the landless class, the new men, the plebians. Everywhere the common holding of land, with community restrictions on its transfer was found harmful. In Salem, the town meeting, which in 1702 took the first step towards the abolition of communistic tenures, then declared that its action was taken "for the encouragement and growth of this town." The first statute passed in New York for the partition of lands held in common by the descendants of the primitive villagers, characterized such holding as a great detriment to the owners and to the prejudice of agriculture. Within a hundred years after the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth, common-land ownership was a thing of the past. It lingered longer in some of the less thriving communities, where remnants of it are still to be found; but wherever they exist, whether on Cape Cod, among the German mountains, in the Russian mir or in the Indian village, they are badges of an obsolete past.

Another line of research now receiving the attention of students of local history, is that of city institutions. Many valuable investigations into this subject have been made by legislative committees, and some suggestions have ripened into statutes. Newspapers have profitably discussed it. Still the field is far from being fully explored. We need a history of every city government. We would then have a basis for the formation of a wise public sentiment on the government of cities. Schemes of municipal reform may be grouped under three heads. *First*: the abolition of special charters and the organization of city governments under a general law. *Second*: concentrating the executive authority and responsibility in a single head, accountable by frequent elections to the people. *Third*: the separation of municipal powers into two classes

according as they pertain to its political functions, or its functions as a business corporation, and committing the first class to representatives of all the citizens, the second to the representatives of the corporation stockholders, that is the tax-payers.

The first plan does not seem to grow in favor. Experience shows that cities to be successful must be allowed to develop an individuality of their own; that every attempt to put them into the straight jacket of a general law, must result in dwarfing the city or splitting the jacket. The second has been productive of good results, though it must be confessed that it is still on trial. The third commands the support of nearly every person whose opinion on the subject is entitled to respect, and the determined opposition of all others. What is the source of this opposition? Is it not the confusion of thought resulting from a half-knowledge of city development? If our legislators were asked to frame a charter for a city which was to spring into existence upon territory hitherto unoccupied, the task of separating political from business functions would not be difficult. The task is very different when a community which has been a township, then a village, and finally yearns for the glory and the shame of city existence, asks for a charter. When this point in municipal evolution is reached, functions so easily separable in theory have been hopelessly entangled in practice, and interested parties and cliques combine to resist a change. It is right here that a careful study of the history of cities may prove extremely useful. Let it be made so general and popular that every citizen will understand just how the town changed into the city, and how clearly distinguishable are the functions, and the problem of municipal government will be far on its way to successful solution. The idea of the average citizen now is, I suppose, something like this: The town is the political unit of our system, the republican atom of our republican federation. Its affairs are ordered by the people. We pride ourselves on this fact. A city is but a town of larger growth. If the people are not to order its affairs, then let us confess that local self-government is a failure. His idea of the town is all right. It is his conception of the city which is faulty. He thinks it a unit when it is dual. He must be taught the fact, that just as the territory which was originally a township has been changed into a city by bringing upon that territory persons and property, the removal of which would cause the territory to revert to a township, so the town as a political organism has become the city by the addition of powers and privileges which could be withdrawn with-

out injury to the town. He will then see that there is no more difficulty in the town and the city exercising separate jurisdiction over the same territory, than in the case of the Federal and State governments. When the average voter once fully realizes that city functions proper are not political but business ones, that all political functions may be performed through the town, it ought to be an easy task to divide and redistribute municipal powers between these two organisms—two organisms which are logically and often historically distinct, but which have in American practice been wedded into a unity, much like that of husband and wife at common law, where the husband and wife were one, but the husband that one.

If the views presented—that the study of local history, not only ancient but modern, not only of community origins, but growth, can help us to solve the present pressing problems in politics and economics—are correct, then there are no bounds to be set to this branch of inquiry. It can proceed indefinitely and with incalculable usefulness.

Fields open on every hand, which have been little entered by historical societies, but may they not be made very fruitful? If I may be pardoned for indulging in speculation which may seem to imply a suggestion to those far more experienced than myself in this work, let me ask you to conjecture what would result if historical societies were able and disposed to encourage annual compilations of local history. Suppose this society had to-night a series of carefully compiled annals of Oneida County, or even of Utica. Could money purchase it? It may be impracticable to procure such of the future, but I am sure we have only to imagine the work well done to be convinced of its desirableness. True, most of the facts which would find their way into such annals are now treasured in the files of newspapers. They are accessible to but few, and the multitudinousness of their contents baffles search. Not so with brief, well digested summaries of such facts. They could be in the hands of every individual and easily consulted. Such papers could be made to mirror the social, business, political and religious life of the community. They could picture our manners, customs, condition. They would show the growth or decay of trade, of manufactures, of institutions. They would have for us not only an interest, but a specific commercial value, and by after ages would be esteemed more highly than the costliest material monuments.

THE GEOLOGY OF ONEIDA COUNTY.

BY REV. ALBERT P. BRIGHAM.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY MAY 28, 1888.

It is not expected in this paper to add anything to what is already known of the geology of Oneida County. The attempt will be rather to bring together in compact form, the chief facts about the rock history of the county, and their bearing upon its economical productions. It is obvious that no attention can be given to the organic remains, beyond the mention of a few prevailing types and characteristic species.

It is affirmed as probable by Professor Dana,[1] that the Lower Silurian age, in which he includes the Cambrian, was equal in duration to all the time which has since elapsed. Yet the rocks of Oneida County furnish a record which begins with the Archæan, passes up through the Lower Silurian and well on into the Devonian System. With a north and south range of about fifty miles, the county embraces at least sixteen fairly distinct geological horizons, exclusive of the Quaternary, and only counting those which exhibit outcrop within the limits of the county. Of these, five have their typical development here and take their names from our local geography. The county supplies none of the intricate problems of geology, its rock history being written in plain characters; mainly in undisturbed strata of organic and sedimentary deposits, with no derangement or modification, save by the ordinary geological forces.

The direction of outcrop of the successive formations is determined by the fact that the county lies at the southwestern base of the Archæan or Adirondack nucleus of the New York system. Thus the geological map shows the northwest and southeast bands, gradually assuming a more nearly east and west direction, until they take their place in the great lines of outcrop passing westward from the Hudson River region to Lake Erie and the Niagara River.

Beginning with the lowest member of the Oneida County series, the first to be noticed is the Archæan, or primary of the New York reports. These rocks were originally sedimentary, but have been

[1] Manual of Geology, page 211.

highly metamorphosed, upturned and crushed together, forming the gneisses, granites and other crystalline rocks of early geological time. They cover the northeast corner of the county, including the whole of Forestport, the northeast part of Remsen, and so much of Boonville as lies east and north of the Black River, this stream marking the boundary line. These rocks are a part of the Adirondack mass.

Passing upward, the rocks of the Cambrian age are wanting; at least none have yet been found. During the long period of their deposition upon the eastern border of the continent, Central New York was a region of elevation, and hence no sediments remain to mark the time. The next in order is the Calciferous Sandstone, so called from its mixture of calcareous and siliceous materials. The only reported locality of this rock in Oneida County is at a point in the bed of the West Canada Creek, on the boundary line of Herkimer County. It will be better known as the mass overlying the Archæan gneiss at Little Falls, and as affording an abundance of quartz crystals at Little Falls, Middleville and elsewhere. Its rough, knotty appearance is due to the weathering off of the particles of lime, leaving the hard, sandy portions. It is the first fossiliferous rock of Oneida County.

Above the calciferous we reach the Trenton Limestone. This rock is known to all by its profusion of fossil remains, its economical uses, and the scenery of its typical locality at Trenton Falls. Of the lower divisions of the Trenton, the Black River limestone has a limited development along the river of the same name in the town of Boonville. The main mass of the Trenton comes in from Lewis County, and is at that point, according to Mr. Vanuxem, about three miles wide, but is broader to the southeast.[2] It forms the chasm of the West Canada Creek and passes along its border into Herkimer County. Thus it includes the central part of Boonville, passing under the village from northwest to southeast, the northeastern part of Steuben, the western and southern parts of Remsen, a large part of Trenton and the northern part of Deerfield. Exposures of the limestone appear westward of its principal area, in the beds of streams, where the overlying slates and shales have been swept away. Such are the valleys of Steuben Creek, of Nine Mile Creek near Holland Patent, and extending by Stittville into Marcy, along the bed of Lansing Kil, Big Brook and the Mohawk River in Western. The gorge at Trenton Falls shows the two common varieties of this rock, the lower mass being

[2] Geology of Third District, page 260.

black, thin bedded, soft, composed almost wholly of organic forms, while the upper part is hard, crystalline, gray, thick bedded and massive. The Trenton fauna is exceedingly abundant, especially in corals, crinoids, crustaceans and the various classes of mollusca. A few of the common fossils are: Chaetetes Lycoperdon, Orthis Testudinaria, Pleurotomaria Lenticularis, several species of Orthoceratа or straight chambered Cephalopods, and Trilobites of the genera, Asaphus and Calymene. No more interesting rocks exist in Oneida County than the Trenton. They represent one of the great limestone making periods and exhibit most strikingly the part which organic forms have played in building up the earth's crust. Few localities have yielded a richer harvest to the palæontologist than the vicinity of Trenton Falls.[3]

The next rock as we ascend is the Utica slate, nearly black in color, fine grained, and decomposing rapidly under exposure. According to Mr. C. D. Walcott[4] it has a thickness in this, the typical locality, of six hundred feet. It has a characteristic fauna, largely distinct from the Trenton below and the Hudson River rocks above. Notable among the fossils are many species of graptolites, with their graceful and feather-like impressions often covering the upturned surface of the slate. To these fossils according to Mr. Vanuxem, the slates probably owe their carbonaceous matter and dark color. Another characteristic fossil is the Trilobite, Triarthrus Becki, whose heads, with their transverse furrows, may be found in great numbers in the gulf east of Third street, in the city of Utica. In extent of surface in this county, the slate considerably exceeds the Trenton. Entering from Herkimer County on the east, it covers Utica, Deerfield, except the top of Deerfield Hill and a narrow tract along West Canada Creek, that part of Whitestown along the Mohawk River, nearly all of Marcy, the southern part of Trenton, all of Floyd except an area near Floyd Corners, the eastern part of Rome, the central and western portions of Steuben, except the highest summits, nearly all of Western, the western part of Boonville and the eastern part of Ava. It thus passes northwest through the county, in a broad band parallel to the Trenton and from six to eight miles wide. Among the favorable localities for observing the rock and its

[3] Of especial interest in this connection, are the labors of Mr. C. D. Walcott of the United States Geological Survey, and Mr. Edward Hurlburt of Utica.

[4] Utica Slate and Related Formations, page 1. (Transactions Albany Institute, 1879.)

fossils are the gulf in East Utica, about Holland Patent, and the ravines in Deerfield.

The next rocks as we ascend in the series are the shales and sandstones of the Hudson River group. The members of the group are the Frankfort shale at the base, followed by the Lorraine or Pulaski shales. Where the rock enters the county on the eastern border of New Hartford, only the lower mass, or Frankfort shale, is present. It is a light brownish, arenaceous shale, deficient in fossils, and has some thin alternating bands of fine, compact sandstone. It appears in Sylvan Glen, east of Third street, is the mass at Forest Hill Cemetery and the hill to the southward, is seen at the bottom of Mason's quarry, a mile east of Washington Mills; also shows a thickness of forty feet in Halleck's Ravine, towards New Hartford village, and is seen at Ridge's Mill north of Rome, passing northward into Lewis County. It is further found in isolated patches north and east, having once covered a much larger area. These patches are on the top of Deerfield hill coming in from Schuyler, near Floyd Corners, and the highest parts of Steuben. The upper division of the group begins near Rome and extends northward through Lee and Annsville into Lewis County. By the creek near the railroad, on Mr. Greenfield's farm, a mile south of Rome, it shows several feet of blue, soft shale, replete with fossils, with two or three thin bands of compact sandstone. In this part of the group is the Halleck spring, near Westmoreland village. The sandstone increases until in the upper beds of the group, it wholly replaces the shale, as in the quarries of Messrs. Brush, Emery and Smith, near Spencer Settlement in Westmoreland. Taken as a whole, the rocks of the Hudson River group cover the following areas in Oneida County: A tract of considerable extent through the northern part of New Hartford, the central and western portions of Whitestown, nearly or quite half of Westmoreland to the northeast, a broad tract through Rome, all of Lee, the northwest part of Western, with parts of Annsville and Ava. Some of the common fossils are Graptolithus Pristis, Ambonychia Radiata, and Trinucleus Concentricus.

The succeeding rocks are those of the Medina epoch, including the Oneida Conglomerate at the base and the Medina sandstone above. The conglomerate, especially in its lower layers, is a pudding stone of quartz pebbles, cemented together more or less firmly, while the upper layers graduate into a coarse sandstone, gray, or often bluish in color. Occasionally there are layers of soft, dark shale, as at Johnson's quarry on Frankfort Hill.

There are also spots of pyrites which give the weathered blocks their dark rusty color, as seen in the locks of the old Chenango Canal in New Hartford and Kirkland. There are no fossils except a few fucoids. The mass is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet thick in this county.[5] Its usual thickness in the quarries about Utica is from fifteen to forty feet. It occupies the following areas in this county: A narrow band passing through the central part of New Hartford, the northern extremity of Kirkland, the central part of Westmoreland, southwestern Rome, northeastern Verona, parts of Vienna and Annsville, all of Camden and Florence, except a few patches of Medina sandstone. In the latter towns the rock becomes the "gray sandstone" of the New York Reports. The localities for examinations are numerous, including the quarries on Frankfort and Graffenberg hills, Mr. Blackstone's quarry at the head of Sylvan Glen, on the road out of Clinton a mile toward Utica, Mr. Mansfield's farm south of Westmoreland village, near Lowell in Westmoreland, and at the old stone pound in Verona.

The passage from the Hudson river rocks to the conglomerate marks the close of the Lower and the beginning of the Upper Silurian, and is the period of the elevation of the Green mountains. This elevation in New England and eastern New York accounts for the fact that the conglomerate is not seen going westward until Herkimer county is reached, and first assumes prominence in Oneida county. The same is substantially true of the two succeeding groups, the Clinton and the Niagara. Thus Oneida county ranks with eastern New York in the completeness of its lower Silurian development, and with western New York in the completeness of its upper Silurian series. The disturbances of such a period of elevation, with its folding and crushing of strata, also account for the coarse sediments found in the lower layers of the conglomerate. The upper rocks of the Medina epoch, the Medina sandstone, show in this county only the beginning of the development which becomes so extensive in western New York, as at the falls of the Genesee at Rochester, and at Niagara. They probably cover a wedge shaped area in Camden and Vienna, with some patches in Camden and Florence. Thus the Oneida-Medina rocks show a graduated series from the coarse grit of the former, where it rests on the Hudson river shales, to the fine, sandy and clayey sediments of the latter, such as are seen in the smooth flagstones of the Medina.

[5] Dana's Manual, page 218.

The next rocks are those of the Clinton group, resting on the sandstone from east to west throughout the county. They consist of bluish green shales, red, blue and reddish gray calcareous sandstones, and usually two beds of red oölitic iron ore. No other group of rocks in the county is so variable in color, texture and general character, and none is better known or more valuable. The rocks cover a tract from two to six miles wide, more surface being exposed westward. They pass through southern New Hartford, the northern central portion of Kirkland, the southern central part of Westmoreland, covering a triangular area in the north of Vernon, and more than half of Verona to the south and west. The points where the group can be seen are numerous, owing to the facility with which the streams have cut it down, and the large number of openings for the extraction of ore and building stone. We may mention the ore beds of Mr. Davis on the east border of New Hartford, Roger's glen at Willowvale, Well's ore beds in Kirkland, the mines a half mile east of Clinton village, the quarries at the base of the hill at Hamilton College, numerous localities in Westmoreland, near Verona village and at the old quarry near Sconondoa. Fossils are very numerous in the shales, sandstones and ores of the group. Some of the common forms are: marine plants, brachiopods, as Strophomena Depressa and Atrypa Reticularis, the corals Zaphrentis Bilateralis, Palæocyclus Rotuloides, and tracks of crustaceans.

The dark colored limestone and shale of the Niagara are next in order. This group, which is important both for its rocks and its fossils farther west, is represented by a thin band of shale and limestone in Oneida county, though in Vernon it becomes thicker and shows some fossils. At Farmer's Mills in the southern part of Kirkland is a very interesting exposure of the peculiar concretions of the group. It is the same described in the New York Reports as at Hart's mills.[6] A few feet of blue Niagara shale are seen in actual contact with the green shale of the next group. In the blue shale is a layer of limestone, a foot or more thick, almost wholly composed of massive concretions, often two feet in diameter, whose layers crack off like the coats of an immense onion. The same concretions, though smaller and like hard, irregular knots, are seen in the same order, under the green shale in the ravine back of the residence of Professor Kelsey, at Hamilton College. The best development in the county is along Sconondoa creek in the town of Vernon.

[6] Vanuxem, Geology of Third District, page 91.

Upon the Niagara rest the rocks of the Salina group. The lower member is a thick mass of soft, red shale, with occasional green layers and green spots. The upper members, which give the group its importance as the sources of gypsum and salt, are but slightly developed in Oneida county. This rock has been so extensively cut down by the streams that its surface area is more irregular in form than that of most of the rocks northward. Thus it has southerly extensions in the Sauquoit, Oriskany and Sconondoa valleys, and northerly extensions on the intervening ranges of hills. This in a general way is true of all the rocks in the southern part of the county, owing to their southward dip. They first appear on the hilltops, pass down the hillsides southward and disappear under the succeeding formations. The red shale of the Salina is seen in many of the ravines of Paris; on the north and west of Paris Hill in the towns of New Hartford, Kirkland and Marshall, in the southern part of Kirkland in the Oriskany valley, at College Hill, where it appears above the Clinton and Niagara. It is quarried for the walks of the campus in the ravines on either side, and exhibits in the northern ravine an abundance of its spherical green spots. It passes through the southern part of Westmoreland and is the surface rock of about two-thirds of the town of Vernon. This shale contains no fossils.

We come now to the lower Helderberg, a passage in geological history from the shallow, briny, lifeless waters of the Salina period, to deep, clear seas, with their hard limestones and numerous and advancing forms of life. The lower division of the lower Helderberg, the water lime, is well shown in Oneida county, being below of a light drab color, a bed of passage from the Salina, and above, a dark blue compact limestone. It is well seen at various points in Kirkland, Marshall and Augusta. We mention the following: Where the road from Washington Mills to Paris Hill runs by the creek in the southeast corner of Kirkland, a little further up the hill under the roadway, the jutting ledge at the top of the hill as you descend from Hanover Green to Clinton, at the bottom of the valley at Oriskany Falls and rising along the western hillside, terminating on the hilltop, a short distance south of Hamilton College, and Forge Hollow on the east branch of Oriskany creek, midway between Waterville and Deansville. At this locality Mr. Amos O. Osborn, of Waterville, found in 1882 the fossil Proscorpius Osborni,[7] which has a special interest as

[7] Described by R. P. Whitfield, Bulletin of Am. Mus. of Nat. Hist., Oct., 1885.

being the lowest fossil scorpion and possibly the earliest air-breather yet found in American rocks. Although last described, Mr. Osborn's discovery antedates by some months that of similar remains in Sweden and Scotland. The characteristic forms of the water lime are: Tentaculites Irregularis, Meristella Sulcata, Leperditia Alta, and that most interesting crustacean, Eurypterus Remipes, of which a number of splendid specimens may be seen in the private collection of Mr. Osborn. The upper members of the lower Helderberg are seen in the ledges and quarries at Oriskany Falls, where the whole group has a thickness of 120 feet.[8] The upper members are hard, blue limestones, with great abundance of the usual fossils, such as Pentamerus Galeatus, Rhynchonella Ventricosa, Atrypa Reticularis, and various species of corals and crinoids. The next rock is the Oriskany sandstone. The long Silurian record closes with the lower Helderberg and the Oriskany marks the beginning of the Devonian.[9] The rocks of this period lie above the lower Helderberg limestones at Oriskany Falls. They form a ledge of about ten feet thickness, of a light yellowish color, turning brown by exposure and made up of coarse quartz sand. Although in many localities a coarse sand rock, it has a characteristic and abundant fauna. Some of the more common species are the Brachiopods, Spirifer Arenosus, a large shell, of which the interior casts are exceedingly abundant, and Rensselaeria Ovoides. There is another point of exposure in the town of Marshall, near the Eastman quarry and under the succeeding limestones.

The next higher rocks are those of the Corniferous period. Here the Caudi Galli and Schoharie grits have thinned out and disappeared before the east line of Oneida county is reached. The Corniferous rocks are well developed, including the Onondaga and Corniferous limestones. The Onondaga lies below, is a thinner mass and of a light color. The Corniferous is above, and is characterized by extensive layers of hornstone or chert. These nodules may be observed in almost every field and stone wall in southern portions of the county. The organic forms are in the greatest profusion, especially the corals, crinoids, some large coiled shells and a peculiar species of Trilobite, Dalmanites Selenurus. These rocks are found in the southern part of Marshall, as at Eastman's quarry north of Waterville, and the Greenslit quarry farther east. The limestone also extends south under the village of Waterville,

[8] S. G. Williams, American Journal of Science, February, 1886.

[9] DeVerneuil; Newberry, in Geology of Ohio; etc.

is found in various parts of Paris and along the eastern hillsides in Bridgewater, as at the quarry on Babcock hill in the northeast corner of the town.

The last rocks in Oneida county are those of the Hamilton period. Of these the lowest are the Marcellus shales, of dark color and closely resembling the Utica slate. They cover about half of the town of Sangerfield, running diagonally across the town from northeast to southwest, along the valley of Chenango creek. They are also seen along the hillsides in Bridgewater valley above the limestone. What was said of the irregular exposure of the Salina rocks is especially true of all the rocks in the southern extremity of the county, where the streams have scored them down, flowing from the limestone ridge, both northward and southward. Above the Marcellus, the Hamilton shales begin, with their vast accumulations of soft sediments, bands of limestone and great abundance of animal and plant remains. Only a limited development of the group is seen in this county. The Hamilton rock covers the southeast, or higher portions of Sangerfield, runs up over the highest parts of Bridgewater, extending north into Paris, where it caps the eminence known as Tassel hill.

This completes the rock history of the county except for the glacial and yet more recent periods, to which we now turn to examine what we may term, the surface geology of the county.

If each group of rocks had remained as it was first deposited in ocean sediments, we should doubtless see a somewhat regular overlapping of rock surfaces, each layer receding and laying bare portions of the one preceding and below it. Such is not the condition which we find after restless forces have carved the surface into new forms and buried it under the debris of underlying and remote rocks. The configuration of Oneida county can scarcely be understood without taking into account the vast system of excavations throughout the State. Since the rocks of this county were deposited, the north and south valleys and lake basins which lie parallel to each other from eastern New York to Lake Erie, have been made, the basin of Lake Ontario and the valley of the Mohawk have been scored out and the greater part of the soil has been deposited and modified to its present forms. Doubtless this work was begun by the streams of early geological times, but the bulk of it has been done by glacial action and the subsequent movements of water. Looking more narrowly at the area of this county, we find that excepting at the extreme north and south, it

lies in the broad depression of the Mohawk river, Wood creek and their tributaries. Near the southern boundary is a limestone ridge, south of which the Unadilla and Chenango rise. At the northeast is another limestone ridge, beyond which the descent is towards the Black river. Again, draw a line from Oriskany Falls north through Rome and the eastern part of Lee. All streams west of this line flow north and northwest, or southerly and south into Oneida Lake. All streams east of this line, except at the extreme north and south, flow south and north into the Mohawk river and West Canada creek and pass out of the county eastward. The highest point north of the Mohawk river is Starr hill in Steuben, 1793 feet above the sea.[10] The highest point south of the Mohawk river and the highest elevation within the county, is Tassel hill in Paris, 1,948 feet above the sea.[10] The lowest level in the eastern part of the county does not vary much from 410 feet above the sea, which is the altitude for Utica at the N. Y. C. & H. R. R. R. station.[10] The lowest level in the county is that of Oneida Lake, 360 feet above the sea.[10] Taking into account these great differences of elevation and also the unknown depth of alluvial materials in the Mohawk valley, we gain some idea of the amount of rock which has been swept away by denuding forces along the central east and west line of the county. It is especially manifest also as one passes southwestward from Utica to the summit of Tassel hill. The course is constantly upward, across the eroded edges of an extended series of rocks. Thus also this excavation, together with the southerly dip of the strata throughout the county, explains the large superficial exposure of the formations north of the Mohawk, while south of the excavation they run in narrow bands exposed at the edges.

As to the precise order and method of these changes geologists are not fully agreed. Mr. J. S. Newberry[11] holds that the depression of the Mohawk valley resulted from the raising of the Alleghanies; that from the Carboniferous age to the ice period a great stream passed this way to the sea at or near New York; that the glacier mainly excavated the Lake Ontario basin and greatly enlarged the river channel, and finally, that the filling of the Hudson valley west of Albany by the debris of the retreating glacier, deflected the stream and gave it an outlet by the St. Lawrence, leaving the Mohawk to be a local drainage stream. Mr. G. K.

[10] Dictionary of Altitudes in the U. S., Bulletin No. 5, U. S. Geological Survey.

[11] See Ency. Brit., 9th Ed., Vol. 17, page 453.

Gilbert, speaking of the age of the retreating glacier, describes the changes as follows:[12] "The water of Ontario having no escape by way of the St. Lawrence valley, sought the lowest pass south of the Adirondacks, finding it where the engineers of the Erie canal afterwards found it, and overflowing at Rome to the Mohawk river. This discharge was maintained for a long period, giving the waves time to construct massive beaches and carve broad terraces which still endure. They have been traced all about the basin, except, of course on the northeast, where the waves broke vainly on an unrecording wall of ice. The 'Ridge Road' from Lewiston to Sodus, follows the crest of one of these beaches; a railway from Richland to Watertown has found easy grades along the base of another. * * * * Finally the blockade was raised in the St. Lawrence valley, the outlet of Ontario was shifted from Rome to the Thousand Islands, and its water level was drawn down five hundred feet." Thus whatever obscurity remains, two facts seem to be accepted and clear; the extensive denuding agency of the great glacier and the passage of the continental drainage stream over the central portions of what is now Oneida county.

The transported materials in this county afford abundant illustrations of the great southward movements during the drift period in this region. The boulders, rolled stones, gravels and many of the soils, reveal their northern origin, having been brought down from the Archæan nucleus, and succeeding formations. We notice first the immense deposits of drift in the Oriskany and Sauquoit valleys. They form the high, steep and often conical hills, so numerous between Deansville and Oriskany Falls, and in the valley of the Sauquoit in Paris.[13] The same deposits occur further south and west in Madison county, and east in Herkimer county, as in the hills around Ilion. They are composed of sand, gravel and rolled stones commonly unsorted but sometimes stratified and were left in their places as the great glacier gradually receded northward; while the hills have been cut down and rounded off by the subsequent action of water and other agencies. The characteristic materials of these moraines are well seen between Oriskany Falls and Solsville, in the cuts upon the N. Y. O. & W. R. R. Boulders are numerous all over the county; though in greatest number and size north of the Mohawk, as in

[12] Changes of Level of the Great Lakes, Forum, June, 1888.

[13] See article on Terminal Moraine of the Second Glacial Epoch, by T. C. Chamberlin, Third Annual Report of U. S. Geological Survey, page 360.

Forestport, Remsen, Boonville, Steuben, Floyd Hill, the gorge of Lansing Kil and Florence. They are largely derived from the Archæan, which is also true south of the Mohawk; but fragments of later rocks abound everywhere, south of their lines of outcrop. It is common to see in Kirkland, Paris, Marshall and the other southern towns, boulders of Oneida conglomerate, often of large size, which have been broken off from their original place in the neighborhood of the Mohawk. Fragments of Clinton rocks and ore abound. On the top of Paris Hill are great numbers of cobble stones and boulders brought there from points in the county and far to the northward. The town of Vernon is strewn with fragments from the Hudson river and Clinton groups. The soils of the county are largely of transported materials, although the breaking down of the softer shales has formed the soil of some parts of the county to no inconsiderable degree. Thus Judge Pomroy Jones in the "Annals of Oneida County," alludes to the flats formed by the washing down of the red shale in the southern part of Westmoreland. Extensive deposits of modified drift and alluvium exist along the Mohawk from Ilion westward to Rome; also along the Oriskany creek in Whitestown, and by the same stream at Deansville, as seen in the stratified sand and gravel of the railway cut south of the station. Other extensive deposits are found around the head of Oneida lake along the courses of Wood and Fish creeks, also where Nine Mile creek enters the Mohawk valley, along the Black river in Boonville and on West Canada creek above Prospect. An interesting illustration of the river terrace, is seen on the Mohawk at Westernville, the village being located upon the eastern or broader terrace. The same is strikingly shown on a small scale where the Deerfield ravine opens upon the Mohawk valley, three distinct levels being plainly visible.

Besides the extensive denudations already referred to, Oneida county affords many examples of the erosive power of water in producing rocky gorges and waterfalls. Most notable is the chasm at Trenton Falls, where the process of removal has been hastened by the fact that the lower strata are softer and more destructible; and it will be remembered that in some places the upper layers overhang the path of the visitor, thirty or even perhaps forty feet. Other examples are the gorges of the Lansing Kil, and the Mohawk in Boonville and Western, where the water has cut away the slate to the limestone below. There are also extensive erosions on the east branch of Fish Creek, in the town of Annsville. All the higher towns of the county afford examples of

extensive erosion, in the ravines that cut through their hills and the cascades on many of the smaller streams, as the Deerfield ravine, Sylvan glen and the small streams of Paris and Sangerfield.

We turn now to the economical geology of Oneida County. The first thing to claim notice is soils. Soils largely determine the resources, habitations and general quality of human life. For example, compare two rural townships, Forestport and Augusta. The one has a primary, the other to a considerable extent, a limestone soil. The former has twice and a half the area of the latter; the latter has more than once and a half the population of the former. The greater part of Oneida County soils has been transported from regions outside its own limits. In this respect the whole drift region differs from more southern parts, where the drift has not reached, and where the disintegrating forces are in some respects more active in breaking down and pulverizing the rocks in place. Nevertheless we have considerable soil made from our own rocks. These facts, taken together with the vast sculpturing of surface which has gone on here, give to Oneida County an unusual variety of soils. Compare, for example, the sands of Oswego County, or the level calcareous tracts of Genesee County, with our own. We have already alluded to the soils of Forestport. Or, take the cold, barren soil of the hills in Florence, with its preponderant archæan and sandstone constituents, and we need not wonder that a boy of the place thus described it to Judge Pomroy Jones, saying that "Grass did very well, they could not raise much corn, oats did a little better, that the land was so cold they could not raise much grain of any kind, but then it is very healthy." But there are abundant tracts in this county whose healthfulness is not their only merit. Wherever the soil has been affected by the destruction of the Utica slates, the result is favorable, they, "producing by decomposition, a tenaceous, clayey and highly favorable soil for grass, forming the best dairy land of the district."[14] This fact doubtless has some application to such towns as Trenton, and parts of Floyd, Marcy and Deerfield. Not to be overlooked are the large tracts of rich alluvial soil along the streams of the county, as the Mohawk, Sauquoit, Oriskany and the Unadilla in Bridgewater. All the upland soils and rocks are tributary to the fertility of these. This fact, had he known it, might have changed the decision of a certain farmer who refused to purchase the lowland part of a farm in Marcy, he having inspected it in the spring when submerged by the Mohawk floods.

[14] Vanuxem, Geology of Third District, page 56.

This very farm receives its annual tribute from all the fields above in Marcy, Deerfield, Trenton and Floyd. The soils of Westmoreland, Verona and Vernon are in places much improved by the decomposition of the soft rocks which mainly underlie them, such as those of the Clinton group and the marly shales of the Salina group. Thus Judge Pomroy Jones says: "There is no more productive land in the county than the flats formed by this shale thus washed down." He refers to the Salina shale in the southern part of Westmoreland. The excellence of the soils in such southern towns of the county as Marshall, Augusta and the beautiful section around Waterville, is due to a variety of causes, as the decomposition and movement southward of the shales just spoken of, the decomposition of the limestones of those towns in place, the materials of the Marcellus shale, which is similar to the Utica slate, and the numerous alluvial bottoms along the streams.

We next speak of building materials. Nearly every structure one sees here, suggests local geology, for Oneida County is rich in building stone. Among the most extensively used is the upper or crystalline bed of the Trenton limestone. The quarries are numerous in Trenton, Steuben, Remsen and Boonville. The State Lunatic Asylum at Utica is built of this stone, and at least that for the original part of the structure, was quarried near Stittville on Nine Mile Creek. The foundation of the Park Baptist Church is of this stone, as of many other buildings, and much of the dressed stone used for trimmings. Good building stone is also found in the upper part of the Hudson River group. It is the light gray sandstone already described as found in the quarries of Messrs. Brush, Emery & Smith in Westmoreland. The next stone of importance, following the geological order is the Oneida conglomerate and sandstone. The best layers are blue in color, compact and durable. The quarries run along the range of the conglomerate throughout the county, being especially abundant in this vicinity, comparatively little else being laid for foundations in the city of Utica.

This brings us to the sandstones of the Clinton group, which are firm and of durable quality, and are to be seen in the edifices of Grace and Calvary Churches and the Church of the Reconciliation in this city. The stone for these churches was taken from quarries well up on the hill in the eastern part of New Hartford. The stone for the Memorial Presbyterian Church was obtained, if I am correctly informed, from this group near Clinton. The material for the Stone Church in Clinton, except the trimmings, is from

quarries of the same group in Kirkland, as also most of the stone in the buildings of Hamilton College. From the same group, but of somewhat different texture and color, are the excellent building stones of the Higginsville quarries in the town of Verona.[15] They may be seen in the foundations of Lewis Lawrence's residence; also the residences of F. Gilbert, T. E. Kinney, W. T. and T. F. Baker are of this stone. There is also a reddish brown sandstone in the Clinton group, which was opened many years ago, near Frankfort, for the Ontario bank at Utica. The building is now the store of W. S. Taylor & Son, but the color and texture of the stone are concealed by paint. The same may be seen in the Tabernacle Baptist Church of this city, and a similar stone forms the foundation of South College, Clinton. It is fairly durable when well laid up, but crumbles where exposed, as in the door-steps of the church referred to.

The last important stone in the county is the limestone of the Lower and Upper Helderberg, from quarries at Oriskany Falls, in Marshall and in the vicinity of Cassville. The Hamilton becomes important where more fully developed, as on the College Hill at Madison University, and among the "North River flagstones" of the Helderberg region.

It is interesting to see, as one may from the cars on the Ontario road, how the underlying rocks of each section furnished the stone for the locks and culverts of the old Chenango canal; through New Hartford the Oneida Conglomerate, with the characteristic weather stains of iron oxide; in Kirkland, the red and brown of the Clinton group, and further south, the drab and blue of the Lower Helderberg.

Among building materials should be mentioned the brick clays, so largely worked along the Mohawk river in Deerfield, Whitestown and Rome; also at Sangerfield Centre, where both brick and drain tile are made. Quicklime is also an important product in the limestone regions of the county, as at Oriskany Falls, in Marshall, at Thurston's kiln in Paris, and doubtless others. I am not aware that any waterlime is made in this county. It should be said that the rock of the so-called waterlime group, does not make hydraulic lime or cement. Only certain parts meet the tests applied for this purpose, and these parts are more fully developed westward, and on the Hudson River. In fact, the waterlime group is used in this county as a source of quicklime.

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[15] Bulletin No. 3, N. Y. State Mus. Nat. Hist. Building Stone in the State of N. Y., by John C. Smock, see page 71.

There is no need to speak at length of the iron ore of the county, whose character, localities and economic value are well understood in this vicinity. Full information can be gained in a very complete address given by Professor A. H. Chester, of Hamilton College, before the Utica Mercantile and Manufacturing Association.[16]

There is now no repetition in Oneida County of the experiment of the old Welsh farmer whom Murchison found digging for coal six formations below the one where it could be found. The results of former searching for coal in the town of Marcy[17] fairly indicate what may be expected in a search for oil or natural gas in any town of this county. It is true that the Trenton and Utica formations do in some places afford mineral oil, but there is no probability that it will be found in this county. In the oil regions of Pennsylvania and Ohio, the oil is found saturating a porous sandstone, lying over the fossiliferous rock in which the oil probably originated, and under an impervious slate which keeps the oil from rising until a boring is made.[18] No such conditions exist in Oneida County. The Marcellus shales also contain combustible matter. Many years ago a small quantity of coal was taken out in Bridgewater, but while it had something of the appearance it had not the qualities of true anthracite. It is interesting in a scientific, though not in an economic sense, to note that the surveyor in charge of the excavation for the reservoir of the Waterville water works, recently found in the Marcellus shale, a small seam of true cannel coal. Peat in large quantities is found in the swamps near Rome.

There are in the county other minerals, but of little economical importance. We note vast deposits of calcareous tufa on the hillsides and in the valleys at their base, in the southern parts of the county. It is formed by the leaching down and compacting of calcareous particles from the overlying limestone, and from its porous, yellowish appearance, is popularly known as "horsebone." It may be seen on the road from Hanover Green to Farmer's Mills, at the foot of the hill, in the road, fields and wall fences; also at Holman City and in the Dexter Brook, near Clayville, in Paris. It is interesting as preserving the forms of leaves, twigs and other objects, upon which the lime in solution has fallen. There are also deposits of bog iron ore in the lowlands around the head of Oneida

[16] Issued from the press of Ellis H. Roberts & Co., in 1881.

[17] Jones' Annals of Oneida County, page 243.

[18] Ency. Brit. Art. Petroleum, Vol. 18, page 715.

Lake, formerly worked, whether at present or not, we cannot say. The Gypsum of the Salina group, so extensive farther west, is found in Vernon, but too deep for profitable working. There are other minerals of interest, but not of economical importance. The minerals of Kirkland are thus given by Dr. Oren Root:[19] Oxide of iron, sulphuret of iron, carbonate of iron, sulphuret of lead, sulphuret of zinc, strontianite, celestine, calcite, gypsum, quartz crystals. A few others are given in Dr. Beck's report on the mineralogy of the State, as occurring at Boonville and other places in the county.

The mineral springs of the county should also be mentioned. Some of the more important are given as follows:[20] Saline Springs; the Halleck Spring near Westmoreland village, and the Verona Spring, to which should be added the Oneita Spring in Utica: sulphuretted springs; in Augusta, near Paris, near Vernon, to which may be added a spring in Whitestown, near Oriskany.

This paper should not close without allusion to one other fact of great importance in the history of Oneida County industries. The geological history has been such as to furnish the finest water power in great abundance. First of all, the Sauquoit Creek with its fall of 1,014 feet in a course of seventeen miles, and upon which there have been erected in all, one hundred and forty-one mills and factories.[21] We must also add the water-power afforded by the Oriskany Creek, the numerous and rapid streams of Annsville, the Mohawk in Western, and many smaller streams in all parts of the county.

In conclusion we may add, that Oneida County affords an excellent field for the study of the Paleozoic series of rocks.[22] While lacking the Cambrian below, and the Carboniferous above, most of the formations of the Silurian and Devonian systems are well represented, and we see here exhibited in perfection what the ordinary world-making agencies have done and are still doing.

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[19] See Gridley's History of Kirkland.

[20] Bulletin No. 32, U. S. Geological Survey.

[21] See Rogers' History of Paris.

[22] An hour's ride from Utica will place one upon almost any part of any one of the important rock eras represented in the county. Many places exist where a walk of three or four miles covers as many geological epochs. Starting in the gulf in East Utica, going up Third street, through Sylvan Glen, and crossing two fields at its head and one has passed over the Utica slate, Hudson River shales, Oneida Conglomerate and the Clinton group. The facilities afforded within the county for the gathering and study of organic remains, are very great, as at Trenton Falls for the Trenton, around Holland Patent for the Utica, around Rome for the Hudson River, New Hartford and Kirkland for the Clinton, and about Waterville and Oriskany Falls for the Lower and Upper Helderberg.

THE ORIGIN AND EARLY LIFE OF THE NEW YORK IROQUOIS.

BY REV. W. M. BEAUCHAMP.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY MARCH 29, 1886.

We live in a land which was unknown to our fathers four hundred years ago, and which even a century since was almost a wilderness. A different race occupied this continent, having general resemblances to each other, and yet with many marks of a mingled or diverse origin. They spoke different languages; in a broad way radically different. They varied in culture, in government, in religion and occupation. Some were industrious; others as lazy as men well could be. In many cases they had different houses, boats and tools. Their languages were not alone distinguished by the mere words employed; there was an inability in one large family of nations to utter sounds which were easy to another. In proficiency in the arts there was a wide space between the hunter tribes of the north and the semi-civilized nations of Mexico and Peru.

When Europeans first colonized the Atlantic coast of the United States, the country east of the Mississippi was mainly occupied by two races, the Algonquin and the Huron Iroquois. The former stretched along the seaboard, inhabited New England, much of New York and the South, and most of the West to the great river. When Champlain entered Canada they had recently possessed themselves of the St. Lawrence also.

Penetrating their territories like a wedge, the broad base at the north, were the nations speaking what is known as the Huron Iroquois tongue. These were numerous in Canada, especially towards the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, and near the Niagara river. At the time of the discovery of the St. Lawrence they occupied that stream almost to its mouth. Canada itself is a Mohawk word signifying a village, first applied by the French in 1535, to the country at and around Quebec. The town of Hochelaga, at Montreal at that time, seems to me more directly related to the New York Iroquois than to the Hurons. The fort, with its galleries and warlike stores, the relics since found there, support this belief. This was in 1535. When Champlain came to Canada in 1608,

however, no Iroquois lived on the St. Lawrence. The Algonquin tribe known as the Adirondacks, had taken their place, and between these and the exiled Mohawks there was a relentless warfare, based on recent events. With the other Canadian Indians, invaders as they were, the Hurons associated themselves against their kindred in this State, and as brothers offended are not easily reconciled, their hatred took the bitterest form.

The usual divisions of the Huron Iroquois family are these: The Hurons proper about the Georgian Bay; the Dionondadies or Tobacco Nation, just south of these, and having their common name from growing and selling a superior tobacco. These survived their overthrow as the Wyandots of later days, and differed little from the Hurons. The Neutrals, living on the north shore of Lake Erie and both sides of the Niagara river, varied little from these. They had their name from being neutral in the war between the Hurons and Iroquois. The Eries, much more advanced, and perhaps the parent stock, dwelt on the south shore of Lake Erie, extending east to the Genesee river. Thence the Five Nations proper held the country nearly or quite to the Hudson river. These varied greatly in habits and character, having entered New York by different avenues. On the Susquehanna lay the Andastis, a strong and warlike branch of the family, hostile to the Five Nations. These were claimed by the Mohawks as a branch of their own people, whom they wished to conquer and adopt, while the Senecas sought their extermination. Still further on, in North Carolina, the Tuscaroras had established themselves, returning to New York in 1712. There is reason for assigning some others to this family.

Judged by the relics found the Algonquin family did not occupy Canada, most of New York and part of Ohio in prehistoric times, though they had long occupied New England, Southern New York and the Western States. The Huron Iroquois family thus seems to have been the last wave of the migratory tribes advancing from the west and northwest, and had not reached the sea 300 years ago, except a few individuals on the St. Lawrence. The Tuscaroras might also be excepted.

Judged from traditional and archæological evidence, the peopling of North America was something like this, noting only great movements. Ashore people, like the Eskimo, few in number and of uncertain antiquity, may have dwelt upon our Atlantic coast at a very early day, but did not penetrate far inland. If the Northmen really reached the New England coast about A. D. 1000, they were there then, but are of little account.

The Pacific coast was peopled by nations some of whom took this route to Central America, and their early relics prove them to have been of a higher type than later comers. Then came the colonizing of the Mississippi valley, by the varied nations known as Mound Builders.

The Algonquins, a hunter race, passed to the north of these, perhaps driving them back, filling the unoccupied regions of the Atlantic States, and turning into Canada when New England proved too small, but little over three hundred years ago.

Almost parallel with these, but a little later as a whole, the Huron Iroquois, finding the southern regions occupied, advanced along the north, through Michigan, Canada and Ohio, pressing towards the sea, but generally prevented from reaching it by the Algonquins. This is very nearly the tradition of the Delawares, who represent the Iroquois as moving from the west in a line parallel with their own migrations, but a little in the rear. The Huron Iroquois occupied temporarily the solitudes of Canada and New York, as well as Michigan and Northern Ohio, gathering strength within their narrow limits, until they could force a passage south along the Susquehanna. There the Andastis stopped and grew strong. The Eries passed along the south shore of their lake, the Hurons and Neutrals on the north. The Tuscaroras reached North Carolina, and all the southern Iroquois may have had temporary homes in New York at an early day.

The first Huron Iroquois may have been peaceful, and all practiced agriculture and trading. Their enemies were numerous and powerful, having the advantage for a time of occupancy, better arms, and a stronger government. Prudence forbade their taking the offensive at once. Yet experience came to the feebler but prosperous people, and they had a courage and energy to which the others were comparative strangers. Especially was this true of those who led the van. They were the more adventurous spirits, going forth from quiet homes to seek their fortunes. The Tuscaroras made their way far to the south, and maintained their stand against all native foes; the Massawomekes of New York made themselves feared by the Indians of Virginia; while the New York Iroquois, as soon as they had firearms, subdued all nations east of the Mississippi. Yet these later comers had forts far in advance of their native enemies. Their very weakness may have caused the strength of their defensive works, as it led them to use every stratagem of war.

The proof of their original occupancy of their New York terri-

tory, is partly traditional and partly archæological. Besides the Delaware tradition of their slow advance by many stages from the west, they have traditions of their own. The Onondagas have sometimes claimed to have originated at a mountain on the Oswego river, where no moderate hill ever existed, but there are lines of earthworks reaching from that point towards the homes of the Cayugas. A better tradition is that of the last century. In his Memoirs of Canada, about 1755, Pouchot wrote: "The river Au Sables (Sandy creek) in Indian, Etcataragenre, is remarkable in this, that at the head of the south branch, called Tesanonouaronese, is the place where the traditions of the Iroquois fix the spot where they issued from the ground, or rather, according to their ideas, where they were born." Beyond all doubt the Onondagas came from Jefferson County. The Mohawks say that when they lived on the St. Lawrence they were misused by the Adirondacks, and fled to New York, driving out small tribes before them. On all sites in the territory of the New York Iroquois there is an absence of relics distinctively Algonquin. The people who lived there three centuries and more ago, came from the west and northwest, not from the south. They had not seen the sea, unless in rare instances, and had little trade with those living on the Atlantic coast.

We might say, indeed, and it seems quite probable, that another race of higher mechanical and artistic powers, widespread, but few in numbers, preceded both Iroquois and Algonquins, but this is uncertain. Some forms of stone implements and ornaments are widely diffused, and can be definitely assigned to no known race. What their use was and by whom they were made, are questions more easily asked than answered. Among these are the perforated stones known as gorgets, found everywhere; the bird totems and amulets of the Northern States east of the Mississippi, ceremonial stones and other like things. Some were not made by the mound builders; they do not seem Algonquin, and many Iroquois sites know them not at all. Yet I am quite inclined to think some of the most remarkable may have been made by the earlier Huron Iroquois. They are rare on village sites in Central New York, but more frequent as we approach the western part of the State, and especially on sites to which we ascribe an Erie origin.

The ordinary celt or deer-skinner occurs everywhere with modifications, and no other was used by the early Iroquois. The Algonquins perhaps, long in contact with the mound builders, added to this the broader grooved axe, a weapon almost unknown on New

York or Canadian Iroquois sites. It is abundant in other parts of the United States, but however our sites differ in other respects, all agree in its absence. And they differ greatly. Where we find soapstone vessels there is no brown earthenware. Unenclosed sites produce many things never found in enclosures. A group of villages may have relics absolutely unique, for fashions change even among Indians, but the family likeness remains.

I said the early inhabitants of Central New York had little or no contact with the sea, therefore they came from the west. Marine shells, or shell beads seldom occur on prehistoric sites, but are frequent on later. In the Huron ossuaries of Canada, apparently modern, Professor Wilson of Toronto informs me that southern shells and the large beads made from them are abundant. A great trading people would get these from the Mississippi valley tribes, with whom they were in contact. He said nothing of the true eastern wampum. At Montreal little of this appears, and this probably recent.

A few stray, prehistoric, small wampum beads might be expected low down in the Mohawk valley, but I know of none. West of this they are absolutely unknown. When, therefore, we are told of ancient wampum belts in New York, coeval with and recording the formation of the Iroquois league,—and I used to believe in these—we may settle it in our minds that such do not exist and never did. The most ancient Onondaga belt is modern, and it is doubtful if any one is much over a century old. I have given special attention to this question, examining sites and belts with reference to it. Loskiel says that colored sticks were once a substitute for it, and Onondagas tell me that their early wampum was made of porcupine quills.

I have said that the Algonquins preceded the Iroquois in most of our land, passing more to the south through Ohio, Pennsylvania and Virginia, occupying much of the seaboard, and then the New England States, reaching Canada thence as they increased, driving back the frontier Iroquois on the St. Lawrence, and throwing them in large numbers into the valley of the Mohawk and among the lakes farther west. Thus the Mohawk valley would have been peopled from Canada East by the latest comers of all. With this agree the prehistoric village sites, three only of which are known there, one for each of the three clans, as when they were found later.

It is very likely that there was an earlier Huron Iroquois settlement of Central New York from Jefferson County, where there are

many fort sites. Among these are traces of Huron burial customs and the earthenware is generally finer than that farther south, there often being temporary deterioration in such things as men recede from the parent stock. From that region the Onondagas certainly came, as they relate.

Still another source of emigration would be found in Canada West and Northern Ohio. The Hurons were near the Georgian Bay when first known; the Neutrals dwelt on the north of Lake Erie, perhaps as far as Michigan, and on both sides of the Niagara river. In Northern Ohio and Western New York were the Eries, and from the latter the Senecas were derived, perhaps within historic times.

The Senecas had a conspicuous place in the Iroquois League, though the last to enter it, forming the west door, as the Mohawks were the east. On the Dutch maps of 1614 and 1616, the Mohawks and Senecas are alone designated, and for fifty years more the Dutch hardly mentioned any but these. That they were kindred to the Eries is conceded. In 1615 Champlain spoke of the Iroquois and the Entouhonorons, whom some have thought Senecas. In the explanation of his map it is said that "The Iroquois and the Antouhonorons make war together against all the other nations except the Neutral nation." They had fifteen strong villages; too many for the Senecas, unless the Eries were included. That the Senecas differed from the other Iroquois in religious observances, totems and clans, habits of life and other things, is very clear. A marked distinction appears in their language, and they were not very brotherly to the rest. Long after the league was formed they were sometimes at swords' points with the Mohawks, and the French Mohawks did not hesitate to go against the Senecas, when they refused to fight against the other nations.

There is good reason for thinking them part of the Massawomekes of Captain John Smith's narrative. Early writers made these any part of the Five Nations, but later students to identify them, as in the case of the Entouhonorons, with both Eries and Senecas, these being firm friends until 1653. Captain John Smith met these fierce enemies of Powhatan in their bark canoes on Chesapeake Bay, in 1608. The general description is that of an Iroquois war party, though the name of course is Algonquin. That he did not understand their language makes this almost certain. He bought some of their weapons and increased his reputation by showing these, the Virginia tribes supposing he had taken them by force. But a Maryland trader went to the Massawomekes in 1632,

and there remains no doubt that this name included the Eries and Senecas, then or previously allied. They had palisades of great trees about their villages, with galleries at the top, and some of their towns were connected with, but distinct from the cannibal tribes of Central New York.

The strength of the Senecas increased fast from the adoption of so many captives, especially from kindred nations. This was a great source of supply, as may be readily seen. Before their destruction there were over thirty Huron villages, with a population of thirty thousand. Near these the Tobacco Nation had nine populous towns; the Neutrals had forty villages with twelve thousand inhabitants, and the Eries were probably as numerous; but the downfall of all came in rapid succession.

In a general way, to go back, this was the material out of which the Iroquois League was formed, but little if at all before the whites entered New York. The Senecas from the west, the Onondagas from the north, the Mohawks from the St. Lawrence,—these were the elder brothers. The Cayugas and Oneidas may have been offshoots of the Senecas and Mohawks, and were younger brothers. The earliest and most reliable Mohawk tradition on record, made this not earlier than 1550, probably later; and archæological research confirms this, pointing to a yet more recent date.

There is a traditional assignment of sachems to the nations and clans, not well supported by historical statements; there is a theory of a compact, well ordered, political and social system at the outset, not founded in the nature of things, or in agreement with facts, and it seems very clear that a forest savage, centuries ago, did not manifest the far-seeing and exact political sagacity ascribed to him. The whole system grew out of what already existed, subject to the ordinary laws of growth, and the peculiar circumstances in which the people found themselves. Save in the distance apart of the several villages, which made each group an independent nation, there was little in the league itself different from that which bound the thirty Huron towns together, and which afterwards held them together when scattered by war. They were affected by the incoming Dutch, French and English; by their adopted captives, who were numerous; by their distant conquests; by the persistent work of missionaries, and the residence of a considerable white population. Leaving out different phases of Christianity, they have had three different forms of paganism within historic times. There was their original system,

such as it was; a later form beginning about 1670, and the present religion introduced by the Peace Prophet a century ago. To say that laws and customs did not change, under all these influences, is to give them a stability nowhere else found under such circumstances.

The confederacy was at first a loose one, a mere argeement to submit all their disputes to a common tribunal. There is nothing to show that it was an offensive or defensive alliance in the beginning. The totems and clans never exactly accorded throughout; the sachems varied in number as time went on. They are said to have been fixed at fifty; or leaving out the two alleged to have had no successors, at forty-eight. But time and again do we find the numbers and apportionment varying and exceeding the modern list. They are assigned in this to certain clans, and it is well known that in early councils some things could not be done unless sachems from the Turtle, Wolf and Bear tribes in each nation were present. Yet in the list no sachem is given to one of these clans in the Cayuga nation. The evidence on these points is very full, and I have discussed it before.

The simple objects of the first general councils took in a larger range afterwards. When the French first attended them, one principal business was to keep peace among themselves. By hearing disputes, giving wise advice, and above all by timely presents, they kept from fighting each other; a very great gain to savages as well as to civilized men.

In 1656 there was great danger of war between the Senecas and Mohawks, very seldom good friends,—which was so serious as to come before the grand council. The next year the Mohawks asked the Dutch to protect them in case the Senecas attacked their castles. The Mohawks and Onondagas at times fell out, as happened about the same time, and all was not harmony in this band of brothers, such as might have been, had the league then existed a century.

Yet this loose confederacy grew firmer as time went on. I have no idea that its founders thought or planned for more than the most general and immediate benefits. They provided for a council which should be a general court for settling their quarrels, but war and peace were left to each nation, though often agreed to by all.

Until we fairly examine it, it is natural to be impressed with the alleged wisdom of the totemic bond, which was certainly useful in a limited way. The common statement is that there are in every nation eight clans, some of which have hereditary chiefs and some have not. Members of any clan must marry into some other, thus binding all parts of the nation together. Then a member of

a Mohawk clan visiting Onondagas would stay with one of the same clan, a Bear with a Bear, a Wolf with a Wolf, and thus there was an international bond, quite valuable as far as it went. I believe in the argument from design, when a true plan appears, but there was none here. The custom suited Bears, Wolves and Turtles, for these chief families belonged to all of the Five Nations, but the Mohawks and Oneidas had none but these. Others had from seven to nine, sometimes more, and to what Oneida clan would some of these apply? Certainly not to those of their own totems. We may imagine an Onondaga Eel looking for an Oneida Eel to take him in, or a Seneca Potato vainly searching for a Mohawk Potato to give him food. The boasted system with its wise adjustments vanishes, and we find that things had simply taken their natural course, families rising and disappearing as with us. The Mohawks and Oneidas had three clans, the Senecas had nine, and some clans are peculiar to the others. This difference which has always existed, and which was not a wise plan of the founders of the league, seems due to their different origin. Had there been a plan all the clans would have been alike, and there would have been a family of his own to greet the traveler in every nation. This was but partially the case, yet the totem was placed on every cabin, as our names might appear on our doors, that the desired place might be easily found.

We are to remember in speaking of this, that the Iroquois had some pretentions to art in house adornment and in other things. We know how tastefully they made their pipes and earthenware, and how patiently they wrought on their robes and beadwork. In the middle of the last century Charlevoix said that the Iroquois formerly built their towns in a better manner than then, adorning them with coarse figures in relief; but, he adds, "as almost all their towns have been since burned in different expeditions, they have not taken the trouble to rebuild them with their former magnificence," a curious word to use of an assemblage of bark houses. These houses were often long and high when occupied by the principal men. In one Seneca town many were over sixty feet long and occupied by several families. They were stongly built, and when the French entered Onondaga in 1655, they said that the "streets were very clean, and the roofs of the cabins seemed covered with children." Furs and mats were used to rest upon within. The long house was not the rule among the Iroquois, nor peculiar to them. Some are mentioned elsewhere one hundred and eighty feet long and crowded with people.

The Iroquois bent over saplings, tying the tops and covering this framework with bark. A piece that might be pushed aside covered the chimney hole, and the door was hung by its upper edge. On either side within were the couches or bedsteads, fastened to the wall, the lowest shelf a little above the floor for the parents; one for the children some feet above this. On the cross beams overhead were placed stores and utensils. Often there was a a porch at one end where fuel was kept, and large vessels of bark held water or corn.

The council house at Onondaga, one hundred and fifty years ago, was one of these long houses, eighty feet in length, and has been erroneously quoted as a type of the common house there. In this the sachems took their ease in their stalls on either side, while listening to the speakers. In their dignified proceedings they were often more like oriental counsellors than western savages. The orators stalked to and fro while speaking, not only interesting their own countrymen, but greatly impressing their white visitors. Early Iroquois councils were held at night, but this custom changed. The pipe was used, and yet not at first with all the dignity of the calumet. When the precious red pipe stone reached New York from the west, two centuries ago, there came also the story of its sacred character, and its use was explained.

I have mentioned the lack of wampum among the early New York Iroquois, as a proof that they had not reached the sea, but it was not abundant even on the coast in prehistoric times. On early Iroquois sites it is not found, nor anything resembling it. Morgan says that the early Iroquois used a long fresh water shell for beads, which could only have been a species of *Goniobasis*, a river shell, the only one naturally occurring in their ancient territory which would have been suitable. A kindred shell, accessible to the Eries, would have been better. But the statement is doubtful, for I have never known of the finding of a bead of this kind.

We discover indications of an usage preceding wampum. In his early history of New York, Judge Smith takes note of the use of sticks to aid the memory in replying to addresses made. These were distributed among the sachems present, and each was required to memorize in turn one proposition, which the orator afterwards learned from him. A hundred years ago, if wampum failed, sticks were often substituted for belts, and afterwards replaced by them. In 1660, at an early conference in Albany, the Senecas gave only beaver with each proposition, but wanted wampum in return. Beaver skins were a frequent substitute, but wampum is still employed in many Iroquois rites.

This was money in the colonies 250 years ago, current among Indians and whites. It is hardly probable that the Iroquois used it at first in belts. They had strings of it which were largely employed, and it was sometimes braided into a kind of belt, different from the parallel rows which formed the belts of later days. These, however, soon came into use, and we have pictures of them as early as 1666, and accounts still earlier. Significant patterns were often used, as in some of those now at Onondaga, one of which contains over 12,000 beads. Easier results were often obtained by using paint. A little red changed a peace belt into one of war, or this was done by substituting a hatchet for a pipe.

At first all the Iroquois wampum came by purchase, or as presents, but as their power increased they found a more satisfactory way. They conquered other nations, and made them pay tribute in wampum, so that before 1650 they had an ample supply. The Mohawks, soon after, gave Father LeMoyne a belt on which a large sun was wrought with 6,000 beads. From their position they naturally had wampum first of all the Five Nations.

Most savages make war one principal employment, and the Iroquois were no exceptions. The Mohawks learned war expressly to revenge themselves on the Adirondacks, whom they had sworn to exterminate. They were comparatively weak when the Dutch came to New York, but they soon obtained firearms, became expert marksmen, and in fifty years the Five Nations had subdued all the country from the Hudson to the Mississippi. They were warlike at the first glimpse we have of them in this State, but the whole confederacy soon developed into the most terrible scourge of their own race.

The most reliable Mohawk tradition represents that nation as living on the St. Lawrence, in alliance with the proud Adirondacks, who were hunters and warriors. The Mohawks were then peaceful agriculturists in the main, exchanging their produce for game. They had defensive works, but did not yet war against others. Six of each nation went on a hunt, and the Adirondacks were to kill the game, the Iroquois to bring it in and dress it. The hunt was unsuccessful, and the despised Iroquois were allowed to try their luck. To the great chagrin of their comrades they came in loaded with game. At night the Adirondacks killed them while they slept, and thus began that undying hatred which led to the ruin of so many nations. Finding no redress, the Mohawks fled to New York, drove out the few inhabitants,

learned war prudently, established the League, and at last rose to power.

I have spoken of their stockades, which Champlain says were much stronger than those of the Hurons, and regard that at Hochelaga, in 1535, as certainly Iroquois. It was a triple palisade with one entrance, having a wooden gallery around the top of the walls within, reached by ladders. This was much like the Onondaga fort of 1615, while the heaps of stones provided for defense, remind us of the heaps within the work south of Fort Plain.

Our ideas of early Indian wars are of ambushes and stratagems, but battles were sometimes fought openly, especially before the use of firearms. Until they were found useless against guns, the Five Nations carried shields for defense, sometimes made of cedar wood covered with thongs of hide, sometimes more like wicker work. Those encountered by Champlain on Lake Champlain, had arrow-proof armor, woven of cotton thread and wood. In this instance all was arranged before the battle began, and both parties openly marched to the struggle, like regular troops. At a later day, when they assaulted the Erics, the Iroquois raised their canoes against the walls for shields and scaling ladders, and bravely carried the fort.

Once the Dutch tested their courage and were beaten. A Mahican fort stood opposite Fort Orange, and the Mahicans asked some of the Dutch to go with them against the Mohawks. They unwisely went "and met the Mohawks, who peppered them so bravely with a discharge of arrows that they were forced to fly, leaving many slain, among whom were the commandant and three of his men." One of these "they devoured after having well cooked him. The rest they burnt."

The war against the Hurons had many stirring episodes of heroism, barbarity, stratagems and treachery, occurring during many years.

Why the Hurons should at first have fought against the Iroquois does not appear; we only know that Champlain found them allied with the Adirondacks against their New York kindred. I have little doubt, however, that the Onondagas were driven out of Jefferson county by the Hurons, about the same time that the Mohawks had to leave Montreal. However this may be the adventurous Frenchmen went with the Hurons and Algonquins against the Mohawks in 1609, and with the Hurons against the Onondagas in 1615. This added new fuel to their hatred, and with new strength

they revived the old Roman example of carrying the war into Africa. The Five Nations had not yet reached the height of their power, and were but few in numbers, but their courage and resources seemed unbounded. They multiplied their numbers by their activity, beset every stream and path that lay near enough, and the Hurons could only reach the east by long and circuitous routes. The latter had some success in 1638, taking one hundred Iroquois prisoners, among whom was Ononkwaya, an Oneida chief. His sufferings, endurance under torture, and savage ferocity, almost surpass belief. Scalped, burned, without hands or feet, he raised his bleeding body, and put his foes to flight with his terrible looks.

The French soon felt the storm, and reaped the fruits of unwise interference. The Iroquois seemed everywhere, east and west. "I had as lief," said Father Vimont, "be beset by goblins as by the Iroquois. The one are about as invisible as the other. Our people on the Richelieu and at Montreal are kept in closer confinement than ever were monks and nuns in our smallest convents in France."

The Canadian Algonquins fell first in this relentless warfare. The Iroquois followed them like bloodhounds, to the remotest points, and thousands perished in the wilderness. Then the war raged more terribly against the Hurons, who suffered greatly in 1645. One of their stockades had watch-towers along its walls. Two Iroquois crept up to the posts, and lay there till late in the night, when one climbed the wall, killed one sleeping sentinel, and threw another down to be slain by his comrades. Beset by such fearless foes, the Hurons, numerous as they were, were in despair, and sent ambassadors through Ohio to the kindred Andastes in Pennsylvania, imploring assistance. It was a long and perilous journey, and months passed before they returned. It was a mournful message, the prelude to similar cries from other nations, that the sad ambassadors bore. "We come," said they, "from the land of souls, where all is gloom, terror and desolation. Our fields are covered with blood; our houses are filled only with the dead; and we ourselves have but life enough to beg our friends to take pity on a people who are drawing near unto their end." The Andastes consented to mediate, having good prospects of success, but all was in vain.

Some Onondagas had been captured in 1647, their chief Annenrais alone having his life spared. Like Regulus from Carthage, he was sent home with a message of peace, and turned back a party of his people whom he met on the way. There was a division of

opinion among the Five Nations, and embassies went to and fro. At the head of the last went the Onondaga chief Scandawati, who feared for the honor of his visit, as the Senecas were averse to peace and might break the truce at any time. It happened as he feared, and he so felt the disgrace that he killed himself in the Huron country, though unmolested. Another Onondaga envoy showed a similar spirit. He was going with a peace embassy of Hurons to his own land, when they were attacked by the Mohawks, and all the ambassadors were slain. He insisted on returning to the Hurons, in the same spirit which animated Regulus of old. "Kill me, if you will," he said to the Mohawks, "but I cannot follow you; for then I should be ashamed to appear among my people, who sent me on a message of peace to the Hurons, and I must die with them sooner than seem to act as their enemy." And it was certain death to return, for the end came rapidly on.

Parkman has vividly described the closing days of the Huron state, and the deaths of the heroic missionaries, who would not leave their people. In the absence of the warriors the largest Huron town was destroyed, and seven hundred prisoners were borne away. The destruction of the others followed swiftly. A thousand Iroquois had been leisurely drawing near for some months, and made the first assault in the middle of March, 1649. Fort after fort fell into their hands, and two weeks later fifteen Huron towns had been burned or deserted. How so small a force could have overcome such odds, so far from home, seems very strange.

I will not relate how they followed this hapless people; how they vanquished in turn their other kindred, the Tobacco nation, the Neutrals, the Eries and Andastes. Nothing will I say of their later conquests, but one important feature of their political and social life is linked with all of these. Like the Romans, to whom they have so often been compared, they adopted most of their captives, and all of the Five Nations swelled their numbers by successful wars. They lost men; that was expected, but they gained whole villages. Sometimes the adoption was of a wholesale kind, as when some Huron towns were colonized in separate towns among the Senecas, doubling their villages. I have often wondered that this did not produce greater changes in character, religion, and social and public life. The spirit of the Five Nations was maintained, but changes did come in many ways, and it is useless to say that their early institutions have remained unaltered. The French, Dutch, and English affected them, and so did the red

men whom they adopted. This was to be expected. The adoption might be of a more personal nature. A captive might be given to replace the dead member of a household, and would succeed to all his duties and privileges. In this simple way the captive Father Milet became an Oneida sachem, and a member of the Grand Council. He might be bought of his captor and adopted, for the prisoner was the property of the one who had taken him. A French priest was thus received into a Mohawk family. He took the seat of the deceased inmate, and dirges were sung to bring the dead to life in his person. Others besides captives might be adopted, and the new relation was made very real.

The subject of their tortures is too horrible to consider in detail, but it makes one thankful for milder usages. Father Joques, among the Mohawks, was placed on a scaffold five feet high, was burned with hot pipes, had his nails torn out, and his fingers gnawed or cut off, yet fared better than many. They did not however, have the Huron practice of torturing prisoners by night in the many fires of the long houses, while spectators reclined at ease on their couches along the walls.

The Iroquois were hardly habitual cannibals, and yet came very near it. They feasted on brave warriors, hoping to acquire their bravery, but then they sometimes ate women and children without such a plea. This might become a religious rite. In 1642 Joques saw a woman tortured by the Mohawks, and he describes what accompanied this: "At every burn, which they caused by applying lighted torches to her body, an old man in a loud voice exclaimed, 'Demon Aireskoi! we offer thee this victim whom we burn for thee, that thou mayest be filled with her flesh, and render us anew victorious over our enemies.' Her body was cut up, sent to the various villages and devoured; for, about midwinter, grieving as it were, that they had refrained from eating the flesh of some prisoners, they had, in a solemn sacrifice of two bears, which they offered to their demon, uttered these words: 'justly dost thou punish us, O demon Aireskoi, lo, this long time have we taken no captives; during the summer and fall we have taken none of the Algonquins. We have sinned against thee, in that we ate not of the last captives thrown into our hands; but if we ever again capture any we promise thee to devour them, as we now do these two bears,' and they kept their word." This seems to have been their only idea of religion, that of the Great Spirit coming at a later day.

The present religious system of the New York Iroquois is modern, with almost all its feasts and ceremonies. The Dream Feast has

merged into that of the White Dog, which seems to have belonged to the Senecas alone a hundred years ago, and has never been adopted by some. The two bears of the Mohawks suggest a parallel.

I may say a few words regarding both the Dream and White Dog Feast. Among the Onondagas, more than two centuries since, the former occurred about the time that the latter does now, but without sacrifices. It had all the disorder and license of the present feast, but none of its better features. Its Indian name meant "a turning of the head," and all did as they pleased, even the maddest things, for they feigned themselves madmen. In its extravagances the Frenchmen, and the town itself, narrowly escaped destruction at the first festival which they witnessed at Onondaga. Now the dreams of the year past are told and interpreted quietly, but there is no effort to act them out. The Senecas had the White Dog Feast before the other nations, probably deriving it from the west, and yet I find no account of it there until Kirkland visited them in 1765. They killed two white dogs, as the Onondagas once did, but with the latter one dog at last answered; then it was placed in a stove, and now it has ceased to be offered. The Onondaga and Seneca ceremonies were not the same, differing in striking ways. To speak liturgically, there was an Onondaga and Seneca use, neither of any great antiquity.

Their ceremonies for mourning and raising chiefs have also greatly changed, on historical testimony, commencing with simple forms, and adding those more elaborate. The ceremony of condolence over an Onondaga sachem, in which Sir Willlam Johnson took part in 1756, was not that of the earliest or present Iroquois, though with resemblances. What the primitive ceremonies were we have no means of telling. Those of 1760 were modern then, though with early rites, and we have good reason to think that all religious, and most civil ceremonies were greatly changed by the Peace Prophet. In a general way there was probably a likeness throughout, and in some there is a direct reference to the past. The other nations condoled the one bereaved, covered the grave by suitable gifts, and aided in raising the new chief when they could.

I have been interested in the Feasts of the Dead, which were generally different among the Hurons and the Iroquois. Charlevoix says that this grand ceremony was repeated every ten years among the Hurons and Iroquois, but there seems scarcely a trace of it among the latter, historical or otherwise. The Hurons buried

some and placed others on scaffolds when dead. At the end of ten years each clan or nation gathered up its dead and placed them in a common pit, with many funeral ceremonies, pathetic, grotesque and horrible. There were funeral games and gifts, addresses, and dirges so mournful as to be called the cry of the souls. Processions came in daily from every direction, bearing the dead of the last ten years, first hung up in private houses, and then on poles by the funeral pit. Hundreds would thus find a common grave, over which were heaped logs, stones and earth.

In Jefferson county, and in the territory of the Cayugas and Senecas, there are some small bone pits, suggesting this custom, but I know of none among the eastern Iroquois. At an early day the Onondaga dead were placed in holes lined with bark, brush was placed over these pits, and the earth heaped over all. The final result was a depression instead of a mound, and these are still seen in some woodlands now.

The only record of a feast of the dead on a large scale in New York, is the one by Father Pierron among the Mohawks, in 1669, which was quite another thing. They had lost many warriors in a fight with the Mahicans, and the Onondagas and Oneidas came to condole with them; but the whole affair had no resemblance to the Huron feast, and seems but the ordinary condolence, without burial of any kind. The representatives of the three nations stood in separate groups in the forest, at a distance from the town. The Onondagas spoke first, and the Mohawks responded. Then followed songs, and the Mohawks terminated the ceremony at the end of five hours. Far more elaborate was the ceremony at Onondaga, nearly a hundred years later. On the whole it is safe to say that the grand custom of the Hurons prevailed nowhere among the New York Iroquois. Parkman seems to doubt its antiquity among the Hurons themselves, and the present Onondaga Dead Feast is of a different kind.

Almost all savage nations have arrows and spears, commonly pointed with stone. My attention was arrested by some words written by the French missionaries who went to the Mohawks in 1667. They were near Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain: "Here we halted without knowing why, until we observed our savages gathering from the shore pieces of flint, nearly all cut into shape." The Indians explained that some invisible men in the lake prepared these weapons. If the Indians gave them plenty of tobacco, the supply became abundant. The French thought them of natural occurrence, cast up by violent storms, and the incident has a

scientific interest. But arrows and spears headed with stone all the early Indians had, the material being often found close at hand, but sometimes brought from afar. Some early writers speak of a wooden tomahawk or club, on which the national device was made. At any great exploit this was left behind to show who the actors were.

The use of national and personal devices is very old, and each of the Five Nations had its own, as well known as our own banner. That of the Mohawks seems to prove their very modern occupation of their valley. It was a flint and steel, which could only have been adopted after they knew the whites. Add to this the small number of important sites near the Mohawk, mostly belonging to historic times, and their advent there seems very recent. An early occupation would require many sites. In Canada they seem the only Indians who met the French in 1535, and may have obtained the flint and steel from them, using it as a device in their new home.

When a party went out to war, a feast was made by the leader, and dog's meat was generally eaten, as that was supposed to create courage, much, perhaps, as our scientists advocate the eating of fish to furnish brain power. War usages and implements are so well known that they require no description.

The Iroquois were the only Indians who made canoes of the bark of the red elm, and these sometimes carried twenty persons. One custom of fishing by torchlight long remained. Having no iron jack the Indian placed bark in his canoe, covered it with earth, and made a fire upon it. Using a spear he found abundant sport in the reedy margins of lakes and rivers. They used nets also, and though they would not often carry their flat stone sinkers home, I have found them on their fort sites, miles away from any fishing-place. On some of our lakes white men still use the Indian sinkers on their nets.

Their harpoons of bone and horn are somewhat rare, and mostly recent, and they must have depended mainly on the stone point. I think they much preferred this to angling. But thrice have I seen bone or horn barbed fish-hooks, and these are the only ones known. Two were from prehistoric sites in Onondaga county; one from Jefferson county, and it seemed to me that the Indian who made the first I saw, must have seen an European hook. The others were older. It has been said that the Hurons used hooks of bone or horn, but none have been described, and they may not have had them.

Fishing was of so much importance to the Hurons that they were accustomed to marry young women to their nets. This practice did not descend to the Iroquois. The spear was of more importance to them than the net, and almost as useful was the fish weir. Many remains of these are to be found along our rivers, and when the fish did not enter them readily, a wild grape vine, weighted with stone was carried across the stream and drawn slowly along the bottom, driving the fish before it. These were caught in traps at the angles of the weirs, or speared between the walls of stone. At the annual fishing feast of the Oneidas, when the first salmon were taken, rows of stakes were driven across the stream at the forks of Fish creek, confining the fish.

The Iroquois seem to have used stone pestles very little, though they are abundant on open sites by our rivers. The wooden mortars hollowed out of blocks by fire, and the double wooden pestles of the present day, may have been very long in use. Yet large stones with depressions, known as Indian mortars, occur on some recent sites. As a matter of preference many Onondagas pound their corn yet.

The snow snake is used for a winter game, but I remember no early reference to it. It is a long, tapering stick, slightly upturned and weighted at one end, and tossed from the hand at the other. The appearance is wonderfully like the gliding of a snake, and it is sent to a great distance on the snow. The Onondaga and Seneca snow snakes differ in some details. Games of chance and skill are many among a people without regular employment, and pass from one nation to another.

The practice of picture writing is of much interest, passing from pictures into symbols. A stone sometimes in the fork of a tree would mean an Oneida; a bear or wolf would show to what clan he belonged. His personal name might be represented by a sign or a picture. If a party used a canoe, the paddles would show their number and the direction of their journey. The bear and turtle appear with a belt and hatchet between them; it is a council of war. They sit on opposite sides of a council fire and talk of peace. The uses of this were many and great, and some part of it was transferred to their wampum belts. The covenant belt at Onondaga has thirteen men, representing the thirteen states of Washington's day, joining hands with the Indians in the council house. A union belt, reputed to be old from its emblems, is of a similar nature. A heart in the center is joined to the nations on either side; they have but one heart.

Just how their lands were divided among the nations may prove a difficult question as their boundaries were not always the same. The Mohawks owned from near the Hudson to Little Falls, claiming all the land north to the St. Lawrence, and perhaps part of Vermont. The Oneidas ran their west line from Clayton on the St. Lawrence, to a point on the north bank of the Oneida river, but it ran from the lake on the south side. In early days the eastern boundary of the Onondagas was farther east than a century ago. The Cayugas are sufficiently indicated by that county, but not exactly ; and the Senecas reached the Genesee valley, extending westward after the Erie conquest. Much conquered land was held in common, reaching to the Mississippi and far into the south. Quite a minute division of their home territory has been asserted by Sir William Johnson, but hardly seems probable.

They cultivated beans and Indian corn, and mix these in their bread still. Pumpkins were abundant, but it is harder to understand the early allusion to potatoes, where several plants seem confused, and artichokes may be sometimes meant. The totem of the Seneca Potato clan of 1666, seems to be meant for the ground nut.

With the founding of the league, ascribed by tradition to Onondaga Lake, is directly connected the legend of Hiawatha. The Tuscarora historian, Cusick, figured some incidents of this sixty years ago, and La Fort and Captain Frost related the Onondaga legend in full to J. V. H. Clark, twenty years later. This story is local and barely extends outside of Onondaga territory. The divine man appears at Oswego, chooses two companions for his labors, kills serpents, drains Onondaga Lake, slays an enchantress, the great mosquitoes and the giant eagles, setting fish and fowl at liberty, and making travel easy and pleasant. Then he dwells as a man at Cross Lake. Aroused by the danger of the people he goes to the council with his daughter, who is killed, advises with the assembly, divests Atotarho of his serpents and brings him to the council. All being done he makes a farewell address, seats himself in his white canoe and ascends to heaven.

There are many modern ideas in this, and one is very striking, the lowering of Onondaga Lake and the cutting through the obstructions in the Oswego river, things actually done by the State in the first quarter of this century. Hiawatha's magic paddle was the white man's spade. At the same time the marks of early missionary teaching are plain, recalling the life of Christ.

Hiawatha comes from heaven and becomes man, to do good to men, performs great works and removes difficulties, suffers affliction, lies as one dead for three days, is roused to life, eats and drinks with his friends, organizes the league, gives its sachems power to carry on the peaceful work begun, and then visibly rises to heaven, leaving the blessing of peace.

While speaking of the formation of the league I may add a few words on its date. Archæology points out very few prehistoric sites that we can definitely assign to the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas as such, and some of these fall within the seventeenth century. Their known sites resemble others, yet are generally larger, with a difference in relics at once evident to the experienced eye. There are not sites enough of this kind to carry them far back in the sixteenth century, if at all beyond its close. The proper name of the Mohawks and their device of the flint and steel point to a very recent day. The same may be said of the Oneidas, the People of the Stone, with their device, and the Onondagas, the People of the Mountain, with their device, of a cabin on a hill. If they had these names and signs at the founding of the league, as we would suppose, it is difficult to fix this earlier than 1600. If the Mohawks were in Canada in 1535, with few Algonquins then on the St. Lawrence, and this seems certain, the time for the Algonquin migration and alliance, and the succeeding expulsion of the Iroquois would have occupied some years. Four years later, the date usually given to the league, is by no means late enough. This might be slightly modified by supposing that the Adirondacks were already in Canada, but not encountered by the French.

The tradition of the Mohawks, 150 years since, was that the League was formed about a man's lifetime before the whites came. Placing this in 1609, a date certainly early enough, and reckoning back seventy years, we have 1539, the date usually assumed. Of course we might reckon back from 1535, but this would be too wild a conjecture, absolutely in the face of all probabilities. But did the Mohawks date from the mere visits of Hudson and Champlain, or from a later day? Did they allow seventy years for a man's life? I would rather suppose they meant the usual generation of about thirty years, and perhaps dated from the permanent establishment of the Dutch at Albany, rather than Hudson's mere ascent of the river. In each case the year 1580 would have been quite early enough for the alliance. The Onondaga traditions of the last century confirm this view.

Charlevoix, who gives the tradition of the flight from Canada,

thinks the war had gone on but a short time when Champlain entered Canada, so that a more recent date might be inferred, and this is probable. I might add to this that there is no mention of a league for a long time by the Dutch, no hint of a confederacy, no fears of allies coming to their aid when the French went against the Mohawks in 1609, or the Onondagas in 1615. This, however, would fairly agree with a somewhat loose alliance of the Five Nations, but not at all with the ancient, compact and firm confederacy so often assumed.

These things, and they are not all that might be mentioned, lead me to reject the early date of 1539, for the first council, and to place it much later. Friendly intercourse will account for all that seems older.

Sir William Johnson, who did more in raising sachems than any white man, said that these were sometimes elective, and sometimes hereditary. They had titles conferred, of which some are still used, but they were not invariably the same, and the ceremonies of installation have changed. Historical proof on all these points is ample.

The chief distinction of the language was the lack of labial sounds. No word containing *m* or *p* is Iroquois. Mohawk is not, nor Chemung, nor Manhattan. The dialects differ. Father Joques, well acquainted with the Hurons at the west, could not readily converse with the Mohawks at the east, for a time. An Indian told me he could understand all of the Six Nations but the Tuscaroras. Among the Onondagas now, it seems odd to find the dogs and cows understanding Indian, but not English. Say "Get out!" to a dog and he looks up inquiringly. Say "Oosta!" and he vanishes.

Women have always had prominence among them, and early writers make them the real rulers, but it was told Charlevoix that a more equitable arrangement prevailed at Oneida, where the men ruled one year, and the women the next. In the family, however, the women are supreme, and can now claim not only their own children, but those of their female relatives if they die. This has some sad effects as may be supposed, and some odd features.

I have spoken of their story-telling, and will close with one example given me by an intelligent Onondaga. It seems one of their oldest tales, but with some modern coloring. Mrs. E. A. Smith has related it in a different form from another nation.

In old times, when the Onondagas lived on a much larger reservation, they made hunting parties to the great woods far to the

north. A party once started in which were an old man, his daughter and her husband, and their little boy. They went one day and camped, and another day and camped, and then parted. The old man, his daughter and her husband went one way, but their little boy happened to go with his uncle in the other band. The three went on, and late in the day found an empty cabin in a clearing. There was an Indian bedstead on each side within, and as no one seemed to live there they resolved to stop for the night. They gathered plenty of fuel, stripping bark from the shag-bark hickory, built a fine fire, spread their deer-skins on the bedsteads and then went to sleep; the old man on one side and the man and his wife on the other.

When the fire became low and the cabin grew dark, the young people were aroused by a sound like a dog gnawing a bone. They stirred about, and the noise stopped, but another followed overhead like rattling bones, and then all was still. They got up and put on more fuel, and the cabin grew bright again. Then they saw a litte stream of blood flowing from the other bed. The old man was dead, his clothes torn open, his ribs broken and gnawed. They covered him up and lay down again. The same thing happened a second time, and the frightened pair made a plan to escape. This time they saw a terrible skeleton feeding on the dead man, and retreating up the ladder into the loft when they rose. They made a bigger fire, and the wife said, "Husband, I must go to the spring and get some water, I am so thirsty." So she went quietly out, but when she had gone a little way she ran with all her might towards her own country. When her husband thought she had a good start, he made a very big fire, very bright, to last a long time. Then he said, "What has become of my wife? I am afraid she is drowned in the spring! I must go and see!" So he went out too, and when he had gone some way he ran as fast as he could towards his own country. He overtook his wife, caught her by the arm, and they ran on together. Soon the fire went down, and the terrible skeleton came again. When he found both were gone he started in chase. Soon they heard him howling terribly behind them, and they ran faster.

That night the Onondagas were holding a feast, and it now drew towards morning. They heard the Indian drum, sounding afar off, tum-tum, tum-tum; and they ran faster and shouted, but the skeleton did the same. Then they heard the drum again, *tum-tum, tum-tum*, and it was nearer, and they shouted again. This time their friends came to their aid, and the skeleton fled. The man

and woman fell down, and did not revive for four hours. Then they told their story.

The warriors went to the dreadful spot, where they found the hut and few traces of the old man. In the loft was a bark coffin, in which was the skeleton of a man left unburied by his friends. They resolved to destroy everything. Fuel was gathered, and fire was set on every side. The warriors stood around with raised hatchets and bended bows to destroy the skeleton if he burst forth upon them. The cabin fell in, and out of the flames rushed a fox with fiery eyes, broke through the ranks and disappeared. The terrible skeleton was never heard of more.

I have thus given a few random notes on the early life of a barbarous people to whom the Empire State owes much, and whose names she perpetuates. Some will assign them more forethought and higher antiquity than I have done. They may do so from one point only; I have used several base lines, so to speak, in projecting their origin. Archæology, history and tradition combine in this, and contribute to my conclusions, which seem to me fair and true. It is the part of a society like this to call forth differing views, assured that each one may contribute something to a final harmonious result. In drawing out and preserving their history we owe something to the people whom we have dispossessed, and to do this in a painstaking and generous way is almost the only return we can now make to those who were our early benefactors.

THE BLEECKER STREET CHURCH, UTICA.

BY THOMAS W. SEWARD.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, MAY 30, 1887.

The recent sale of the Bleecker Street Church property and the contemplated demolition of the church edifice at no distant day, seem to justify the narrative I am about to give of a building historically the most famous in our city. This building is sixty years old; a fact hardly worth noting, were it not that we have no other public building so old except Trinity Church, Broad street, which is something more than eighty years old. To me the Bleecker Street Church seems to lack the venerable maturity of years; for I saw its walls go up, its steeple rise in the air, and I expect before long with some pardonable regret, to see them all come down. For two decades after this church was built, it was the scene time after time, of great religious awakening, of meetings held to promote the cause of humanity, the reformation of society and of civil government. It was the favorite place for conventions of every kind. In many respects it may be said to have been the counterpart as well contemporary of the old Broadway Tabernacle of New York, and like that counterpart is forced at last to give way to the demands of business, and be in the future only a remembrance or a tradition.

The building of this church, known at the time as the Second Presbyterian, was begun in the summer of 1825 and was completed in about one year. The site it occupies was not the first choice of the church trustees. They had an eye on a large vacant lot at the upper corner of Genesee and Pearl streets, running down to Washington street and up to the present County Clerk's Office. You recognize at once the ground now occupied by the city hall and police headquarters. That property would have been a prize in every way; but it was lost through the common mistake of trying to get a thing for less than its value. Amos Gay, hearing of negotiations pending, snapped up the property, not for the purpose of cornering the church in a Wall street sense, but rather as the transaction seemed to look, for the purpose of cornering it in another and less obvious way; for having bought the lot, he straightway built thereon a theater, a large three story brick building, which in a few years proved to be much more profitable

to the owner as the United States Hotel, than it ever had been as a play house. The site finally bought by the church, at the corner of Bleecker and Charlotte streets, had much to commend it. It was in a comparatively new and growing part of the village. Between it and Genesee street there were first, the small dwelling house of Augustus Hurlburt, standing back from the street in a spacious and pleasant door yard; and next a brick house, adjoining a low brick store on the corner. The ground covered by dwelling house and store is now the property of the Mathers. From Charlotte street to St. John's Church there were only a few scattered houses. Over the way the entire space bounded by the canal, John, Bleecker and Charlotte streets, was without buildings of any kind, save the wooden circus at the corner of Charlotte street and the canal basin. Behind the church site, the west side of Charlotte street was unoccupied all the way to Steuben square, except where George Martel's new white house looked down Mary street, just as it does now. On the east side of Charlotte street, between Bleecker and Elizabeth, some dwelling houses had been recently built, notably a large block of such, since demolished in sections from time to time, until now all are gone. As for Post street, it had a place on the surveyor's map, but had not yet become a local habitation and a name. Its possibilities, however, lay in the near future, and it was patiently waiting for the obliteration of Water street and the hegira of its unsavory population. There was standing on the site of the proposed church a dismal yellow building, which had been used for some years back as a wagon shop. Time had been when it was at least respectable in garb, and was occupied by a girls' school, to which many of the best families in the village, and some families remote from the village had sent their daughters. Of the non-resident pupils, and she the only survivor now, of all her companions in that school, was one from far away Pompey Hill.

At that time there lived in Utica a carpenter of the name of Crane, an Englishman by birth, who had given much study to architectural design and had been favored with some practice therein. His first work of that sort here was seen in St. John's Roman Catholic Church, built in the year 1821, at the corner of John and Bleecker streets. The facade of this church, especially its tower and steeple, was a startling innovation upon forms that had been the unchallenged fashion here and elsewhere, time out of mind. Mr. Crane took some features of florid gothic art, with all of which he was perfectly familiar, and planted them wisely

and in moderation on the aboriginal square, high shouldered, wooden meeting house. His was not a work of so-called misappropriation. Inasmuch as he applied the members selected for his work, without mixing or trying to improve them, and so disposed them that they harmonized, he was justified although he worked in wood. The front of the first St. John's Church with its Tudor doorway, mullioned windows, engaged clustered columns, foliated window labels, and its gracefully outlined open spire, was a gem.

Mr. Crane was commissioned to design the Second Presbyterian Church, but he was hampered by the size and shape of the ground in ways that had not troubled him in the other case. Thus he was forced into the impropriety, quite too common at that day, of perching his steeple partly on the pediment of the main building, and partly on the smaller and lower pediment of its projecting vestibule. With this exception, his design proved to be a very fine one. The steeple has been sadly mutilated in one way and another, so that now it gives but small indication of what it was originally. I may as well try to restore it descriptively before the whole edifice disappears, as it probably will in the course of a few months. The only part of the original steeple now standing is the belfry, and that has long been disfigured by excrescent clock faces. The pinnacles at the four corners of the tower from which the steeple rises, together with the very handsome balustrade, worked in decorated gothic patterns, which connected them, were removed only a few years since. Where the spire is now there was a second section of the steeple, smaller both in circumference and height than the belfry, but conforming to it both in design and detail. From the top of this section sprang an aspiring ogee cupola crowned with the regulation gilt ball and vane. Every corner of this steeple, and there were twenty corners, had its appropriate pinnacle; and balustrades divided laterally into sections of unequal height, and pierced by quartre foils and trefoils, ran from one pinnacle to another. The steeple was painted white, all the shutters were painted green, and the cupola was covered with unpainted tin. There was scarcely a square foot of the whole construction that was not decorated richly, but with perfect decorum. It was all bright, cheerful, sparkling.

The church had been organized in the year 1824 by Rev. Samuel W. Brace, a graduate of Hamilton College of the class of 1815, and of Andover Theological Seminary, 1818. Until the completion of their church the congregation worshiped in the First

Presbyterian session room in Hotel street. The Second Church, as its name indicated was an offshoot from the First Church, the congregation of which had outgrown its edifice. The new church was dedicated August 24, 1826, and the sermon was preached by Rev. James Richards, D. D., President of Auburn Theological Seminary. There was also a second service in the evening of the same day. The interior of the building was found to be complete in every requirement. It was spacious and elegant, clean and bright in its white walls and ceiling and white paint; the light from its large windows subdued to mildness by the green shutters that protected them on the outside. The first utterance from the pulpit demonstrated to both speaker and listener the excellence of the building's acoustic properties, an excellence that has made it famous in that particular, has never been surpassed, and never can be. Here on Thanksgiving Day of that year, the two Presbyterian churches joined in worship, on which occasion Rev. Sereno E. Dwight, pastor of the Park Street Church, Boston, and who became third president of Hamilton College, preached the sermon.

Mr. Brace's pastorate lasted something more than two years from the date of the church dedication. In a religious sense the church had prospered, and in this regard minister and people had reason for gratitude and thanksgiving. But its temporalities had never prospered, and they became less prosperous from year to year. It seems almost incredible to us who live in this period of affluent expenditures, that so fine a church property, costing about fifteen thousand dollars, all told, could not have been paid for "out of hand." But it was never paid for. The church got itself into debt to Mr. Brace to the extent of twelve hundred dollars or more, and then I am sorry to say, began applying to him a process not very unlike the one described by the bishop of Central New York as that of polite starvation. Even at that early day in this church's history projects were entertained, first, of organizing a Unitarian society, second a Reformed Dutch Church, and third, an Episcopal Church, each project involving the purchase of this property at a very low price. It is more than probable that if the people of the First Church had redeemed their verbal pledges to Mr. Brace of liberal contributions, there would have been no serious embarrassment. But before the Second Church was finished, the walls of a new First Church began to rise close to the old building at the corner of Washington and Liberty streets. This undertaking naturally absorbed all the ready money of the First Church, and resulted in one of the

largest and finest church buildings of that period in the United States; a building which during its lifetime of twenty-five years, was the pride of the city.

Mr. Brace was succeeded in the year 1829 by Rev. Dirck C. Lansing, D. D., of the First Presbyterian Church, Auburn. Dr. Lansing was among the foremost of American Presbyterians, and held a long pastorate at Auburn, during which he had been mainly instrumental in founding and building up Auburn Theological Seminary. He was a man of commanding presence, of wonderfully ingratiating manners, of great force of character, allied to a temperament warmly sympathetic. As a preacher he was without hyperbole, the Henry Clay of the Presbyterian pulpit. The Second Church felt assured of a retrieval from all disaster, and a prosperous future when Dr. Lansing was installed. But somehow their anticipations were not realized. There remained the chronic malady of a heavy debt, so that men of substance, who would have been glad to sit under Dr. Lansing's preaching, cautiously avoided identification with his church. Moreover, he had lately become much addicted to theological controversy, whereby it was thought his usefulness at Auburn had been seriously impaired. The talk in some religious circles in Utica was that he had come here to put down Universalism. He preached a series of vigorous sermons against that doctrine, but he met an adroit and wary antagonist in Rev. Dolphas Skinner, pastor of the Universalist Church in Devereux street, who fought Dr. Lansing, not from his pulpit, but from the columns of a denominational paper, which he owned and edited, and, which, for the time being, was distributed broadcast through the village.

In the year 1833, Dr. Lansing was succeeded by Rev. Asa T. Hopkins, a young man twenty-eight years old, a graduate of Yale, class of 1826, who had acquired his theological education in a clergyman's family. Mr. Hopkins was shy in manners, of a shyness, however, that vanished when antagonism was aroused, was something of a recluse, and was devoted to and absorbed by his profession. His pulpit ability was of the highest. His sermons were strong in original thought, phrased in compact diction, and were spoken with all the vehemence and fire of his enthusiastic nature. During his pastorate, the church prospered in everything except its finances. Its meetings were always full, and especially were young men drawn to them by the oratory of the preacher, although it cannot be said that any warm sympathy subsisted between the pastor and young men outside of his own communion and congregation.

On the 14th of August, 1834, the city was swept by a tornado, which, under the name of cyclone, would have been recognized by any western prairie as a very creditable affair. Its path, from northwest to southeast, was marked by prostrate trees, unroofed buildings, fallen chimneys, upset vehicles, canal boats swept clean of light deck freight, and in one case at least, of a dwelling house overturned bodily, and, thanks to stout timbers and good joinery, without falling to pieces. The hurly burly was frightful, but not of long continuance. When it subsided, and the rain had stopped falling, Rev. Mr. Hopkins went out on his front stoop at the corner of Seneca and Whitesboro streets to see what damage had been done. Looking about him, he discovered the weather-cock and the iron rod that sustained it belonging to the First Presbyterian Church spire drooping eastwardly at a very threatening angle. In tones slightly jubilant, perhaps, he exclaimed: "Ha! Brother Aikin, your high head had to bend to the blast." Some one hurrying by in the street overheard the remark, and shouted to the complacent Second Presbyterian pastor, "Mr. Hopkins, your steeple's gone."

Next summer the laborious work was accomplished of straightening the iron rod around which the vane of the First Church revolved. This work required the building of tier upon tier of scaffolding, from the belfry up. More than one adventurous youth clambered to the topmost scaffold, and, with enterprise not wholly commendable, bestrode the great gilt ball, which, together with the gilt vane above it, adorned the top of the spire. There, at an altitude of more than two hundred feet, and closely hugging the iron rod, they enjoyed not only an enchanting prospect, but also from inability to see anything directly under them, a thrilling sensation of floating in mid-air. In comparison with this, all balloon experience was as nothing.

As the year 1833 was drawing to its close, Rev. J. N. Danforth, an agent of the American Colonization Society, in his round of visits through this region of country, came to Utica, and invited the public and especially the friends of African colonization to meet him in the Reformed Dutch Church on Broad street, on the evening of the 31st of December, and listen to what he and others might have to say in the society's behalf. It was Mr. Danforth's mission to re-invigorate the zeal of the friends of colonization, which had confessedly begun to droop under the attacks of a few active societies recently formed at the north, and which advocated the immediate emancipation of the slaves. Mr. Danforth's meet-

ings began and were continued. They were parliamentary in form, had a presiding officer, and the speeches were made to the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That this meeting deeply deplores the unfortunate condition of the colored population of this country, and commends to the zealous support of the philanthropist and the Christian, the American Colonization Society, as the instrument under Providence, which is best calculated to alleviate the condition of the free negro, and secure the ultimate emancipation of the slave."

Either at the first or second meeting, and in reply to some remarks of Mr. Danforth in sharp criticism of the methods of the anti-slavery people, uprose the president of the Oneida Institute, Rev. Beriah Green, and opened at once his fire on the colonization society, its officers, agents and patrons, and upon slaveholders and their apologists as well. Many of us vividly remember Beriah Green's artillery and his way of handling it. The onslaught was terrific, its effect prodigious. The meeting adjourned to the next night amidst great excitement and some enthusiasm; and thus began what came to be known and designated as the great colonization and anti-slavery debate at Utica, and which, beginning on the last night of the year 1833, was continued on the 3d, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th and 14th nights of January, 1834. The debate was opened in the Reformed Dutch Church and closed in the First Presbyterian. The bulk of the discussion, however, was held in the Bleecker Street Church. Mr. Danforth, a large, dignified gentleman of prepossessing manners, a deliberate and polished speaker, an experienced debater, conducted his side of the argument with great ability, being reinforced from time to time by such home talent as we had at command, and of which we certainly had no reason to be ashamed. On the other side, Mr. Green led the fight and maintained it night after night almost single handed. And what an amazing exhibition was that of forensic skill, intellectual vigor, intensity of purpose, sarcasm, invective and pathos, in turn. Some minor incidents in the debate are worth noting. The best ally Mr. Green had was Alexander B. Johnson, who wrote for the occasion and read a very strong argument against colonization, but not for emancipation; and, one night, when the fray had gone heavily against Mr. Danforth, he retrieved much that had been lost when, in his closing speech, he paid a truthful and most eloquent tribute to the memory of one of our townsmen then not two years dead; one greatly distinguished at the bar and in statesmanship, who, from the first, had been one of the most

steadfast friends and advocates the colonization scheme ever knew. This was William H. Maynard.

I come now to the most remarkable occurrence in the history of the Bleecker Street Church. On the 10th of January, 1834, and while the great debate was in progress, the Common Council had unanimously resolved, in substance, that all agitation of the subject of negro slavery by misguided philanthropists was pernicious. The years 1833, 1834 and 1835, as is well known, were characterized by an unusual excitement throughout the country, occasioned by the advocates of immediate emancipation, commonly termed Abolitionists. Many of their meetings had been broken up, mobs and riots had ensued in various places, and public assemblies of great weight and character had condemned their proceedings.

On September 3, 1835, a public meeting was held at the court room in the Academy building, of the citizens of Utica "who were opposed to the proceedings of the Abolitionists," at which resolutions condemning such proceedings were unanimously adopted. Shortly afterwards, the Utica Anti Slavery Society issued a call for a State Convention, to be held at Utica, on the 21st of October, for the purpose of forming a State Anti-Slavery Society, and on the 8th of October another public meeting was held in Miller's Hall, of the citizens "who approve of the sentiments expressed at the meeting held September 3d," and "all opposed to the assembling of a State Convention in Utica for the purpose set forth in a call of the Anti-Slavery Society of this place, and all other persons who believe that temperate and judicious measures are necessary to avert the dangers to the public peace that such a convention will create." However, at the meeting of the Common Council on October 16, a request by the Utica Anti-Slavery Society for permission to hold the approaching Anti-Slavery State Convention in the court room was granted by a vote of 7 to 4. The next day, the 17th, a large meeting of citizens convened at the court room, and the action of the Common Council was condemned in unqualified terms.

This meeting adjourned to meet again at the same place October 21. On the other hand a meeting in behalf of free speech and of the right of the people peaceably to assemble while disavowing all sympathy with Abolitionists, was also held in the court room on the 20th of October. This meeting was a large one, and was well officered; but it was disturbed by intruders who made a great deal of noise and at times threatened violence. Amidst much confusion it had to adjourn prematurely. Finally the adjourned meeting of October 17

reconvened at the court room at nine o'clock, October 21, for the proclaimed purpose of preventing the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Convention on that day "in a building," as one of the resolutions phrased it, "erected by the voluntary contribution of the citizens for better and different purposes." The gist of the preamble and resolutions adopted by the meeting was that the public agitation of the slavery question was mischievous to all concerned, the enslaved and free alike, that the delegates to the proposed Anti-Slavery Convention could be regarded in no other light than as intruders upon the quiet of a well ordered community, after they had been repeatedly asked to stay away, and that if disorder and violence should come of their persisting in holding a convention, upon them would rest the whole blame and responsibility. The chairman of the meeting appointed a committee of twenty-five to go to the Anti-Slavery Convention, report the proceedings of this meeting, and respectfully urge the convention to break up and leave the city forthwith. After the lapse of considerably less than an hour, the committee returned to the court room, and by its chairman reported that they had found the convention at the Bleecker Street Presbyterian Church, had read the resolutions and made the communication with which they were charged; whereupon after some little delay, the convention yielded to the pressure of public opinion and adjourned.

During the some little delay of which the committee's chairman speaks, there was undoubtedly some pretty lively work inside the church. The appearance on the scene of the committee from the court room seems to have been the incentive to certain rowdies, ripe for mischief, who had been in the building all along, and a reinforcement of such had crowded their way in with the committee. There was a good deal of noise, some threats of violence, hymn books and other missiles were tossed about, and a few assaults were made. Spencer Kellogg, a man of stalwart frame and undoubted courage, suffered his coat to be torn from his back, seemingly conscious that history could be made in that way very favorably. Alvan Stewart, a still larger man, although enfeebled by years of ill health, on being laid hold of by a notorious bully, treated that worthy to some new experience in gyratory and saltatory exercise. As for the riot in the street, "all of which I saw and a part of which I was," all accounts of it that I have read are very much exaggerated. Up to the moment of the arrival of the committee of twenty-five, there had been no disturbance either outside or inside of the church. There may have been one

hundred men in the street, many of whom seemed hesitating whether or not to go inside; but when the committee with its strong following came up Bleecker street, by that mysterious process so well known, and yet so wholly inexplicable, by which a crowd, from nobody knows where, will rally on a given point all at once, from the space between Genesee and Charlotte streets and far beyond, and part of Charlotte street were noiselessly packed with men. It certainly looked formidable, for it bore every appearance of being preconcerted. The church was completely filled already, and strenuous, continued and unavailing effort was going on to make it more full. Making my way slowly through the crowd from one circumference to the other, and by sundry jostlings made to permeate it pretty thoroughly, it was not long before I became satisfied that there was no serious cause for apprehension. The crowd was mainly inspired by curiosity, and it was mostly silent; but here and there I encountered men whose specialties in character were so well known that no proclamation was needed to explain their presence. Some there were who discussed the situation, criticised the action of the court room meeting on being informed of it, and expressed astonishment when certain of the committee of twenty-five were named. Some there were, of course who looked at the affair in a different light, but as far as my observation extended, these were comparatively few in number. The discussion, if a haphazard street talk, held under exciting circumstances, can be so called, was certainly more temperate than could have been expected. Now, it is safe to say, that there were but few, if any, abolitionists in that crowd. They were in the church, so that the sense of that meeting in the street, as gleaned by myself and by many others, was the sense of men who had no sympathy with abolitionism, and very little respect for its advocates, and their verdict was that the interference, in any way, with the anti-slavery convention was impolitic, unjust and singularly lacking in common sense.

When the court room contingent had been inside the church perhaps twenty minutes there came a sudden disturbance on the easterly border of the crowd, some turbulence, some shouting, and a swaying of the multitude towards Genesee street, all caused by the irruption of a squad of roughs, bringing with them the apparel of a rifled hook and ladder house. Very soon the end of a long ladder swung into the air and quickly found lodgment on the church roof a few feet from the Charlotte street corner. A moment thereafter the heads and shoulders of two men appeared

between the rungs of the ladder, and then a stranger at my side in good clothes and of rather gentlemanly mien, ejaculated *sotto voce*, "that won't do; that must be stopped," and quickly disappeared. Happening to look towards the church front a few minutes later, I saw him forcing his way wedge-like through the interstices of the compact throng on the stoop and in the doorways. Undoubtedly it was he who conveyed to the inside the pregnant intelligence that danger was impending outside; for, not long thereafter, there was a slight commotion on the stoop, and then some one was speaking, but I could neither see the speaker nor get the import of his words. I suppose it must have been Mr. Charles A. Mann, who, it has been said, came out of the church, announced to the assembly that he was the agent of the owner of the property, which was strictly private property, and, appealing to good sense and good nature, besought for it protection from violence. Looking again towards the ladder I saw that the two men had paused when nearly up to the eaves of the building having apparently been arrested by shouts from below. They had been laboriously hauling up on the ladder some of the tackle of the hook and ladder company. They went no higher, came back to the ground, did no mischief at that time, and I suppose, formed part of the crowd that before long thronged out of the church into Bleecker street, and surged down Genesee street in rapidly swelling volume. Strangers were denied admittance into nearly every tavern in the street—and the street at that time was almost lined with them—and into many stores; or were indiscriminately hustled out into the rain, which had begun to fall. Out of pure sympathy a good many abolitionists were made that day. Before we reached Broad street the twelve pound gun Saratoga, captured from Burgoyne, was thundering at the river bridge, and its notes were interpreted to be those of triumph rather than of intimidation. The anti-slavery convention had adjourned.

It should be borne in mind that this convention was not one of delegates; but was really a mass convention of abolitionists convened for the purpose of forming a State anti-slavery society. It numbered from eight to ten hundred, and thirty-six out of the fifty-six counties of the State were represented. Among those present was one man who was not an abolitionist. On the contrary, he had been identified from its beginning with the scheme of African colonization, to which he had given his best service in influence and eloquence, and profusely of his substance. His name was Gerrit Smith. He came to the meeting as a spectator,

fully realizing the significance of the gathering, with no hostile feeling towards it, and certainly no predilection. During the last moments of the convention, amidst great confusion, his voice was heard above the uproar, in those resonant and pervasive tones which always made themselves heard, inviting the people to go home with him, where he promised them kind welcome and cordial hospitality. Nearly four hundred persons accepted the invitation, and thus it came about that the work of the convention was finished at Peterboro, and, not very long afterwards, a champion of colonization was transformed into a thrice-armed champion of emancipation.

From 1836 to 1843 the Bleecker Street Church was the favorite rallying point, not only of abolitionists, but also of advanced thinkers, as they liked to call themselves, of almost every school. Was a new hobby to be ridden, here was the place to ride it. It was here that anti-slavery agitators kept themselves ever in the public eye, and the place was long familiar with the presence of Alvan Stewart, Gerrit Smith, Beriah Green, William Lloyd Garrison, F. D. Culver, Stephen S. Foster, Henry B. Stanton, Friend Fuller, and Abby Kelly. There, too, Father Miller preached his doctrine of the destruction of the world as appointed for the year 1843, and enrolled a surprising number of believers.

Early spring of the year 1838 brought with it something in strong contrast with all that I have been telling. Mr. Hopkins had resigned his pastorate, gone to the First Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, and had been succeeded after a while, by Rev. Amos Savage, who was now pastor of the church. Elder Jacob Knapp, a noted Baptist revivalist, had been invited to Utica by the people of Bethel Chapel in State street, where he preached day and night, two weeks. The house proving to be too small for the numbers that flocked to it, he came down to the Bleecker Street Church, where he preached three weeks to a house uniformly filled to its utmost capacity, the night meetings seldom breaking up before eleven o'clock. At last the meetings overflowed into the First Presbyterian Church, where the revival scenes ended. Nothing like this religious awakening had been known since the great Finney revival of 1826, which it surpassed. Eight hundred persons were converted, and among them were men of prominence in business, professional, and official life.

Mr. Savage was followed in the year 1839 by Rev. C. Edwards Lester, who acted as pastor of the church down to the time of its breaking up as a Presbyterian organization in 1840. Mr.

Lester is best known as the author of the "Glory and Shame of England," a sensational book, much talked about, sharply criticised and mercilessly ridiculed in its day, and which he wrote during his brief residence here. He was also joint editor with Jarvis M. Hatch of the first Utica daily newspaper, A. D. 1841.

Sometime in the year 1841 a Congregational Society, which had been organized the year before by Rev. Theodore Spencer, and which had worshiped in a room fitted up for the purpose in the museum building, hired the Bleecker Street Church and occupied it for about three years. Mr. Spencer was endowed with a vigorous intellect, trained by the study and practice of the law before he entered upon the Christian ministry; and his character was marked by corresponding force and persistence. "No pastor in Utica or elsewhere more completely swayed his hearers." He was entitled by inheritance to these gifts of mind and character, for his father was New York's great chief justice, Ambrose Spencer. After losing his voice Mr. Spencer had to give up his pulpit and all public speaking, whereupon his society was disbanded.

The years 1841, 1842 and 1843 were signalized by a comprehensive and systematic effort in the cause of temperance all over the country. It had for its legend "moral suasion," and its canonized patroness was Martha Washington. This movement, known in temperance annals as the Washingtonian, was more generally successful than any thing of the kind ever had been or, possibly, has been since. In Utica, beside numberless week day meetings, there were meetings every Sunday afternoon, during the temperate months, in the old Academy yard on John street. The general meeting of the temperance societies was always held in the Bleecker Street Church, and one of them in the spring of 1842, was made memorable by circumstance and association. The seats, alleys and doorways of the church were crowded, and hundreds being unable to get beyond the porch, went away disappointed. This meeting was addressed by that gifted foster son of Oneida, Thomas H. Flandrau. In accents musical and persuasive and in that form of diction combined of strength and delicacy of finish, of which he was the pre-eminent master, he set forth and enforced the lesson taught by the absorbing topic of the hour. The pathetic allusion to another foster son of Oneida, "Oh, breathe not his name," the willing slave and victim of dissolute habits, was the only illustration used in the discourse, and certainly none other was needed. The burden of Mr. Flandrau's address being the argu-

ment that complete sobriety is completest wisdom, what closing words so apt as the words he used, the words of King Solomon, "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."

The Congregational Society having been disbanded, the church edifice stood empty until Rev. J. H. McIlvaine, a Presbyterian minister from Little Falls, came to Utica, hired the building on his own responsibility, and organized a new Presbyterian church, connected it with the old school wing of that body and named it Westminster. This church prospered from the outset under the vigorous administration of Mr. McIlvaine. It remained in Bleecker street about two years, and then bought the Universalist house of worship in Devereux street, to which it removed; and here ends the twenty years' history of Presbyterianism and its cognate Congregationalism as connected with the Bleecker Street Church.

The financial history of this church is one of the most singular in all the experience of that crowning perplexity known as church debt. As early as December 8, 1830, only four years after the building was dedicated, a decree of foreclosure of mortgage was entered in favor of Charles E. Dudley, of Albany, for $8,720. This money, borrowed on mortgage, had undoubtedly been used to pay a part of the original cost of the property, amounting to $15,000. Mr. Dudley, having acquired title, rented the church from time to time to the various religious bodies that occupied it from 1831 to 1847. A glance at that page of the books of Mr. Dudley's agent in Utica, headed "Bleecker Street Church," wherein many well known and respected names are continuously recorded in unhappy alliance with promissory notes, decorated here and there with cash entries, helps explain the reason for frequent change of ministers, as well as the ever shifting ingredients of congregation and membership. In the year 1847, however, all trouble of this kind was finally ended by the sale of the property to the Bleecker Street Baptist Church for $6,450, that body having already occupied it two years as a tenant.

Two occurrences in the year 1851 seem worthy of record in this connection: The annual meeting in May of the Presbyterian general assembly, new school, had been appointed at the First Presbyterian Church, Utica; but as the church had been destroyed by fire the preceding January, the opening meeting of the assembly was held in Concert Hall, Broad street, then occupied by the congregation as a temporary place of worship. The assembly

then adjourned to the Bleecker Street Church, where the rest of the sessions were held. The representation from the Presbyteries is said to have been unusually able, and the deliberations were presided over by Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, as moderator. While here, Mr. Barnes was the guest of his school-fellow at Fairfield Academy, Judge Hiram Denio. The session was signalized by the visit to Utica of Millard Fillmore, President of the United States; and the assembly cordially accepted the invitation extended by the citizens and common council to join them in receiving him.

The other occurrence, which, on some accounts, it seems to the writer almost unseemly to record on the same page with the foregoing, was the concert given, on the 14th of July, by Jenny Lind, the much overpraised "Swedish nightingale." The *eclat* that attended Jenny Lind's brief but very profitable visit to this country, was the result of most careful planning in every detail. For the sale of tickets in Utica, the firm of Hawley, Fuller & Co., booksellers, gave up the afternoon use of their store, No. 156 Genesee street, and had to put up the window shutters and place policemen at the door to hold back a frenzied crowd. To a recent inquiry addressed to the junior member of the firm, he made reply in substance as follows: That he charged nothing for the use of the store, and paid three dollars for his own ticket along with the crowd. That he was at that date young and inexperienced. That the nightingale gave the trustees of the church, per contract with her business agent, one hundred dollars for the use of the building, and that the same nightingale also gave her agent a vituperative scolding for not making a better bargain. This was not the only concert of a secular character given in the church. Among others was one by W. V. Wallace, pianist and violinist, July 25, 1843. Mr. Wallace afterwards wrote two very successful operas. Henry Russell, a wonderfully gifted baritone, who set to music some scraps of English verse, which he could sing with extraordinary effect, gave a concert here July 27 of the same year.

I leave to a future annalist the pleasant task of completing the history of the Bleecker Street Church, which it will be his duty to record from 1845 to 1888, the forty-three years during which the building has been occupied by the organization known as the Bleecker Street Baptist Church. My hope is that he will have no trouble in finding ample records and first rate memories. If his narrative proves to be, in most respects, in strong contrast with the one I have been reading, it will be because it will tell of-

uniform and full prosperity in all things which concern the great purpose for which ministers are ordained, the gospel is preached, churches are built, and congregations are gathered. It will also have to tell of a single pastorate, covering the whole period and more, almost unexampled in its length and signal in its usefulness. My best wish for pastor and people is that when their time-honored sanctuary is razed to its foundation, and they shall have found a new home in a smiling vicinage, there may be no vain regrets, no home sickness; and that for them may be realized, in its full significance, the seer's prediction, "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former."

ANCIENT UTICA.

BY PROF. GEORGE C. SAWYER.

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A year ago last summer, Mayor Burdick received from Paris a publication entitled "Relation of an Archæological Mission to Tunis," by Count d' Herrisson, Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and member of the French Academy. It was directed to "The Mayor of the City of Utica in the United States." The foreign scholars, under whose auspices this work of excavation was done on the site of ancient Utica, Africa, knowing of the existence in this "New World" of a modern city of Utica, had thought appropriate to make it a recipient of the results of their discoveries. Mayor Burdick handed over this copy to be deposited in the library of the Utica Academy, with an implied condition that I would at some time make known by translation its contents. Embodying the results of my examination of this French work, and combining them with material from other sources, I shall speak to you this evening of "Ancient Utica." This subject seems plain enough, and yet at the outset the question occurs which ancient Utica? Some of you are familiar with the researches of that indefatigable explorer (whom America may claim as a citizen by adoption,) at Hissarlik in Asia Minor, one of the supposed sites of Troy. Dr. Schliemann claims to have excavated there seven layers, each presenting in turn a less and less modern town, before reaching, at last, the foundation of that city so famed in story and in song. Now, although as many distinct towns are not revealed by the researches on the site of African Utica, yet there were several ancient Uticas the traces of which we can discern in history and in these excavations. But first as to the site of this settlement. In longitude 7°, 44′ 2″ and about 37° of N. latitude, twenty-one miles from Tunis and twenty-six miles from Carthage in the African district known as Zeugitania was situated the city of which I am to speak to you. Already, at a remote Phœnician epoch, it was a port of the first order; under the Roman dominion, it was, at its best estate, the second city of Africa, with a population of 100,000. One derivation of the name of Utica from the Phœnician signifies "the ancient city." But no city of antiquity has ever received

from its own people this designation. If one invokes Neapolis (Naples)—new city, the answer is that this name was given by strangers and that Naples was really named Parthenopolis or the "city of the Virgin." So now we give the name of Constantinople to a city known to its own proprietors only by that of Stamboul. The determination of the etymology of the name of the city is of capital importance for the understanding of the religious monuments there discovered, because the ancient cities always bore the name of the deity especially honored, and who was accordingly called its eponymous deity. The name of Carthage, as given by its own people, is Caccabé—head of a horse. Now since the deciphering of the Moabite stone, the rendering given by tradition loose and inaccurate as it often is, *i. e.*, that the head of a horse was of good augury, as denoting the spirited character and success in war of the future race, must give way to the newer, which, in this case, is really the old meaning of the word, Caccabé—star, Caccabim—plural, as in Cherubin and Seraphin—the two stars or the Dioscuri. Now in the only Phœnician medal of Utica, which has been thus far sufficiently classified, there appear on one side the two stars (Caccabim) and the two faces of the Dioscuri, on the other two horses. On the medals struck under the reign of Augustus we find the Dioscuri under the features of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, thus assimilating the one to the God Castor and the other to Pollux, and thus ingeniously preserving their national deities. The result of this comparison is that Carthage and Utica had for their common divinities the Dioscuri, and both derived their names therefrom. But the name of Utica is found upon the above mentioned medal in Phœnician character, corresponding to the Hebrew A. T. G., in which the G is doubtless substituted vulgarly for a Q, which gives the meaning—castratus—gelding. Thus Utica is shown to have been dedicated to Castor, Carthage to Pollux,—the Dioscuri.

Utica was formerly a city on the border of the Mediterranean Sea with a port, but to-day the seashore is distant four miles in consequence of two causes; first, the alluvium brought down by the river Medjeda: besides there has been a gradual rising of the African coast, a part of those movements of alternate emersion and submersion noted by geologists as having occurred as well in Europe and America within historical periods. Thus the plain surrounding Utica bears all the indications of having emerged from the sea, so that the place it now occupies was formerly bathed by the waters of the Mediterranean. In the earlier times

North Africa was occupied by a Berber population. Next came the Aryan migrations. Monuments indicate the arrival of the Japhetites so called, contemporary with the reign of Rameses II. What was the motive of these invasions? These early navigators, Greeks and Phœnicians, were especially engaged in the commerce of tin, then a rare metal. It has been said that the Egyptian civilization was the direct result of the discovery of bronzed iron. Without steel it was impossible to cut the huge blocks of granite composing its architecture. Egypt, an alluvial district, possesses neither iron nor copper. Cyprus produced, indeed, both iron and copper, but bronze, the most used of all metals by the ancients, could be obtained only by the aid of tin, and that at a great distance from Egypt. Thus the tin which enters into the composition of those magnificent bronzes that are exhumed from the tombs of upper Egypt, came from Spain, Britain or the Caucasus, and thus from the most remote times the Egyptians are found to have been in more or less direct relations with those countries that produce this metal. It follows that the Egyptian civilization being the result of the discovery of bronze could not be born in Egypt, but that its initiators came from the Caucasus or the Atlantic coasts. Various reasons may be given to prove that these civilizers of Egypt came from the Atlantic coasts, and perhaps the descendants of the constructors of the huge stone monuments of Armonica were the builders of the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt. The Egyptian monuments have transmitted to us portraits of people inhabiting the borders of the Black Sea. These were clothed in skin, whence the name of Esau given to them in the Bible. Coming from the north and sweeping along with them the various tribes on their route, under the name of Hyksos or brigands on horseback, compare the Greek for horse-furnished men, they ruled Egypt for five centuries, finally becoming nationalized, as the Normans in France and the Norman French in England. It is thought by our explorers that the upper classes of the Hyksos were Greeks. The Egyptian monuments preserve the name and office of their divinity represented by an ape Kekrops, seated on a sharpened stake, a most archaic type. This is a kind of deformed dwarf, emblematic of the embryo sun, or Bacchus in the thigh of Jupiter, well known to have been the divinity of the Greek mercenaries in the service of Egypt, and since the twentieth century before our era, even to the end of paganism, it has not ceased to be the national divinity of the whole Greek race, adored in all their mysteries as the Lord of the North pole and the God

of life and death. Now it is this very deformed deity whom the recent explorers have found in the excavations at Utica with the cones of stone or baked earth called by archæologists fusaioles or whorls, because they resemble the balances of spindles. The most probable opinion of their use is that they received the ends of pieces of wood that were rubbed together to produce fire by friction, while the cones protected the hand of the operator. These were also found by thousands in the excavations at Troy or Hissarlik. Thus these indicate the immigration from the North retained by the Greeks in memory as the Argonautic expedition. Language, properly understood, helps to the indication of the presence of Greeks in far away times. Trito is a lake in North Africa, and, says Francis Lenormant, the name of the sacred lake remained as a last vestige of the time when the inhabitants used an Aryan tongue. For Triton we find all through Grecian land as the name of a river in Crete, Thessaly, Bœotia, Doris, Thrace. The renowned Pallas, the guardian deity of Athens, was surnamed the Triton-born. Thus indications remained of the close connection between the Achæans of Peloponnesus and the Aryan tribes of North Africa in the period of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties. The Lybian was distinguished from the Hellenic Pallas by a crocodile in place of an owl. This may not at first sight appear pleasing, but when we translate from the Greek crocodeilos, *i. e.*, the saffron-aurora or the tinted morning, the meaning becomes more gracious. Herodotus, in the fifth century B. C., described the people near Tunis as blonde in type, and there can be no doubt, says our French author, that among the opponents of the French in their colonizing attempts in Africa at the present day are lineal descendants of the Argonauts. So of those who founded old Utica, Zouaves. We have all heard of the Zouaves, a name coming from the Africans employed in the French military service. But Herodotus speaks of the Zeugitai, as founders of Utica, a name given to the sailors who rowed in the middle of the galleys, and this was the place mainly occupied by the Dioscuri on the ship Argo. But Zeugos may mean a yoke of horses, and this is met with on Utica medals of the Roman epoch.

The primitive people who were settlers four thousand years ago on the borders of Lake Triton are still found there together with the same names and the same kind of civilization, for they have crystalized into Mussulman barbarism, but we have ourselves (writes Le Comte d' Herisson) seen handsome blonde Kabyles wearing exactly the same garments clasped at the shoulders that

are represented on the most archaic Greek statues. The name given by the Greeks to the Phœnicians is "The Reds," as Indian tribes are now named. For the custom of painting themselves was widely spread among the ancients as among our American savages, and it was in the mode to paint upon the body one's coat of arms. As our investigator observes, these excavations, in accord with classic historians and new documents drawn from the hieroglyphic history of Egypt, completely establish the proposition that Zeugitania, the district of North Africa where Utica was situated, is one of the most ancient centers of civilization of the Mediterranean basin; that 6,000 years ago it was one of the indispensable stations of the caravans which carried to Egypt the metal needed for the making of bronze, which was procured from abroad and arrived at Utica by following the coasts of Italy, or Mauritania and Morocco. Thus it has been demonstrated that the earliest foundation of Utica is lost in the night of time, and that before the Phœnicians from Tyre had established themselves there, they had been preceded by a Berber Arab, and also by a Pelasgi or Grecian layer now amalgamated.

This brings us to the more strictly historic period, that of the Tyrians. Originally an agricultural people, they seem to have been dominated by a Greek aristocracy, who taught the Phœnicians to navigate by making them row on their galleys, and the traces of this servitude are found both in the Bible and in Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician theologer and historian. M. Rénan has brought to light in his highly important Tyrian researches, a curious inscription attesting the victory of a Sidonian at the Olympic Games, and claiming the relationship which united the Hellens to the founders of Thebes. Certainly these founders came from Sidon, but were they of Semitic origin? Agenor, father of Cadmus, his mother Telephassa, his sister Europa, bear names purely Greek, and it is not proven that his own can be confounded with that of Cadmus in Sanchoniathon, which means ancient. More likely he had two names, Greek and Phœnician, as Dido, who was called in Greek Elissa. Sidon, up to its destruction by the Græco-Philistines, 1209 B. C., appears to have exerted upon Tyre the same check as did Carthage upon Utica. But Pelasgic or Greek tribes, remnants of those who had invaded Egypt and been repressed by Rameses II, were there received and directed upon Zeugitania, where they found brothers of former migrations. Utica, the historic city of that name, was founded 1158 B. C. At this period it was the Greek element which still dominated in all

these Pelasgo-Libyan settlements. There exists no name more Greek than that of Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, who slew her husband Sichæus, also a Greek name. Dido, as we have said, had two names, and this was commonly the case with these monarchs, as with Solomon, from which we conclude that the east was already, what it has not ceased to be, inhabited by populations juxtaposed of different origins and languages, living side by side, without wholly commingling, and each having the upper hand in turn. The popular or Semitic faction, enriched by commerce, got possession of the young Pygmalion, formed him in accordance with their ideas, and made use of him to expel, with his sister, all that remained of the Sidonian aristocracy. Thus expelled they took refuge on the territory of the ancient Caccabé. In the foundation of a new city of Tyre, new city so called by foreigners only, or Carthage, Utican colonists assisted.

Notwithstanding the great intercourse prevailing between the Greeks and Semites, Greek inscriptions are not met with at Utica, and the Greek Zeugitana must have early adopted the language of the Tyrian colonists of Carthage. They preserved, however, their autonomy, with a senate and council of suffetes of their own. The Utican horse moreover representing them upon Carthaginian medals, according to the value of the letters preceding the radical T Q or T G means adjoined or castrated,—translation as above shown of Greek castor. In the flourishing and honorable times of piracy, Utica was much better situated than Carthage, since it barred the Mediterranean between Africa and Sicily, but when regular commerce prevailed and the Phœnician population of Carthage was constantly increased, while the Pelasgic or Greek element found themselves forever separated from the lands from which they had set out, Utica fell under the tutelage of Carthage, to which she does not appear to have resigned herself with a good grace, since she never ceased to nourish an implacable hatred toward her puissant suzerain. On occasion of the second treaty between Rome and Carthage reported by Polybius, it is stipulated that there shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and between the Carthaginians, the Tyrians, and the inhabitants of Utica and their allies. This passage is important, as showing that the Carthaginians did not recognize the Uticans as Tyrians, of the race of Shora, as they designated themselves. After the first Punic War, in the terrible revolt of the mercenaries when Carthage found itself called on to suppress the inhabitants of Utica, who had joined the rebels, the latter received a severe

lesson, when the insurrection was crushed by Amilcar. In the second Punic War, Polybius speaks of a height commanding Utica, which was occupied by Scipio. But after a fierce assault followed by a regular siege, such was the strength of the city that he was not able to make himself master of the town. At the opening of the third Punic War, (146 B. C.,) the inhabitants of Utica, judging it prudent to put themselves on the stronger side, and also following out the ill will long entertained by them against the sovereign city, voluntarily made submission to the Romans, and aided Scipio Æmilianus, the Second Africanus, in destroying New Tyre, the so long dreaded and so long powerful Carthage. Utica had no reason to complain of Rome, who divided among her inhabitants the lands situated on both banks of the Bagrados, and she thus became again for more than a century the first emporium of the Central African coast. It is to this period that we are to refer the first independent coins with the type of the Dioscuri and the yoke of horses, with the Phœnician legend, A. T. G., which the Greeks wrote Ιτυκε, which indicates a return to Greek souvenirs and the ancient name of Zeugis. So, perhaps, we may see in this name of Ateghe, in place of Atique, a method of Hellenizing a Phœnician name, for Atege in Greek has the sense of height which suits well the situation of the city.

Utica next became the residence of the proconsul of Africa, who remained there as long as the Roman malediction lasted, condemning Carthage not to rise from its ruins. Augustus made its inhabitants Roman citizens, together with the title of a municipality, and Adrian confirmed and advanced these privileges. Then sharing in the peace of the Roman world, and having no more to fear from local disturbances, which formerly forced it to confine itself to the fortified height or Acropolis, the city extended on all sides into large suburbs. Yet these favors drew upon Utica tempests, which did not allow its prosperity to be uninterrupted; for during the civil wars its territory was chosen repeatedly as the battlefield. In the year 81 B. C., Pompey the Great defeated there the adversaries of Sylla. Afterwards, Varus, who commanded at Utica, ranged himself on the side of Pompey. The Numidian king Juba, devoted to the cause of Cæsar, came to his assistance, defeated and slew Curio.

But Utica is especially famed as the death place of Cato Uticensis, who, though born in Italy, received the surname of Utica, because he commanded there when he put an end to his life in the dramatic circumstances that have rendered his name

forever celebrated. Marcus Porcius Cato, surnamed Cato Uticensis, was the great grandson of Cato the Censor. Born B. C. 95, he early showed signs of the inflexibility of character which was to render him illustrious. Brought up in the house of his uncle, Livius Drusus, who shone in the front rank of the Roman aristocracy, he gave himself up to the study of Stoic doctrines, and cultivated eloquence. His patrimony was considerable; he made use of it only to serve his friends. As prætor, he restored order to the public treasury, forced the agents of Sylla to pay back the public money which they had abstracted, practising what we now call civil service reform. Devoting himself to the defense of the Republic, he sustained Cicero at the time of the conspiracy of Cataline, and, in spite of Cæsar's efforts, had the conspirators condemned to death. The people admired him. Cæsar separated him from the city, giving him a mission to Cyprus. He opposed the extraordinary powers which Cæsar and Crassus demanded, and for this courageous opposition was several times thrown into prison.

In the civil war he took sides with Pompey. After Pharsalia he rallied the remnants of the vanquished army and embarked for Africa. Arriving at the Court of Juba, he left the command there to Scipio, and retired to Utica, where he saved the lives of those who had espoused the cause of Cæsar, and who were in danger of being put to death. But the army left by him was soon attacked with his customary energy by Cæsar, and routed at Thapsus. The conquerors, by forced marches, fell upon Utica. Cato at first wished to defend this strong position, but found few to second him. Then he resolved to die, in the Roman spirit attributed by Shakespeare to Brutus, where he says to Cassius:

> "*Cassius.* Then if we lose this battle,
> You are contented to be led in triumph
> Thorough the streets of Rome?
> *Brutus.* No, Cassius; No. Think not, thou noble Roman,
> That ever Brutus will go bound to Rome.
> He bears too great a mind."

But first he took care to ensure the departure of the Pompeian senators, by embarking them for Spain, where, a few weeks after, defeated with Labienus and the sons of Pompey, in the bloody and obstinately contested battle of Munda, they finally rendered the sovereignty of the Roman empire to Julius Cæsar. Having made these last dispositions, Cato supped tranquilly, seeking to divert the suspicions of his friends; then he gave his last orders,

went to bed, and there read Plato on the Immortality of the Soul. Surprised at not finding by his pillow his sword, usually there, he reproached his son, who had removed it, accusing him of wishing to give him up defenceless to Cæsar. It was returned; he examined its edge, and cries, "Now, again I am my own master." Then he resumed the reading of Plato, and afterwards fell asleep. Towards daybreak, having finally assured himself that all those in whom he was interested were in safety, he pierced himself with his sword. His son and attendant came in, and a surgeon, his own freedman, staunches the wound, but Cato, coming to himself, repulsed them, re-opened the wound and expired, at the age of forty-eight. Cæsar immediately entered Utica and complained that an enemy whom he admired had deprived him of the glory of according to him his life. He pardoned his son. It has been attempted to fix the spot where Cato gave himself his death-wound. The most probable opinion locates it in his house by the port, where he lived, just below the citadel, in a palace overlooking the harbor and the isle. These recent excavations have brought to light on this very spot the remains of a dwelling of great magnificence, with private baths, a luxury found only in the houses of the rich.

Utica, whose citizens had secretly favored the cause of Cæsar, escaped destruction. Augustus made its inhabitants Roman citizens. Under the name of the Julian Municipality of Utica, it preserved its autonomy with the right of coining money. Pomponius Mela, who lived under Tiberius, Caligula and Claudius, is the only writer who has left us a sketch of Utica in the early times of the Roman Empire. He says: "Utica and Carthage, both famous, the former noted for the fate of Cato, the latter, once on its own account, now only a colony of the Roman poople." The apogee of the splendor of the Roman architecture is the reign of Augustus. It is the epoch when this pompous style was spread along the basin of the Mediterranean, and Utica then contained numbers of edifices of which the excavations have disclosed the position, with rich débris and epigraphs in magnificent characters. From the time of Nero the Roman ornamentation is overloaded, and monuments take colossal proportions. It is at this epoch that were built at Utica the palaces which have been recently exhumed, and the magnificent villas constructed upon the model of those of Italy. During the reigns of the Antonines and Trajan especially, the arts revived, and great works of public utility were executed in the provinces, such as routes, aqueducts and bridges. In these

Utica had its share. Carthage refounded at a little distance from the ancient destroyed city began to resume its importance, and the Roman proconsul quitted Utica to fix his residence there, so that Utica was relegated to the second rank. The year 45 of our era is chosen by the French engineer, M. Daux, in his view of the city, as being the culminating point of its development.

Coming next to the Christian period, we notice how the triumph of Christianity utterly overthrew the social edifice of the ancient world. On account of its intimate association with Rome, the first Christians were early introduced there and Christianity made more rapid progress than elsewhere. In the fourth century, A. D., there were at Carthage one hundred and sixty Christian churches, for the civil and religious edifices of the pagans were transformed, as at Rome, into Christian basilicas. Utica, in proportion, was not below Carthage in this regard, and the researches of which we are speaking in Roman necropolis have brought to light a Christian cemetery substituted for a Roman temple, which need not astonish us when we remember that in the year 421, Galla Placidia had obtained from her nephew, the Emperor Theodosius, the order to raze the pagan temples and transform them into cemeteries. From the fourth century to the Arab invasion, in 689, there were in Utica numbers of Christians, who interred their dead. Here have been found quantities of stones bearing the cruciform monogram inscribed, *Est Vita Pacai*, "It is the life of Peace," and the following, touching in its brief simplicity: "HMANTIA Mater fidelis in Pace." This formula, "in pace," is that used by the Christians from their earliest ages. In the same necropolis of Utica there has been exposed a magnificent mortuary flagging of mosaic of different colors, also bearing the monogram in the form of a cross, but with the buckle of the P turned to the left, an anomaly elsewhere noticed. Following closely the ten several persecutions ordered by the Roman emperors, and next the *Edict of Milan*, by which, in 313, Constantine proclaimed Christianity as the religion of the empire, religion became solidly established, which explains the beauty of the Christian tombs of this city.

But all these splendors were to disappear with the departing vigor of the Roman government, which had lost all power to protect its flourishing cities against the barbarian invasions. In the year 439, 30,000 Vandals and Alans, under Genseric, utterly demolished Utica. Then fell those Phœnico-Roman ramparts, which had been so long its pride and security. Their vandalism did not stop here. They attacked theatres and temples as well,

destroying even the paved ways, thus meritedly leaving their name as the type of ferocious and insensate destroyers. Belisarius, sent by Justinian, completely annihilated the empire of the Vandals after its duration of about a century. The Byzantine empire was to be no less ephemeral. Yet it was only after five successive expeditions that the city yielded to the Arabs in 689, A. D., or the seventieth year of the hedjera. Utica was again completely demolished. The Moslem hordes were naturally the fiercest against the churches which had replaced the pagan temples. The palaces were devastated, what could not be carried off was mostly demolished, and of so much splendor there remained only a heap of cinders and ruins. Ever since this time the aspect of Utica has been but a lamentable spectacle. Thorns and briars have invaded the shapeless heap of ruins, and birds of prey nest in the few portions of the walls still standing. The rest has for twelve centuries served as a quarry to the ignorant Arab, who makes chalk with the marble capitals, with which to plaster his rude hut, or constructs marabouts—houses of prayer—so that one naturally asks how there can remain any trace of the city which was one of the most ancient stations of humanity. But civilization is, though late, yet having its turn of conquest over barbarism, and new invaders are coming to render life to those beautiful countries which Islamism has transformed, wherever it has become established, into funereal cities.

African Utica was the stronghold from which the dominant Roman watched the Lybian people. In consequence Utica was endowed with numerous monuments, which, according to the ancients, did not yield in importance to those of Rome itself. Utica was divided into two distinct quarters, the upper and the lower. It had a well built port of war, with an admiral's palace, a merchant port, an Acropolis or Citadel, a senatorial palace, a pretorium, numerous temples, and aqueduct, six large public cisterns, a circus, a hippodrome, a theatre. Viewed from the sea, in the Roman period, it must have presented a magnificent spectacle. Its main streets were straight, with multitudes of side streets and alleys, their average width being from 6–13 feet. Carthage is reported to have invented pavements of flagstones. The streets of Utica were paved. The houses were commonly of one story, with terraces made of pottery, placed upon chalk-beds to combine depth with lightness. Some of these beds are still preserved on the Acropolis. Each house of any importance had its cistern to catch rain-water. The city was surrounded by a

superb wall flanked with towers. Ancient authors, as Plutarch, Hirtius and Julius Cæsar, remark upon its magnificence and beauty. The Vandals destroyed it, as before mentioned. It was provided with many gates, of three of which we know the ancient names, Bellica, Triumphalis, Numidica. The cradle of Utica was the isle where its founders first settled, before they spread out upon the neighboring heights. Here were ports, vast quays, palaces, baths, temples. It was the heart of the settlement, the residence of the élite. Its area was 1,100 feet by 800. Mosaic pavements of various dates abound here. The ports of Utica were superb, and were surrounded by a double portico. In the Roman period the sea still came close to the city. The war port was Cothon, at the foot of two heights. Of the palaces of the admiral there remain enormous side walls, which rise majestically in the middle of the isle. The merchant port was formed by a canal, which separated the isle from the main land. To right and left it was bordered by fine flagged quays, raised on arcades. Marshes covered with rushes are all that remains of these ports, the pride of Utica and the fortune of its inhabitants. Upon the the most elevated plateau of the city rose the Acropolis, replaced to-day by two marabouts or tombs of Arab saints. There was an enormous parallelogram surrounded by ditches and composed of four walls with towers at the angles. In the centre rose a beautiful edifice, which was probably a temple of the Corinthian style of architecture dedicated to Bel-Hamon. Livy speaks of this Acropolis. It was termed Byrsa, Phœnician for Acropolis.

The lower part of this hill faced the isle, as also the heights which overlook the Cothon. The forum was probably here situated, near the Cothon. Near the forum, a vast open place, surrounded by porticoes and buildings, where were held in open air the public assemblies, have been found the remains of massive temples. In these extensive porticoes the merchants, bankers and usurers trafficked. Here, in fact, was the life of the ancient city, not in the home. Turning from the temples to the divinities, we notice that the Phœnicians designated all their deities by the name of Bal or Balak, which means seignior or dame—lord or lady, simply an honorable epithet preceding the name of the fraction of the equatorial circle, to which they rendered a special cult. This circle was divided into 360 parts or days, and each day had its portion somewhat as in our modern calendars. Each one of these was a Baal. When the Greeks speak of Baal without any other designation, they assimilate him ordinarily to Hercules or Melkarth,

whom the Phœnicians name Bal-Tsar, Lord of Tyre. They appear to have had the same repugnance to representing their divinities in human forms as the Israelites. We have, indeed, authentic proof of their adoring Greek deities and exercising sacerdotal functions in the Greek sanctuaries, and when they wish to represent their deities in human form it is always from the Greeks that they borrow them. Thanks to Phœnician medals, we have effigies of the gods Hadar or Neptune, Melkarth or Hercules, Ipo or Cybele, Bel or Phaebus. All these divinities differ in no respect in the manner in which they are represented, from the Greek divinities who correspond to them. Thus the Phœnicians seem to have adopted the reigning mode, in their style of divinity. The Sarcophagi, which Rénan brought from Phœnicia, are of Greek workmanship and some of them of beautiful execution. The bilingual inscription found at Cyprus is dedicated on one side to Bereph-Milkal, and on the other to Apollo Apios, who both correspond to the infernal sun, represented by Melkarth. This god, or the embryo day, was long figured under the features of a deformed dwarf with a coiffure of palms, or in the shape of a square stone, and clothed in a lynx skin. This, the primitive type of Hercules or Bacchus, which towards the seventh century before our era, changes to a beautiful young man, preserving of his predecessor only the skin in which he was clothed. The next step is to represent him as still young, with the skin and the club. If he has neither skin nor club, and if he holds a book, he is a Bacchus, Byblos or Liber. The French investigators found in their excavations a fine specimen, and as Byblos, situated at the foot of the Lybian mountains, was one of the Phœnician cities from which issued the founders of Sidonian Utica, it is probable that this Bacchus was one of the patrons of the African city. From the deepest layers of the Acropolis were exhumed a number of rude heads, the features marked by strange grimaces, probably to be attributed to the worship of the Greek deities of the mercenaries in the services of Egypt, and whom the Egyptians finally adopted under the name of Typhon, the strangler of Osiris. He answers, in classic mythology, to the Dioscure Castor, to whom the Greek city founded at Utica by the Argonauts must have been consecrated. To the same period belong the cones of stone, found in such numbers in the ruins of Hissarlik. These point back to the ancient fire-worship, as this imitates the production of fire by friction, referred to Prometheus as its discoverer. It was by a machine of this kind that the sun was

said to be relighted each midnight in the infernal regions. The worship of the magic rhombus or wheel has remained in honor among all the nations of the Aryan race, and the presence of these cones in the deepest of these layers may be considered as a certain vestige of the Greeks who came into Africa with the Argonautic expeditions, which as we have seen, must have given to Utica its first name of Zeugis, translated afterwards into Phœnician by A–Juke, which is also found in the names of the mountainous and Spanish towns of Tucca, Tugga, Tugra, which accounts for the orthography A. T. G. of those medals above mentioned of the Roman period.

Again, Astarte is the Io or Pasiphae of the Greeks, represented under the form of a cow, and then becomes confounded with the goddess Ipo, or the good goddess, represented by a woman with horns or rays, for Ipo means *to beam*, to be beautiful.. She corresponds to the Latin Venus, and was the lover of Adonis or Thamouz, killed by the bear, or the God of the Great Bear, Ursa Major, which indicates its cosmographic role. Thamoux represents the decrease of the days from the winter solstice to the spring equinox, and was slain in the month of April by the Boar. These two Adones were the Dioscuri particularly adored at Utica, under the form of two horses, and the medals of Utica represented them under their anthropomorphic form. Their temples combined were situated in the Acropolis, on the spot where to-day is to be seen a marabout, upon the most eastern of the twin hillocks, which had caused this spot to be consecrated to the Dioscuri. Unfortunately for our French explorers, this marabout guarantees the place which it covers against all investigation. But on another spot they exhumed a curious Greek mosaic, showing the death of Adonis. Moloch or Saturn, infamously celebrated for the horrible worship rendered to him in the immolation of children, was also doubtless worshiped at Utica, as we know he was at Carthage, but from the Roman epoch the divinities of Utica changed, now for the third or fourth time, their names, and the one which dominates is Jupiter, whose magnificent temple is cited by Polybius. It was in its precincts that, at the approach of Cæsar, Cato assembled the senators. This temple occupied the center of the Isle of Utica, on the spot excavated in 1853 by Count Borgia. There are still to be seen the débris of columns of yellow marble, pell-mell with the remains of superb mouldings of the Corinthian order. In 1860 Davis discovered here two beautiful marble heads of statues. Sallust tells us that when Caius Marius was at Utica, during the

Jugurthine War, the haruspices, by means of the entrails of the victims, assured him that grand and marvellous prodigies were foretold in his favor. The next year he obtained the object of his desires, the consulate. The temple, where was situated the altar on which the haruspex interrogated his victims, may have been the one dicovered recently beneath the Acropolis, and where, too, was found an admirable statue of the infant Bacchus. This chapel was preceded by porticoes of great richness with most elegant mosaic pavements. On each side were chambers decorated with mural paintings and mosaics, of which one represents the death of Adonis, and the other, Tritons playing on the waves. But our explorers judge that these gracious surroundings do not accord with the somber butchery of the Roman haruspices, and think it perhaps more natural to see here a sanctuary of Adonis himself, the God of Bylos, and probably of Utica, whose statue they found, with infantine traits which are always given him. We learn from Apuleius, a Carthaginian, author of that mystic book, the "Golden Ass," that Carthage possessed skillful statuary and casters, so that at this epoch both these cities were doubtless filled with statues. As all ancient cities of any importance, Utica had its theatres. One in particular is noticeable, cut out of the side of a rocky hill. Its horse-shoe pit is still plainly seen, though the inclined steps are gone. This probably dates back to the Phœnician times. But there was another of more recent construction, referred to by Cæsar, a little outside of the old city proper. In the year 1865 there were still to be seen portions of columns of red Egyptian porphyry. Now there remains only a tumulus of horse-shoe shape. It must have been a superb edifice. The diameter from north to south before the orchestra was 290 feet. The amphitheater was a vast oval, measuring 360 feet from north to south and in its shorter axis 300 feet. The cavea, which indicates the original construction of such buildings, was hollowed out from the side of a hill, and the entrance now looks like a yawning crater. The steps have been taken away. All is overgrown with tropical plants. Below were huge cages where were shut up the ferocious beasts kept to amuse the people. The hippodrome was 1,700 feet long, 250 feet wide, and constructed of marble of various colors. The site is still recognizable by an elevation of the soil. According to St. Augustine the Carthaginians, and doubtless the Uticans, were passionately fond of the games of the circus. One important monument bears witness to the presence of the emperor Gordian,

surnamed Africanus, who was proclaimed emperor near Utica, where he possessed vast domains. Remains of baths are found in various places decorated with marble statues, as the fragments abundantly testify. In the ruins of baths in the isle were discovered two fish ponds with handsome rising steps and exquisite mosaic pavements. Here, too, was found a very rare specimen of Roman fresco, with pictures in red, green, yellow and blue.

Ancient Utica was noted, like its modern namesake, for the excellence of its water, being supplied by an aqueduct four miles in extent. Of the vast public cisterns, three still remain. The caravans of camels which to-day halt here, seek at times a refuge in them, and they serve as stables or granaries.

Eastern people loved to inter their dead in elevated places. The Uticans did not burn the bodies of their dead, but buried them in the sarcophagus, which they placed in rock cavities; even the Romans adopted cremation at a late period. Sylla is reported as the first Roman whose body was burned, in the year 78 B. C. After this period cremation became general. The custom of burning the abodes of the dead with the objects or the images of objects which had served the needs or the joys of life was common to all the people of antiquity. Thus the necrology of Utica has furnished specimens of all sorts of mortuary furniture, mystic statuettes of familiar deities, heads or images of animals immolated, bronze mirrors, painted vases, which were probably certificates of initiation into the ancient mysteries, as those of the Caibri. Fragments of earthen lamps abound, which are believed to have symbolized the eternal light. Even in countries where cremation was not practiced, quantities of vases were broken on the tombs. The modern Greek still practices this custom. So in the Utican cemeteries are found many remains of broken vases as well as beautiful amphoras, some of which have survived whole. Amulets abound, in the forms of buckles, pins and bracelets of bronze of serpentine form. These bracelets were styled Spattialina. Coins, too, were left to pay Charon his fee for ferrying the souls across the fatal waters of the infernal regions. The ancients, likewise, never failed to place near the remains of their dead vessels containing eatables, remains of which abound in the bones of fowls, &c. So, as well at Utica, as in all the countries where the Romans had carried their civilization the tombs recall to us their habits and the conditions of their existence. The men repose in their sepulchers with their arms, women with their ornaments, children

with their playthings. Earthen vases were the most common, those of glass being rare and confined to the rich.

The excavations penetrate the later Roman layers, through to the old Phœnician strata. Many houses of Roman nobles have been brought to light, especially in the Isle of Utica. In one place a sumptuous edifice was uncovered, where it lay by the foot of a colossal statue. Here was probably the temple of the Philistine God Goliath, an alteration of the Greek Keletes, whose Semitic name was Nephil, the giant, which also means to fall. This was the Sun, decreasing, or Thamouz, whom the God El entered at the winter solstice, and whom he overthrew (says our French savant) with a stone, as in the story of Goliath and David, which is found repeated half a dozen times under different names, which is easily explained when one bears in mind that David bore the name of the Semitic Eros, and this name signifies diminutive. The Count d'Herisson says that he has been so fortunate as to find representatives of the these two divinities of the time and make of the Phœnicians. These images are Thamouz or Nephil naked under the form of the Greek Dionysus, while the Eliom is small and clothed in a pair of blue nether garments, the color being preserved. Thus, then, in Utica there was a Semitic cult, which had survived the Roman domination, of which, also, we find traces in the names of their councillors or suffetes, such as Mutumbal, and also in the composition of the medals struck to appeal to the eyes of the population not understanding Latin.

As has been elsewhere observed, in a subject people, the older, as here the Phœnician faith, had taken refuge in these domestic or funeral deities expressing the secret and deepest beliefs of the lower orders. As for the magnificent temple on whose site these images were found, it was doubtless consecrated to Bacchus, one of the numerous forms of Dionysus. Its flagging and columns were of white marble veined with violet marble. The corona and mouldings were of the purest and richest Greek style, and the fillets and amulets decorated with ovules and darts. Yet this ornamentation is not Greek; the dart is Selah, the egg Bitz. In Hebrew Bitz means white and Selah expelled. 'Tis then the sun having passed the summer solstice, or the white one expelled who was adored in this temple. Mosaics are exceedingly common over the whole surface of the city of Utica, and it is impossible to turn up the soil without meeting remains of them at different depths, not deeper than five feet. The origin of this term is curious, *i. e.*, a musical work, musicum, musaicum, mosaicum, because the cubes of

stone of which it was formed described sinuous curves imitating the movement of verse. Mosaics are said to have originated in Egypt, and Scylla is the first Roman who introduced their fabrication at Præneste, but in the time of Cæsar portable ones were manufactured for generals in service, which explains curious specimens in Utica. One represents the death of Adonis, and is set in a large plaque of earthenware, so as to be easily transported. In determining the age of the mosaic, regard is had to the nature of the material employed; the more diversified they are, the less ancient is the mosaic. Cubes of colored glass are not anterior to the Roman Empire. At Utica these were found in Christian sepulchers as early as the fourth century. We have seen that Utica was for a long time before and after the Christian era a port of the first order; it preceded Carthage, preserved both military and commercial importance under its dominion, and inherited a great part of its importance, when following the motto of Cato "Cathago est delenda," the Romans utterly destroyed their long time rival. As we have seen, its position made it an entrepot for metals. In exchange for these which it received unwrought, Utica returned manifold products, stuffs, wrought metals, potteries, for Utica must have been famous for its Keramic industry, as the potteries found there are remarkable for the variety as well as the elegance of their forms. Potters had formerly the habit of imprinting their mark on their products. A great number of funeral lamps are marked. A large brick or tile carried away by the expedition contained in the outer line the name of the Praetor, Laurus, that of Cæsar, and that of the fabricator, Dol written Duelani in the second line, with the Punic word mir for forma or species—the whole transcribed into Hebrew characters is said to give an equivalent for "Ego sum forma Doli." "I am the form of Dolus." In the center for those who could not read is a palm, meaning in Phœnician Dalé. Thus in this city where all seemed Roman, only the middle class were really Roman. The mass of the common people had remained Punic, and the Arabs had only to appear and the people ranged themselves on their side. It results from this precious monument and many others that even under the Roman government the people of Utica had not ceased to speak the language of the Sidonian founders of this city, *i. e.*, the language in which the Hebrews wrote their sacred books. Their language, since the discovery of the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar and the Moabite stone has been deciphered by philologers. But Gesenius had before predicted that if ancient Phœnician texts were

ever discovered, their character and the archaic Greek would be likely to be confounded, as being so much alike. Now the Moabite stone has proved that the Phœnician alphabet of that period differs from the Greek of the same by trifling differences, less than to-day exists between the common Roman and the Italian. In the Punic alphabet, however, the Cadmean letters have received great alterations, which make its reading more uncertain, because it was essentially a commercial writing, approaching, for example, our shorthand.

The Punic was never a rich literature, because the Greek language was always cultivated by the African aristocracy, for we know that the great Hannibal wrote in Greek, this being the international language of the time. There were many Greeks by origin in the great families of Utica. So Greek architecture, statuary and manners predominated at Carthage and Utica. What there was of indigenous literature was confined to works of a purely practical character, treating of marine affairs and agriculture. Of the work of Hanno concerning the periplus, or famous voyage round Africa, there remains but one translation. The common speech of the people continued to be Phœnician. Apuleius, 150 A. D., tells us that at the age of twenty his step-son neither would nor could speak Latin, and knew only Phœnician. In the fifth century even St. Augustine preached in this language. But it must have already ceased to be much written, for no vestige of it has remained to us even in the works of the Bishop of Hippo.

Very little is known as to the government of Utica, only that it resembled that of Carthage, so that a monied aristocracy must have been preponderant. The great political authority of antiquity, Aristotle, praised the government of Carthage, doubtless as the result of a reaction in his mind against the evils of democracy, which he was placed in a position fully to understand. On the other hand the evils of the oligarchical system, as it prevailed at Carthage, are too well known for us not to expect to see them repeated in that of Utica. The people had some part in public affairs, since they elected the Senators; but I regret to be obliged to add that they sold their suffrages to the highest bidder.

Many of the inscriptions turn, in the opinion of the very competent philologers of the expedition, upon solar myths. The nude woman or flame is the sun which has fallen into a cistern, and in search of whom Bacchus goes through Hades, finally but to abandon her. This subject has been transmitted from age to age in the legend of St. George and the romances of chivalry. The

hero is always a laborer, in Greek, *georgos—tiller of the soil.* In an amphora containing ashes and burnt bones was found a pair of scissors. In a tomb, below a small mass of masonry, occurred a reminder of the excavations at Pompeii. In a niche was a cup of rouge and yellow with a stone pounce. The inscription reads, "Janina Arthemis lived pious nineteen years." Yet this Miss, who lived and died "pious" at this early age, is thus shown to have had her little coquetry. A curious feature of the inscription is that along the sides are ranged Roman letters in vertical columns, which make no sense in Latin. Transcribed into Phœnician they give the meaning—"She adored the blazing Hon, the ancient Pym Clothes Bëka." Hon is the divinity to whom victims were sacrificed by passing them through the fire. Beka was the goddess of tears or of death, to whom this curious epitaph thus assimilates the young Arthemis, in giving her for a valet-de-chambre the old Pym. Another epitaph on a certain Licinius has, also, besides the horizontal lines of a legible Latin text, other Roman letters in vertical columns, which are again to be understood only by rendering from their Phœnician equivalents, "The glutton who goes retching into Hades." So on Greek vases in the Louvre are the words—"he sleeps off his wine." The ancients likened death to the occidental sun, which they compared to a drunkard going to sleep off his wine even to the baths of Amphitrite, and after being cared for by her he retakes his daily course. Thus with the dead, who, after being purified in Lethe, was called to other functions. These epigraphs show that the Phœnicians resolved the problem of the next life after the same manner as the Greeks.

Figurines were discovered, some comparable to those found at Tanagra for beauty of execution. The skeleton of a cat was found, its head pierced by a brazen nail, evidently sacrificed instead of a human offering, as the scape-goat among the Hebrews. It was thus offered to Bel-Hamon, as indeed the same animal was sacrificed not very long ago in France, being burnt alive at the feast of St. Jean, a curious instance of survival. In the Roman times we may suppose this also to have been a shadow and reminiscence of the former human sacrifices forbidden under the imperial government. One morning the chief workman brought in the head of a statue, next the body, lastly the legs. Afterwards were found the right hand, holding in its infant fingers a voluminous biblos. This statue was deemed unquestionably the representation of an infant Bacchus, bearing a book in consequence of which the Romans designated him as Liber. But at Utica he

was the God Biblos or of the Mt. Gebel, whence had set out the Sidonian colonists who founded Utica. Biblos is only the Greek rendering of the Hebrew Sepher, a word which means number, and, by extension, book. We are, then, in the presence of Cadmon, the inventor of numeration, from which writing was derived. In order to comprehend its significance we must refer to the theory of Pythagoras on numbers. In this system Apollo, or the God whom we are now considering, had, for number, I. Though an infant, he is named Cadmon or the ancient, because eros or desire, in the theory of Aristophanes, which completely resembles that of the Phœnician theologer Sanchoniathon, was the most ancient of deities. Now among the etymologies of the name of Utica, (as before observed of the name given it by strangers) is one according to which it means ancient, but what is more conclusive is that the isle, forming the primitive nucleus of the city, is strictly situated, as caused by the canal, which separates it from the main land, in the same direction as Notre-Dame in Paris and the Gothic Churches, *i. e.* N. W. S. E., which is just the cosmographic situation of Cadmon, who was the God of the N. E., the Greek Castor. Consequently our explorers were confident that they had found and held in their possession the Patron of the city of Utica. It is of Greek style and of the Greek epoch, as is indicated by the magnificent flagging of white and purple marble, which must have preceded the Roman epoch. Yet it is of Phœnician composition, being the God Sepher. Its temple must have been richly adorned, judging from the leads, bronzes, yellow marbles, verd-antiques and porphyries which were here uncovered.

The following anecdote, extracted from the explorer's diary, proves that Western may be more than a match for Eastern management, especially when the cupidity of the latter is appealed to. The chief of the Goum, or Arab hamlet near by, came to us and gave details the most explicit as to the power of St. Baier or St. Stupid, who has the same meaning in old French and in German, Bair, Baour, Bauër, Bavière. He even engaged us, conformably to the custom of the country, to throw some pieces of silver into the midst of a heap of stones of an oval shape, which marked the sepulchre of this by no means wholly spiritual saint. He pretends this will bring us good luck! Is it a pious fraud we ask ourselves, so that he may collect the coins we throw? It would not follow that the sheik would be the inventor of this custom, for this usage existed among the Gauls, where, in certain districts, coins were thrown into gulfs to Borno or Bourbon, the same as

this Baisur, God of the Northwest, who presided over mines and hidden treasures, stupidity, wealth and death, and sepulchres. Indeed, the custom of throwing pieces of money into old sepulchres is still common all over the East. We thought we might find something worth our while, continues our Frenchman, were we allowed to dig under the marabout. We were impudent enough to propose it to the sheik, who, not unnaturally, cried out upon us as sacrilegious. We adroitly turned the difficulty, and made a double appeal to his fanaticism and his cupidity in enclosing him in this insidious dilemma. Either St. Baieur is a puissant seignor or a poor sire. If powerful, he will allow us to find something valuable, and full of gratitude we will erect in his honor a neat marabout, which the Goum is too wretchedly poor to build. Or if, per contra, this saint is only a pasteboard saint, who can't help us find a bit of a statue, we shall have unmasked him, and the Goum will be able to choose one more distinguished and more useful. This proposition, worthy of a descendant of Œdipus, was accepted, and the sheik swore by his chaplet to aid and protect the workmen who were on the way. As results of this digging were found twelve lamps, some of them interesting on account of the subjects wrought on them.

Though careful search was made in the Christian tombs, nothing but remains of bodies were found, as the Christians never deposited in their sepulchres any object which could remind one of the pagan superstitions which they had eschewed. One epitaph reads, "Candida Eidici sedet in pace." Fifteen handsome lamps were found in this cemetery. The name of the father of the Candida is Phœnician, proving that Christianity was spread to some extent among the indigenous inhabitants. In the same cemetery were found 40 steles, each with a bas-relief, one decorated with a chandelier, a Phœnician emblem of the resurrection. Continuing to dig in the Isle of Utica, a charming statuette of white marble was disinterred, about a foot high, representing the infant Bacchus, bearing on his left shoulder an amphora, and in his right hand bunches of grapes, which confirms the opinion that the Isle of Utica was the primitive nucleus, and the station of the early Pelasgian navigators, who chose it on account of its separation from the continent as above shown. This Isle of Utica seemed to have always preserved a distinct existence as a separate community, composed of the most ancient families of Argonautic origin which had preserved a sacerdotal character. As before remarked, the Phœnicians of

North Africa seem to have had no religion peculiar to themselves, but to have largely accommodated their cult to that of the Greeks. Even mystic Phœnician formulas are found written in Latin letters, while we have no writing in Punic characters; so they must have been transcribed from the Greek. This little Bacchus of the Isle resembles the one discovered north of the Acropolis, and is of Phœnician composition, but with a pantheistic character. It represents an infant, nude, Hol Hiram, whose condition corresponds to that of nature at the end of the autumn months. Its right hand lowered bears a green grape, bassos, hence barsanos, a name which Bacchus bore among the Greeks, after his return from India. This green grape corresponds to the rising sun, *i. e.*, the spring months. Its left shoulder is charged with an olla or lebes, a jar for cooking, in Phœnician, Homar, *i. e.*, saturated, a word still preserved in the local names of the tribe Khroumirs. The solar station of Homar corresponds to the sun descending, *i. e.* from July—October. All the ancients adored the sun and the moon as the gods of change. This cult, founded upon the observation of solar and lunar phases, is, at bottom, absolutely identical, since it is based upon observations of natural phenomena. It can then vary only in external forms. No painted vases are found in any Phœnician country; so, not at Utica. As to glass, the Phœnicians preserved for a long time as a monopoly its manufacture, and in Utica are found a multitude of ampullæ, glass bottles and jugs, similar to Venetian glass. The striæ of glass are named Rigmat, whence the Italian Ricamato, *i. e.*, embroidered. In Phœnician, Rigmat means the poor dead; by glass is signified "purified by grinding." The bottle—quassa, anything turned round. But the Round, or Palek, is life. These ampullæ, then, mean an act of faith in the metempsychosis, and the whole signifies as a formula, "The poor dead purified by grinding becomes rich." On columns broken and flung into the foulest places, probably remains of temples destroyed by order of Galla Placentia, have been barely traced some inscriptions anterior to the Christian epoch. In a cemetery of the lower classes, the poor and the slaves, were found inscriptions which rank among the most valuable of these discoveries, on account of the instruction given respecting the race, their manners, their religion. In one may be traced the name of Aden, the Lybian, who seems to have been a special local divinity, represented now by a negro, a dwarf, a buffoon, and, again, by a mere pedestal.

Aden is the transcription of the Greek Atlas, the imp who sup-

ports the Universe. He was, too, given as a pedestal to the statue of Bel Hamon, the God of riches, but this pedestal was a pyramid, and, as soon as mounted thereon, Hamon the giant was precipitated therefrom by his rival Ashen—the dwarf, or the black, or the God of the N. W., whom others call Lob-Bel, the Negro in rags. The peoples of antiquity represented him by an old shoe (in Greek Krepis,) whence his French name St. Crispin. This was the last degree of bad fortune or death under the ignoble features of a satyr, or of a square stone. It was, in fact, the scapegoat, put to death after being scourged, when its place was not taken by a slave or a stranger, and then he was burned in the pedestal of the statue Bel-Hamon, for Aden=Lob, also the burning pedestal, or else he was torn in pieces by a savage cow; compare the Pasiphae of the Greeks in the circus. This then was the evil deity, corresponding to the modern devil, and yet also having his beneficent side, as the principle of riches, which followed him closely; and so children in some countries to day at Christmas put an old shoe in the chimney for good luck.

Ashen was honored by his victim, who replaced him, every Christian martyr at times being substituted for the slave or the goat, as we see in the martyrdom of St. Perpetua and St. Felicia, who were sentenced to be torn in pieces by a savage cow in the circus. The Greek knew him under the name of Pelops, and the black-backed Hercules. The legend of Pelops killed and eaten is well known. His name means the black-faced, and he was eaten every year in the form of a kid of this color, and the custom is still kept up, while the meaning of it is lost sight of. It is not necessary to exaggerate the cruelty or the immorality of the old religions. Save prisoners of war, who were too often treated with excessive barbarity, criminals only were, as a rule, sacrificed with a religious ceremonial comparable to a Spanish *auto de fé*. The sacrifice of Ashen has left traces everywhere, notably at Rome, in the middle ages, when a Jew was rolled in a barrel from the top of the capitol. The Lybians gave it a special form, that of the punishment of the bull, as in the bull of Phalaris among the Greek, and the Farnese bull. So, in other inscriptions, imprecations are showered upon him, as the scapegoat or the sign of Capricorn, God of Cisterns, when he represents the spent year ready to give place to the following year. The custom of making Ashen perish in a circus gave rise to the idea of combats of animals in circular spaces, which was unknown to the Greeks, while in Lybia this usage existed six centuries before our era. The Romans borrowed it from Africa. To the honor of the Lybian cities, records the

Comte d'Herisson, no traces are found at Utica of those sacrifices of children, whom their parents cast into the fiery pedestal of Bel-Hamon. This horrible custom, which the Carthaginians had brought from Syria, seems not to have been adopted in Africa by the indigenous races. It is notable that the hideous Melkarth is not found among the divinities of Utica, which was thus an essentially Lybian city, remaining unmodified by the re-enforcement of colonists which it had received from Sidon, and, in spite of the adoption of a Phœnician tongue, still faithful to its Pelasgic origin and to the Græco-Lybian sanctuary of the neighboring Tritonian lake. This explains, too, the above mentioned fact, that the Carthaginians treated with the Romans in the name of the Phœnicians and of Utica.

It was in the month of January, 1881, that the French expedition, under the auspices of the Department of Public Instruction, arrived at Tunis. After a preliminary excursion to the site of Carthage, preparations were made at Tunis, so that with one hundred men, provided like a small army, they began work upon the site of Utica the second week of February. The cold was intense for the season, the thermometer often marking two degrees below the freezing point in the morning, and rising rapidly by two o'clock to 88° Fahrenheit. The natives, according to the custom of the East, must ask (say the explorers) who we are, whence we come, and what we want—the same inquiries as in the time of Homer. They could not comprehend why we turned up stones to look at the inscriptions, and opened their eyes wide when they saw us take our note books and pencils, suspecting us of being about to work upon them some evil spell, as sorcerers. When returning towards night from the day's work, the hyena's cry, terminating in a hideous laugh, was heard, and jackals barked in great numbers. By the 8th of March, says the Comte d' Herisson, in the diary of the explorations, the vegetation advanced at a lightning pace, the temperature equaling that of our dog-days. Everywhere upon the slope of the hills the native flowers are in bloom, the little centuary, a species of pimpernal, red as blood. On all sides rose great umbiliferous plants, with yellow flowers. Nature re-awakens to life, and rapidly clothes herself in brilliant attire. According to the poetic mythology of the East, it is the goddess Astarte, who, conformably to the old Babylonian ritual, goes on putting on one by one, all her habiliments. On the 30th of March the heat having become intense, and the time set for departing having arrived, the expedition ceased work and set out homeward by way of Tunis.

BOTANY AND BOTANISTS OF THIS VICINITY.

BY DR. JOSEPH V. HABERER.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 22, 1886.

Central New York, especially Oneida County, has been the field of exploration of many prominent botanists. The result of their labors is apparent in our knowledge of the flora, not only of the county but the whole of North America. Therefore I think a biographical sketch of those most intimately connected with the botany of this region will be most acceptable to you this evening.

The first botanical researches in this region were probably made by Frederick Pursh, author of the Second Flora of North America. He was born in Siberia, was educated at Dresden and landed in this country at the close of the last century. He was an enthusiastic botanist, and on his arrival in this country found no less than four botanical gardens, *i. e.*, Marshall's at Lancaster; the Bartrams on the banks of the Schuylkill, near Philadelphia; a garden known as the Woodlands, also near Philadelphia, and Dr. Hosack's in New York. He made exploratory trips through the mountains and forests with no other companion than his dog and gun. In 1805 he went southward as far as the mountains of Virginia and returned in the autumn to Philadelphia, his principal patron being Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, of that place. In 1807 he went from Philadelphia, directly north to the Pokono mountains, thence across the State of New York to Onondaga and near Geddes, he discovered *Scolopendrium vulgare*, one of the rarest of our ferns. From there he went to Oswego, and thence back to Utica, down the Mohawk valley to Saratoga, north to Lake Champlain and the vicinity of Rutland, Vermont. He returned to Philadelphia on the 5th of October. His manuscript, "Journal of a Botanical Excursion in the Northeastern Parts of Pennsylvania and New York during the Year 1807," was found some years ago at Philadelphia, and was a quaint and simple narrative of his wanderings and hardships. In 1807 he had charge of the botanic establishment of Dr. Hosack in New York. In 1810 he went to the West Indies for the benefit of his health. He returned in 1811, went to England in 1812, and with wonderful dispatch produced his "Floræ Americæ Septentrionalis," by the close of 1813. He after-

wards botanized in Canada and had in view a Canadian Flora, but his collections were destroyed by fire at Quebec. He died at Montreal in 1820, at the age of 46, and a neat and durable granite monument was erected to his memory by the naturalists of Montreal. The flora of Pursh, contained descriptions of 3,076 species, or about double the number described by Michaux, in the earliest North American flora which appeared in 1803. His name has come down to us in the *Rhamnus Purshiana* or Cascara Sagrado.

James Hadley, M. D., was born in Weare, N. H., July 5, 1785, and died in Buffalo, N. Y., October 17, 1869. He was the son of a New Hampshire farmer and worked at home until he reached the age of nineteen, when he was put upon a course of liberal education. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1809. He then entered upon the study of medicine and early in life became interested in chemistry, under the direction of Dr. Josiah Noyes, the first Professor of Chemistry in Hamilton College. In the latter part of the year 1809 he went to Fairfield, where he pursued his medical and chemical studies. The Fairfield Medical College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York, was established in 1812. He was appointed the first Professor of Chemistry and Materia Medica, and retained the position until 1840, when the institution ceased to exist. He was engaged in practice for a short time in partnership with Dr. Jonathan Sherwood. In 1818 he spent some months in New Haven, Conn., for the purpose of pursuing studies in botany, mineralogy and geology. He received instruction in botany from Dr. Eli Ives, an accomplished botanist as well as a very successful physician. In 1830 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry and the other Natural Sciences at Hamilton College, but was obliged to relinquish the post in 1834. He did much toward the botany of this region. It was under Professor Hadley that a favorite pupil, Asa Gray, at the age of sixteen commenced the studies which were to make him pre-eminent among the botanists of his time.

Professor Hadley was for many years a resident of Fairfield, and on him devolved much of the labor connected with the management of the institution at that place. The faculty, consisting of Drs. Willoughby, Beck, McNaughton, Delamater and Hadley, were long associated as colleagues and remarkable for their ability and prudence. The institution enjoyed the confidence of the public, and in 1834 it counted more than two hundred students. But its location was a great disadvantage and the

medical colleges which were established at Albany and Geneva, had a great influence in its decline. In the spring of 1840 the Fairfield professors were obliged to resign their posts. These were never filled by subsequent appointment. It has been said "that the Fairfield College has not only died, but has known how to die with honor."

Professor Hadley removed to Geneva in 1841. He was Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy at the Geneva school until 1853. In 1856 he removed to Buffalo and was engaged in the manufacture of fluid inks. Intellectually he was solid rather than brilliant. He was peculiarly fitted for the work of an instructor, and was ever patient, laborious and thorough. His pupils were numbered by thousands and there were probably few among them who did not revere him as a man and remember him with real affection as a personal friend.

Asa Gray, M. D., LL.D., was born on the 18th of November, 1810, at Paris, Oneida County, N. Y. He received the degree of M. D. from the medical school at Fairfield in 1831. He practiced medicine but a short time. He received his first encouragement in essaying a scientific career from Professor Hadley. Sometime in 1830 he was in correspondence with Dr. Torrey, and became his assistant in New York three or four years afterward. Meanwhile he had been teacher of Natural Sciences in the Utica high school. Dr. Torrey was engaged upon the Flora of North America, and some of the first manuscript for it was written by Dr. Gray. As early as 1835 he tried his hand upon some of the natural orders. In 1834 Dr. Gray was appointed botanist of the South Pacific Exploring Expedition, but for private reasons he gave up the position, preferring to work with Dr. Torrey and become his associate. He was subsequently elected Professor of Botany in the University of Michigan, but eventually accepted the Fisher Professorship of Natural History in Harvard University, in which position he continued from 1842.

In December, 1834, Dr. Gray read a celebrated paper before the New York Lyceum of Natural History. It was entitled "A Notice of Some New, Rare, or Otherwise Interesting Plants from the Northern and Western Portions of the State of New York." In 1834–35 he published two volumes on the North American Gramineæ and Cyperaceæ. Each volume contained a hundred species, illustrated by dried specimens.

In 1838 appeared the first part of the flora of North America, which he edited conjointly with Dr. John Torrey of New

York. This work, much to the regret of all botanists, was not completed.

Dr. Gray has published many memoirs on botany, among which may be mentioned, Plantæ Lindheimeranæ, Plantæ Fendlerianæ, Plantæ Wrightianæ Neo Mexicanæ and Plantæ Thurberianæ. In 1848 appeared the first volume of "Genera Floræ Americæ Boreali-Orientalis Illustrata," commonly known as "Gray's Genera."

The most voluminous of his contributions to botanical literature are his descriptions of all the plants collected by the expedition of Commodore Charles Wilkes, 1838 to 1842. He has published many minor works, such as "Elements of Botany," "Structural and Systematic Botany," and "Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States." He is also the author of such works as "First Lessons," "How Plants Grow" and "How Plants Behave." He has long been one of the associate editors of the American Journal of Science and Arts. He has been President of the American Academy of Science and Arts and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The great amount of work done by Professor Gray reflects honor upon the country which affords a field for his labor, and in fitting recognition of his place in the hearts of his fellow workers, one hundred and eighty American botanists presented him with a memorial on his seventy-fifth birthday, November 18, 1885. It consisted of a silver vase with appropriate floral decorations, and its cost was $325. He is par excellence the father of American botany.*

Peter D. Knieskern, M. D., was born at Berne, Albany County, N. Y., June 11, 1798, and died of paralysis at Shark River, N. J. September 12, 1871. He took his degree about the year 1829 or 1830, at the Medical College of the Western district of New York, at Fairfield. He was passionately fond of nature early in life, and became an enthusiastic botanist. He first entered on the practice of his profession at New London and afterward removed to Oriskany. It was during his residence at the latter place he compiled a catalogue of plants found in the County of Oneida. It was published in the report of the Regents of the University, and was spoken of in the highest terms by Dr. Torrey, whom he had assisted in the preparation of the flora of the State of New York. In 1841 he removed to Manchester, Ocean County, N. J., in order to seek a new field for botanical research. Six years later he removed to Squam Village, Monmouth County, and six

* Professor Gray died at Cambridge, January 30, 1888, at the age of seventy-seven.

years afterward to Shark River, where he died. He botanized with assiduity and skill throughout the pine barrens of New Jersey, and amassed a large number of specimens. He was an indefatigable collector, a keen observer, and few botanists have excelled him in their knowledge of the plants of the region in which he resided. At least two species of the Sedge family, of his own discovery, bear his name. He was particularly fond of Carices, to which he devoted much time and study. His zeal, simplicity and love of science, have earned for him a name in American botany.

Dr. George Vasey, formerly of Oriskany and Dexter, N. Y., and now botanist of the department of agriculture at Washington, D. C., was at one time intimately associated with Dr. Knieskern. In his catalogue of the plants of Oneida county Dr. Knieskern refers to him as his "esteemed young friend, Mr. George Vasey, an industrious student of natural history, and well acquainted with the botany of this region." Drs. Knieskern and Vasey made many discoveries and to them we are indebted for our present knowledge of the botany of the western part of this county some forty years ago.

Dr. I. S. Douglass, formerly of Hamilton, Madison county, supplied Dr. Knieskern with much information in regard to the botany of Vernon. In the Transactions of the State Medical Society of New York for 1835 is to be found a "Report on the Medical Botany of the Town of Hamilton, Madison county. Part I, by Drs. I. S. Douglass and I. Babcock." Thirteen medicinal plants are described, their virtues extolled, and about twenty more are mentioned which may claim further attention. It is quite a a curiosity in the line of botany as well as materia medica.

Henry P. Sartwell, M. D., was born in Berkshire county, Mass., about 1790, and died at Penn Yan, N. Y., November 15, 1867. In early infancy he removed with his parents to New Hartford, N. Y., where he read medicine with Dr. Amos G. Hull. He was also located at Gorham, Ontario county, while pursuing his medical studies. He commenced the practice of medicine at Mayville Chautauqua county, about 1812. He held the office of Deputy County Clerk for some time, and was engaged in a limited professional business. He left Mayville in 1815 and removed to Penn Yan, Yates county, where he became a respectable practicing physician. His last illness was brought on by over-exertion in attendance at the bedside of a sick friend. He was fond of all branches of natural history, and distinguished himself as a

botanist. He not only thoroughly explored the district within his reach but prepared speciments in great number and distributed them liberally. He was disinterested and generous, contributing to many foreign as well as domestic herbaria. Dr. Sartwell made a specialty of the great and difficult genus Carex; Dewey, Torrey, Carey, Tuckerman and Boott, who were authority on Carices, frequently acknowledged their obligations to him.

In 1848 was issued the first part of his "Carices Americæ Septentrionalis Exsiccatæ;" the second part appeared in 1850. He also published a "Catalogue of the plants growing in the vicinity of Penn Yan." He was of great assistance to the publications of Torrey & Gray. *Sartwellia*, a distinct and peculiar genus of Compositæ found in Texas, commemorates his name. His most intimate associate Prof. Chester Dewey of Rochester, N. Y., survived him but a short time. To Dewey and Sartwell the lovers of Carices in this country are much indebted, especially for Dewey's Caricography an elaborate monograph which was published continuously for more than forty years in the American Journal of Science.

Dr. Sartwell accumulated a large herbarium, rich and attractive, in Carices, ferns and plants of western New York. Desiring its future preservation, he transferred it to Hamilton College, where it ought to be valued and well cared for. Having devoted a long life to the pursuit and encouragement of science, his collection should be made still more valuable. The donations that have accumulated should be turned out of their repositories, and what is useful to scientific researches should be made accessible for the purpose. The grand coterie of men, Sartwell and Dewey, Knieskern, Hadley and Torrey, Gray and Vasey, who have done so much toward the botany of Central New York as well as North America, should thus be honored by a just appreciation of their labors.

Edwin Hunt, Ph. D., was born at Sudbury, Mass., August 24, 1837, and died in this city, May 24, 1880. Mr. Hunt received a preliminary course of instruction at the Concord High School and entered Amherst College in 1854. At school he was foremost in his classes, laboring energetically with his tasks until his efforts were crowned with success. He received his degree in 1858, and chose the profession of a teacher. He was appointed Professor of the Natural Sciences at the Utica Free Academy in 1865, which position he filled in an acceptable manner for many years. He was endeared to all his pupils by his kind demeanor and Christan

character. As an elder in the First Presbyterian Church of this city he has left the impress of his teachings, and the influence of his consistent life will live long after him. Mr. Hunt was attached to botany and he undertook everything that pertained to his chosen science with great enthusiasm. He early formed an herbarium of about 2,000 plants which was destroyed by fire in the burning of the old Academy. With the true spirit of the botanist, he was not disheartened, but by his indefatigable search for plants and a system of well regulated exchanges he managed to accumulate an herbarium far superior to the one destroyed. Mr. Hunt was an expert in the preparation of his botanical specimens and they were highly prized by his correspondents. He was ever guarded in his knowledge of a locality. He did not believe in communicating the locality of a plant, if he thought some one would exhaust it, and knew only too well how many years of patient industry he had spent on his collection. His herbarium is especially rich in plants from the far west, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Canada, New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia. It contains, also, a large number of plants from Colorado, and some from Germany. We journeyed many miles together during the time that I was a student of his, and he always seemed two inches taller when we got into the woods. He was a very rapid walker and when on a botanical excursion it was a difficult matter to keep up with him. I have a faint but pleasant recollection of running at his heels for a distance of twelve miles.

One of the most amusing incidents that has ever occurred to me, happened while we were tramping from Jordanville to Herkimer. A country denizen of the town of Warren, just at the summit of the hills, was attracted by our tin boxes, and inquired if we were peddling patent medicines. Mr. Hunt looked at him in scorn. I have often thought how near he came to the mark. Mr. Hunt was very thorough in his explorations about Utica. In June, 1872, he discovered Botrychium matricariæfolium, Br., in a ravine on the Deerfield Hills. It was an acquisition to our local flora, and was reported in the "Report of the State Botanist." A specimen of Mr. Hunt's own preparation is figured in Eaton's Ferns of North America. It is a species of the Ophioglossaceæ, closely related to the ferns. His principal study were the ferns, orchids and sedges. Sometime in the year 1878, Mr. Hunt received an injury from which he never fully recovered. He was an invalid for many long months, but bore his sufferings with Christian fortitude, and finally died of Bright's disease of the kidneys.

His herbarium, numbering about 4,000 plants, consisting of unusually good specimens, is for sale and would make a valuable acquisition to any educational establishment.*

His absorption in his beloved science made no difference in the completeness with which he discharged all the duties of son, husband, father, neighbor and citizen.

In regard to Rev. John A. Paine, Jr., I know little. He seems to have been a great worker and thorough explorer, and perhaps sometime in the future a satisfactory record of him can be obtained.

The labors of Mr. B. D. Gilbert are familiar to us all.

The full and accurate catalogue of the plants of Oneida county, by Dr. Knieskern, was published in 1842. About 800 species were reported as growing within the county at that time.

The catalogue of plants found in Oneida county and vicinity, by Rev. John A. Paine, Jr., was published in the Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York in 1865. This catalogue embraces the whole of the central part of the State. Its limits are no where indicated, very indefinite, and apparently meant to include the whole region between Schenectady in the east and Rochester on the west, and from Pennsylvania on the south to Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence on the north. It is a difficult matter to determine the exact number of plants of Oneida county from this catalogue. The nearest that I can get to it is about 1,100. But a good many of the plants reported by Paine have since lost their claims as species, and many discrepancies occur between the two catalogues. I have but lately become acquainted with Knieskern's list and to make any satisfactory statement would require much time and labor. A full consideration of our flora must therefore be postponed until some future occasion. Thirteen hundred plants have been found in their native wilds by myself in the counties of Oneida, Herkimer, Hamilton, Lewis, Oswego, Onondaga, Madison and Otsego. Within a radius of six miles of Utica, we have 855 species representing 93 Orders (familics.) The Orders having ten or more species represented are as follows:

Ranunculaceæ, or Crowfoot family	24
Cruciferæ, or Mustard family	24
Violaceæ, or Violet family	13
Caryophyllaceæ, or Pink family	17

*The herbarium became the property of the Asa Gray Botanical Club in 1887.

Leguminoseæ, or Pulse family	20
Rosaceæ, or Rose family	42
Saxifragaceæ, or Saxifrage family	10
Umbelliferæ, or Parsley family	18
Caprifoliaceæ, or Honeysuckle family	14
Compositæ, or Composite family	90
Ericaceæ, or Heath family	22
Scrophulariaceæ, or Figwort family	17
Labiatæ, or Mint family	21
Polygonaceæ, or Buckwheat family	21
Salicaceæ, or Willow family	14
Orchidaceæ, or Orchis family	22
Liliaceæ, or Lily family	26
Cyperaceæ, or Sedge (Carices 66) family	84
Gramineæ, or Grass family	51
Filices, or Ferns	32

The Hepatica or Liverleaf, *i. e.*, Anemone acutiloba, Lawson., our earliest spring flower, has been found in blossom for the first time during the years 1872 to 1885 inclusive, as follows:

1872, on May 4th.	1879, on April 22d.
1873, on April 24th.	1880, on May 3d.
1874, on April 19th.	1881, on April 16th.
1875, on April 27th.	1882, on April 20th.
1876, on April 27th.	1883, on April 10th.
1877, on April 12th.	1884, on April 10th.
1878, on April 1st.	1885, on April 19th.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE IV.

Resident members shall pay an admission fee of two dollars, which shall be full payment for the first year, and thereafter an annual fee of two dollars, which shall be paid on or before the 1st day of May in each year. Any member in arrears for annual dues on the second Tuesday in January in each year, and who shall have received notice thereof from the Treasurer as early as the preceding first day of October, shall no longer be considered a member of the society. [Adopted April 22, 1889.]

ARTICLE V.

The officers of the society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Librarian, and a Treasurer, who shall be elected annually, on the second Tuesday in January, by a majority of ballots; and who, together with an Executive Committee of five, to be elected annually in the same manner from among the number of the Board of Councilors, shall constitute the Board of Managers of the society, exercising the duties and discharging the responsibilities which belong to boards of trustees in general. A majority of all the members of the Board of Managers shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. [Adopted January 8, 1889.]

PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

1. Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Oriskany: 1877.
2. Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York, by Douglass Campbell. Annual Address: 1879.
3. The Men, Events, Lawyers, Politics and Politicians of Early Rome, by D. E. Wager: 1879.
4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society, and Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida County, by William Tracy. Annual Address: 1880.
6. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, with Annual Address and Reports for 1881, Paris Re-interment and Papers read before the Society from 1878 to 1881: 1881.
7. Semi-Centennial of the City of Utica, and Supper of Half-Century Club: 1882.
8. A Long Lost Point in History, by L. W. Ledyard. Annual Address: 1883.
9. Col. John Brown, by Rev. G. L. Roof: 1884.
10. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, Wagner Re-Interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885.
11. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1885–1886, containing Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois, The Streets of Utica, The Utica Water Works, Forts Stanwix and Bull and other Forts at Rome, Memorial of S. Wells Williams, The Utica High School, List of the Birds of Oneida County: 1886.
12. Amended Constitution and By-Laws and Catalogue of the Members of the Oneida Historical Society: 1887.
13. The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization, by Rev. Dr. William T. Gibson: 1888.
14. Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1887–1889, containing the New Hartford Centennial, Is Local History worth Studying? Geology of Oneida County, The New York Iroquois, The Bleecker Street Church, Ancient Utica, and Botany and Botanists of this Vicinity.

ADDRESSES DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY,

SINCE JANUARY 1, 1887.

1887. January 11.—"Is Local History worth Studying?" Annual Address: Prof. Francis M. Burdick.

March 28.—"Recollections of Joseph Bonaparte." S. L. Frey; read by John L. Earll.

"Were Shikelling and Logan Oneidas?" Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.

April 25.—"Reminiscences of the Early History of Oneida County:" Col. J. T. Watson.

May 30.—"The Bleecker Street Church:" Thomas W. Seward.

September 26.—"Gen. Oliver Collins:" Charles D. Adams.

October 31.—"Visit to Gibraltar and Tangier:" Rev. T. R. G. Peck.

December 19.—"Rev. Beriah Green:" Dr. Smith Baker.

1888. January 10.—"The Value of Local Historical Research." Annual Address: Prof. Oren Root.

January 30.—"Early Methods of Travel in the Mohawk Valley and Central New York:" Prof. A. G. Hopkins.

March 26.—"The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization:" Rev. Dr. W. T. Gibson.

April 30.—"Reminiscences of New Hartford:" Henry Hurlburt.

May 28.—"Geology of Oneida County:" Rev. A. P. Brigham.

September 24.—"Earlier Poets of Utica:" Dr. M. M. Bagg.

December 3.—"Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County:" Rev. Erasmus W. Jones.

December 17.—"The Insurrection and Conquest of the Tuscarora Indians:" Col. Edward Cantwell.

1889. January 8.—"Geographical Names as Monuments of History." Annual Address: Rev. Dr. Willis J. Beecher, of Auburn Theological Seminary.

January 28.—"History of the Presbyterian Church at New Hartford:" Rev. Edward H. Payson.

February 25.—"Earliest Instance on Record of Complete Anæsthesia produced by Nitrous Oxide:" Dr. M. M. Bagg.

May 15.—"Early Northwestern History," with Stereopticon Views: A. A. Graham, Secretary Ohio Historical Society.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

By Article 4 of the Constitution, Resident Membership expires if the Annual Dues, $3.00, are unpaid on the Second Tuesday of January in each year. By Article 8, $25.00, paid at one time, makes a Life Member, who is exempt from annual dues.

Abbott, Henry G., Utica.
Adams, Charles D., Utica.
Akehurst, Edward L.
Anthony, James V., Utica.
Armstrong, Jonas W., Rome.
Bagg, Egbert, Utica.
Bagg, M. M., Utica.
Bailey, E. Prentiss, Utica.
Baker, Smith, Utica.
Baker, Thomas F., Utica.
Ballou, Rev. Daniel, Utica.
Barber, A. D., Utica.
Barrows, Samuel J., Utica.
Batchelor, Daniel, Utica.
Beach, B. J., Rome.
Beare, H. C., Utica.
Benedict, A. G., Clinton.
Benham, T. L., Utica.
Benton, James, Utica.
Best, Isaac O., Clinton.
Bidwell, Hudson, Utica.
Bielby, I. P., Utica.
Bigelow, Rev. D. W., Utica.
Bigelow, H. P., Waterville.
Bissell, J. G., Rome.
Blumer, G. Alder, Utica.
Borst, Charles A., Clinton.
Bradford, George L., Utica.
Brandegee, J. E., Utica.
Brigham, Rev. A. P., Utica.
Brown, John G., Utica.
Bulger, P. F., Utica.
Butler, Morgan, New Hartford.
Butler, J. M., Utica.
Butterfield, T. F., Utica.
Canfield, M. T., Utica.
Cantwell, Edward, Utica.
Carter, George C., Utica.
Childs, J. Morris, Utica.
Child, Rev. Elias, Utica.
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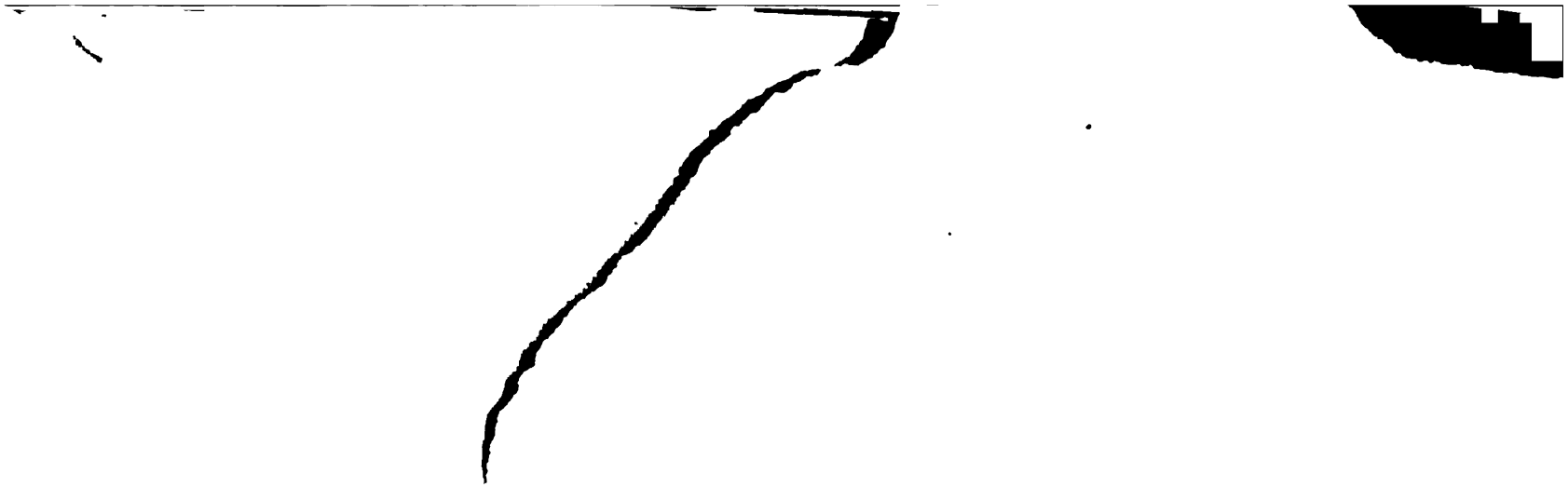

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With Constitution and By-Laws and Members.

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PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
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2. Historical Fallacies Regarding Colonial New York, by Douglass Campbell. Annual Address: 1879.
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4. Articles of Incorporation, Constitution, By-Laws, Officers, Members and Donors of the Society and Proceedings of Annual Meeting: 1879.
5. Early History of Oneida County, by William Tracy. Annual Address: 1880.
6. Transactions (1) of the Oneida Historical Society, containing The Continental Congress, The Palatines of the Mohawk, Re-interment of Isaac Paris, The Pompey Stone, Johannas Rueff, Herkimer Papers, Genealogy of Utica Newspaper, Earliest Factories of Oneida, The Discovery of Water Lime, The Syracuse and Utica Railroad, The Telegraph and Associated Press, Letter of Dr. S. L. Mitchell, Needs and Purposes of the Society and Annual Reports: 1881.
7. Semi-Centennial of the City of Utica and Supper of Half-Century Club: 1882.
8. A Long Lost Point in History, by L. W. Ledyard. Annual Address: 1883.
9. Col. John Brown, by Rev. Garret L. Roof, D.D.: 1884.
10. Transactions (2) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1884, containing Whitestown Centennial, Whitesboro's Golden Age, Wagner Re-interment, Old Fort Schuyler Celebration, and Dedication of the Oriskany Monument: 1885.
11. Transactions (3) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1885–1886, containing Early Protestant Missions among the Iroquois, The Streets of Utica, The Utica Water Works, Forts Stanwix and Bull and other Forts at Rome, Memorial of S. Wells Williams, The Utica High School, List of the Birds of Oneida County.
12. Amended Constitution and By-Laws and Catalogue of the Members of the Oneida Historical Society: 1887.
13. The Historic Difference of English and Continental Civilization, by Rev. Dr. William T. Gibson: 1888.
14. Transactions (4) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1887–1889, containing the New Hartford Centennial, Is Local History worth Studying? Geology of Oneida County, The New York Iroquois, The Bleecker Street Church, Ancient Utica, and Botany and Botanists of this Vicinity.

15. Catalogue of the Library of the Oneida Historical Society, Manuscripts, Maps, &c.: 1890.

16. Col. Marinus Willett, by Daniel E. Wager: 1891.

17. Transactions (5) of the Oneida Historical Society, 1890–1892, containing Geographical names as monuments of History, John A. Dix, Iroquois and Colony of New York, Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County, Fairfield Medical College, Chapter in Glacial History, Silas Wright, Pre-Historic Remains in Sweden, Sangerfield, Laying of Historical Stone of Utica Y. M. C. Association, John F. Seymour, Constitution, and By-Laws, Officers, Members, Publications and Addresses Oneida Historical Society: 1892.

Addresses before the Society since September, 1889.

A complete list of Addresses delivered previously to the above date, 73 in number, exclusive of those in public celebrations, will be found in Nos. 12 and 14 of the Society's publications. It is proper to state that the Society has not published a third of the Addresses now listed, numbering over a hundred. Some have been published elsewhere, the publication of others declined by the authors as inappropriate for a local historical society, and the loss of manuscripts has prevented the publication of others, and deficiency of room and funds of the rest.

74.	1889.	October	28.	Silas Wright, Governor of New York from 1845 to 1847. Rev. Daniel Ballou.
75.		November	25.	Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor of New York. Col. James T. Watson.
76.		December	30.	Gen. Wm. H. T. Walker and Gen. John W. Fuller. Alexander Seward.
77.	1890.	January	14.	Life and Character of Governor John A. Dix. Gen. James Grant Wilson. Annual Address.
78.		January	27.	The three Witnesses of the Book of Mormon. James H. Kennedy.
79.		February	24.	The Iroquois and the Colony of New York. Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, S. T. D.
80.		March	31.	Fairfield Medical College. Lucien B. Wells, M. D.
81.		"	"	Early doings of the first Spiritualists. Alexander Seward.
82.		April	8.	The Leisler troubles in New York, 1689 to 1691. Rev. A. G. Vermilye, D. D.
83.		April	28.	John Jay. His origin, character and public services. Frank B. Parkhurst.
84.		May	26.	Judge William Cooper of Otsego, the Founder of Cooperstown. Hon. Edward T. DeLancey.
85.		October	29.	The Colonial Press of Boston and New York. William L. Stone.
86.		November	24.	Life of Col. Marinus Willett, prior to his command at Fort Stanwix. Daniel E. Wager.
87.		December	29.	Col. Marinus Willett. Part 2nd, Daniel E. Wager.
88.	1891.	January	13.	The Making of a Constitution. Professor Benjamin S. Terry. Annual Address: 1891.

Popular Educational Lectures.

BY PROF. BENJAMIN S. TERRY,

History and Political Science in Colgate University.

89.	February	13.	The Barbarian Nemesis.
90.	February	16.	The Gothic Invader.
91.	February	20.	Gog and Magog.
92.	February	23.	The Kites and the Crows.

BY REV. ALBERT P. BRIGHAM,

Pastor of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, Utica, N. Y.

93.	February	25.	Rivers.
94.	March	2.	Glaciers and Glacial Periods.
95.	March	4.	The Ice Age in North America.
96.	March	6.	Lakes and Underground Waters.

BY PROF. ARTHUR S. HOYT,

English Literature in Hamilton College.

97.	March	11.	Macbeth, Illustrating the Power of Shakspeare.
98.	March	13.	Wordsworth, the Man and Poet.
99.	March	18.	The Jew of Marlowe and the Jew of Skakspeare.
100.	March	20.	Tennyson and Modern Schools of Poetry.

101.		May	12.	Benjamin Fletcher, Colonial Governor of New York, 1692–8. Gen. Watts De Peyster.
102.	1892.	January	12.	The Evolution of the Factory System. S. N. D. North. Annual Address: 1892.
103.		February	9.	Extracts from Memorial History of Utica. Dr. M. M. Bagg.
104.		March	8.	Visit to West Indies, Brazil, Spain and Portugal. Rev. Dana W. Bigelow.

Geographical Names as Monuments of History.

By PROF. WILLIS J. BEECHER, D. D.
Of Auburn Theological Seminary.

Annual Address Before the Oneida Historical Society, Jan. 8, 1889.

I have a strong conviction that all papers read before such a society as this ought to be of the nature of actual historical studies. When I promised to address you, I expected to be able to offer you certain results of certain historical studies in which I have an interest. Till within a few weeks, I maintained that expectation. It is a little humiliating to be obliged to confess that I have been unable to carry out the plans thus formed, and that I now have for you, not the results of any original and careful historical researches, but only a general and superficial essay on a topic of historical interest.

By way of preliminary statement, let me remind you of a fact already familiar, namely, that one chief element of interest in American historical research, as compared with researches into the history of the other continent, lies in the fact that our history is a history of beginnings. Because it covers only a brief period of time, it is in many respects insignificant by the side of the history of Europe, Asia, or northern Africa; but for precisely the same reason, it has possibilities no longer possessed by the history of these older civilizations. The most important historical questions with which the present generation has to deal are questions concerning the beginnings of history; and especially in view of this fact, our history is peculiarly important because it is a history of beginnings.

This principle—that American history has especial value considered as a history of beginnings—is illustrated when, for example, we undertake to study the men of the Stone Age, in America. On the other continent, the men of the Stone Age were prehistoric. All the vestiges of them which are perishable, perished ages ago. What comforts of life they may have had, what civilization, what culture, what mental power, what implements, aside from flint knives and pestles and arrow-heads, no one can ascertain from any

evidence now existing. There are great risks of inferring too much from the absence of other articles. Here, as in critical study everywhere, the argument from silence is perilous; the problems as to the antiquity of the race, or as to its development, which depend on these premises, depend largely on conjecture. But in America the Stone Age existed in the seventeenth century after Christ. Men from Europe, tolerably well qualified to observe and to report what they observed, came in contact with it here at that date. Examine the admirable collections of paleolithic and neolithic remains in the building of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, or the Brockway collection at Hamilton College, or any good collection anywhere, and you cannot fail to observe the close resemblance between the stone implements from the various parts of the eastern continent and those of American origin. Our Stone Age is recent. A large number of facts concerning it are within our reach. We can know these facts, if we will. And American facts, in this field of research, are worth far more than European conjectures.

I am using this case of the Stone Age in America only to introduce and illustrate another topic, and I do not care to specify particulars; but a superficial glance at the facts seems to promise conclusions quite different from those now held by many as to the development of the human race. For instance, the mound-builders were workers in metals, while the Iroquois and their contemporary tribes were not; that is, in America the Bronze Age preceded the Stone Age, or, at least, an Age of Bronze preceded an Age of Stone. Again, in America the very rudest stone implements are known to have been in current use at the same time with implements more skillfully shaped; that is to say, the paleolithic ages do not seem to have been separated by a long interval from from the neolithic. Further, it is certain that our American men of the Stone Age were not the wolf-like bipeds that one sees depicted in some illustrated works on these subjects. They were an agricultural people. They had a commerce. They possessed many useful and ornamental arts. They had poetry, and music, and oratory. Three centuries before the adopting of the Constitution of the United States, the Iroquois tribes had had the sagacity to devise a scheme of government that was essentially a federation of states. This government they had administered for more than a century before they ceased to be a people of the Stone Age.

Other illustrations of the importance of American historical studies, arising from the fact that ours is a history of beginnings, might be drawn from our local Indian traditions and legends. One of the perplexing problems which the critical historian has to solve, is the determining of the line between history and myth. Trace back the story of Rome, of Greece, of Egypt, of Babylon, of Scandinavia, and after a while you find yourself in the midst of much that is evidently fabulous, while it is vexatiously mingled with much that is possibly historical. The attack on Christianity now most current takes the form of a claim that the contents of the Bible are legendary rather than historical. Everywhere the problem is how to separate between the historical traditions concerning primitive times, and the myths that have been handed down along with them.

Here, again, America has some advantages. The early myths and traditions of the eastern continent were long ago reduced to writing, and have become hopelessly modified and corrupted by the literary use that has been made of them by successive generations of uncritical writers. Many of the American traditions we can preserve, if we will, free from this form, at least, of corruption. Our aboriginal tribes had both their myths and their historical traditions. It is yet possible to put many of these on record accurately in the shape in which they have been handed down orally, or by picture-writing. Whatever other elements of uncertainty there may be in them, we can keep them free from the particular modes of uncertainty which are most puzzling when we try to study the materials furnished by the old world. Hence they afford some special advantages for distinguishing myth from history, and investigating the relations between the two.

If now we have definitely in mind this especial function of American historical research, we are ready to illustrate it still further by the subject properly before us: Geographical Proper Names as Monuments of History.

Proper names, and especially the proper names used in physical and political geography, are significant as repositories of historical fact. In the earlier events mentioned in the Bible, for instance, we find such names as Kirjath-sepher, *book-city*, Kirjath-jearim, *forest-city*, Kirjath-arba, *city of Arba*, or *city of four*. Each of these names evidently means something: it is a monument commemorating certain facts or events connected with those places.

A large proportion of all that we know in regard to the earliest movements of the historic races of men is recorded in the lists of proper names in the tenth chapter of Genesis. What is thus true concerning the history stated in the Bible is true in all ancient history. The old world is covered with these chapters of history epitomized in the proper names that have been handed down from remote antiquity. But what are the contents of these chapters? The only answers we can make have a large element of conjecture in them. The names are significant, but what do they signify? They mean something, if we could only be sure that we know what they mean.

In America, in most instances, it is not yet too late for us to open the seals and transcribe the contents of our chapters of history of this sort. We know, or can learn, what the facts are of which our proper names are the monuments. And the importance of ascertaining and accurately preserving these facts is not at all measured by that of the facts themselves. If the facts had absolutely no intrinsic interest, they would yet be of value as contributing to the solution of some of the most important problems of historical science. Men are just now busy with the question how human history began on the earth. On the strength of the answer they give to this question they are affirming or denying the historical validity of the Bible, as well as of all other sources of information. It is not merely a question as to whether we know a little more or a little less concerning what once occurred on this planet: it is also a question as to the historical basis of everything in morals and religion. If we could unroll the tissues of fact that have been rolled up and stored away in some of the proper names of antiquity, if we could somehow expand again the history that has been concentrated into these, it would be a vast help in our study of these questions. As we have seen, it is difficult to do this, in the materials furnished in the older civilizations. There few of the facts survive, except the names themselves. But in America, we can watch this process of packing a chapter of history into a geographical appellation. It is possible that we may discover some of the laws by which the process is governed. It is possible that our study of the packing process, may so show us how the thing is done, that we shall thereby be enabled to unpack some of the receptacles of this sort in which the story of the early ages is now hidden. At all events, we cannot fail to find instances

Genesee, Erie, Honeoye, Oriskany, Oswegatchie and the like. Contrast with these some of the rugged, growling names, such as Cattaraugus, Skaneateles, or the short, sharp Mohawk, Mohonk. Observe the many names that begin with the syllable *can*, as Cannada, Canajoharie, Canandaigua, Canadaia, Canoga, Canastota and the like. Or look at the line of names ending in *gan* or *can*, which stretches from the great lakes, along the line of travel now occupied by the New York Central railroad and its affiliated western roads,—a line of travel which was relatively as important two hundred years ago as it is to-day, although the conveyances then were canoes and moccasins instead of steamers and Wagner and Pullman coaches,—Waukegan, Cheboygan, Michigan, Allegan, Mohegan: These are enough for specimens. If our discussion depended in any degree on accuracy in minute points, we should need to subject each of these names to historical and grammatical examination, and we should find that, under such examination, the character of many of them would materially change. But we need not do this, for the purpose now in hand; we may take the names as we find them.

Think for a moment how numerous they are. Notice how varied and unlike they are. Study the location of them. It becomes evident that we have here the monuments of a race that formerly inhabited the country—a race whose vocabulary was so large that they must either have had a literature, or else have spoken many different languages (the latter, of course, being the fact); a race which had strong local attachments, and yet which wandered far and wide, inhabiting the whole continent, even though it numbered but a few thousands; a race which had distant commerce, and division of labor; a race which had already discovered the great natural highways from the interior to the Atlantic; a race which, whatever else be true of it, had an evident appreciation of many of the most important elements of beauty and of sublimity in natural scenery.

For the sake of comparison turn to the country just east of that of the Iroquois. We find an entirely different set of names clinging especially to the oldest towns and to the headlands of the one navigable river. Catskill, Cobleskill, Peekskill, Rensselaer, Schenectady, Schoharie, Amsterdam, Schaghticoke—Dutch names and Indian names spelled with a Dutch superfluity of palatals and other consonants—existing thickly where they exist, but stopping

abruptly before they reach the head waters of the Mohawk—how distinctly they label the map of the country with the fact and the extent of the original European settlement of it by traders and farmers from Holland.

But while the banks of the rivers are Dutch, the river itself goes by the English name of Hudson. The steamer which stops at all the Dutch landings along the shore, yet brings you from the terminal metropolis of New York to the other terminal city of Albany. Then as you go through and beyond the circle of names that came from Holland, you find Waterford and Watertown and Waterville, Gilbertsville, Summerville, Knoxboro, Sangerfield, Oakfield, Bloomfield, Deerfield, Johnstown, Whitestown, Youngstown, Farmington, Binghamton, Oaks Corners, Five Corners, Smithville Flats, Weedsport, Gasport, Middleport. How could it be more plainly indicated that an English population came in after the Dutch, supplanted the latter on the great river and its termini of navigation, and pushed their settlements into and through the country of the Iroquois?

But the traveler passing through these various *villes*, and *boros*, and *tons*, and *ports*, and *forks*, and *flats*, and *corners*, and *fords*, and *fields* must also pass, particularly when he reaches the region now known as Central New York, such places as Ilion, Utica, Rome, Verona, Syracuse, Philadelphia, Brutus, Pompey, Cato, Cicero, Virgil, Tully, Fabius, Junius, Sempronius, Ithaca, Ovid, Marcellus, Athens, Sparta, Camillus, Romulus, Hannibal. The familiar story is that they kept a classical dictionary at the land office, and went to it for names, whenever there was a new settlement to be named. I suppose, however, that this classical dictionary is legendary, and is chiefly important to my purpose this evening, because it is legendary. It exemplifies one of the natural processes of the human imagination, a process which is sure to emerge, when favorable conditions offer. Given certain noticeable phenomena, with no known explanation at hand, and the imagination will be pretty sure to create an explanation. Then if the explanation has something of verisimilitude, it will be apt after a while to pass current for fact. Probably somebody invented this land office classical dictionary, originally as a jest, though it has been very generally accepted as a fact. What was done in this case, has been done in many cases. In the traditional accounts of the origin of geographical names, it is not always easy to distinguish legend from history.

and analogies by which to test the results which men suppose themselves to be reaching in regard to the ancient world.

It is not proposed, in this paper, to do any work of this sort, but merely to indicate, superficially, of course, and by instances taken almost at random, some of the possibilities which lie open in American historical research. This being the case, it will answer our purpose well enough to mention names just as they are now spelled and pronounced, without trying to be at all critical. Of course, this would not answer, if we were now engaged in actual research, instead of merely indicating certain lines where research might profitably be engaged in. We are all aware that the various spellings through which our Indian names, in particular, have passed, are numberless and arbitrary, and that the present form in which we find such a name, may be very different from its true form. We are also aware that a large proportion of what we receive as aboriginal proper names are in strictness not proper names at all, but descriptive phrases. Yet for the purpose in hand, we may neglect these differences, for the results we are now seeking would not be affected by them.

We need to limit our range, however, to some geographical boundary, and we may as well take for our limits those of the ancient country of the Iroquois. Perhaps one will get the best idea of this region if he will look on the map of the State of New York, and notice the chain of small lakes which empty themselves into Lake Ontario through the Oswego river. Most of these lakes still bear the old Indian names, as the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Otisco, the Skaneateles, the Owasco, the Cayuga, the Seneca, the Keuka, the Canandaigua. These lakes, with the group west of them, which empty through the Genesee river, are commonly long from north to south, and narrow from east to west, the Oneida being the most remarkable exception. They are so placed that they crossbar the State with strips of silver. On these lakes and the tributary and neighboring streams, lived the Iroquois. Their northern frontier was Lake Ontario. Their boundaries in other directions were undetermined. In 1609, Champlain found them as far east as the lake which bears his name. During that century they pushed their conquests westward nearly or quite to the Mississippi. But their centre of population was on the lakes just mentioned. Their capital was at the salt marshes of Onondaga, where the city of Syracuse now stands. The capital of the

confederacy was also that of the central tribe, the Onondagas. To the east of them lived two of the five tribes, the Oneidas and the Mohawks. To the west lived the other two tribes, the Cayugas and the Senecas.

This region of country is not mountainous, and has few interesting features of scenery except its many and beautiful lakes. But it is quite remarkable as a watershed. Two brooks crossed the farm of ninety acres near Vernon Centre, Oneida county, N. Y., on which the present writer lived when a boy. One of these brooks sought the Atlantic through the Oneida river, Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, and the other through the Oriskany, the Mohawk and the Hudson. Half a day's walk to the south would have brought him to springs which emptied through the Chenango into the Susquehanna, and a little longer journey to the southeast to those which fed the Delaware. In a similar fashion there are points in the western part of the old Iroquois country, in which it would be only a slight exaggeration to say that a drop of rain falling on a boulder would have to decide for itself whether it would start for the ocean by way of the St. Lawrence, by way of the western tributaries of the Susquehanna, or by way of the streams that flow through the Allegheny, the Ohio, and the Mississippi into the Gulf of Mexico. The mouths of the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence are the width of a continent apart; but the adventurer of the seventeenth century might have reached the Iroquois country, or at least its frontiers, by ascending either of them, or any one of at least three great rivers that empty into the ocean between them.

Within the limits thus indicated, let us now glance at certain classes of geographical names.

We begin with names which properly belong to the physical features of the country, though most of them have also come to be used to designate neighboring towns or counties or states. Take, for instance, the fresh water names that are pronounced with the rounded mouth, Owego, Otego, Otsego, Oswego, Otisco, Owasco, Ontario. You would know, without asking, that the last is the name of a sounding inland sea, while the others designate dimpled little lakes, and small sparkling streams. Compare with these, the names which begin or end with the *o* sound, instead of doing both, Geneseo, Buffalo, Skenando, Oneida, Oneonta, Chittenango. Add the names that now end in the sound of *ee*, accented or otherwise.

other purpose. To this group of words, sonorous with the broad *a* sound, belongs the best known of all the Iroquois names, that of Hiawatha. This name is now attached to a little island in the Susquehanna, between Owego and Binghamton. But it is also the property of all English readers who love the memory of our poet Longfellow.

In the poem of Mr. Longfellow, and in the writings of Schoolcraft and others, from which the poet drew as his sources, we have the mythical legend of Hiawatha. In the writings of Morgan, Hale, and others, we have authentic accounts of the historical legends concerning Hiawatha. The problem of the relations which exist between history and legend is just now one of the most important of the problems of historical and ethnological investigation. For the purposes of this problem, the case of Hiawatha is typical and representative, and is of peculiar importance. In particular, if anyone will take the myth of Hiawatha, either in its modified form as given by Mr. Longfellow, or in the most original form in which he can find it, and will try to infer from it what were the historical facts on which it was based, and will then compare his inferences with the actual traditions, he will convince himself of the wide difference there is between accounting for a legend by the facts, when we know the facts, and reconstructing the facts out of the myth itself. The former is easy. The latter is one of the most precarious of historical processes.

When we go back to the seventeenth century, and study the history of the Iroquois in their contact with European civilization and Roman Christianity—with French explorers and Jesuit missionaries—we shall again reach interesting results if we throw ourselves upon the trail marked by the existing proper names. Certain signs of the French occupation are conspicuous by their presence, and others, perhaps, even more significant by their absence.

Just north of the Canadian frontier, the old French names are very abundant, and particularly the names that are strongly Roman Catholic in their associations, Quebec, St. Lawrence, Montreal, St. Clair, St. Catherine's and the like. South of the St. Lawrence, to the northeast of what was properly the Iroquois country, is a group of similar names. Among these, that of Lake Champlain stands by itself. It commemorates the discovery of that body of water by Samuel de Champlain in 1609, and a long series of exploits by this heroic French pioneer, from 1603 to 1632. Again, if you fol-

low the great lakes west, and then follow any of the watercourses southward to the gulf of Mexico, you find a vast abundance of these traces. In the spelling of the Indian names, appears the French *ch*, pronounced as *sh*, as in Chicago, Michigan. We find the French termination *ois* or *oit*, as in Detroit, Illinois. We find the names ending in a broad *a* sound, spelled with final *s* or *c*, as Mackinac, Arkansas. We find the French St. Louis in Louisville, Louisiana, St. Louis. There are specific French names everywhere, La Prairie, Terre Haute, Le Sueur, Fond du Lac, La Salle, Marquette, Charlevoix. And when we reach these three names, we reach the historical sources of them all. The history of the early French explorers in America, and that of the early French missionaries, has never yet been adequately written, though Parkman, Shea, Hawley, and other distinguished men have made contributions to it. Marquette, 1667–1675, La Salle, 1669–1687, Charlevoix, early in the eighteenth century, and the other Frenchmen whom they represent, have left French marks scattered all over America, and impressed on her lakes, rivers, and political divisions, more indelibly than they could have been chiseled in stone or cast in brass.

In these names, as we have seen, the Roman saints are especially commemorated. We might plausibly infer that the early French adventurers were men of religious proclivities; many of them, perhaps, missionaries. The inference would be true to fact. The year 1608, in which Quebec was founded, is commonly assigned as the date of the organizing of the Roman Catholic missions among our northern American tribes. This is practically the beginning of French settlement in North America, though Canada had then for a long time been nominally a French colony. Whatever the differences between the two religions, the religious element was as marked in the settlement of Canada as it was in that of New England.

With this start, our investigations among the proper names might easily follow the wildest imaginable course. All over the Iroquois country, and the adjacent regions, the French names abound. We have Fayette, La Fayette, Orleans, Dunkirk, Vernon, Paris, Rochelle, Chaumont, Lyons, Marseilles, Le Roy, and a multitude of others. Had we no evidence except the names, it would be natural to infer that each of them is a monument of early French settlement, and of Roman Catholic missionary zeal. Nothing

We may be pretty sure, however, that most of our Greek and Latin towns were named by the settlers, and not by land office employes. The names are the monuments of certain conditions of public feeling among the earlier settlers of this region. These men had a strong appreciation of the value of higher education. They not only planted a church in every community, and a school house beside it, but they planted a classical academy in every prominent village. Most of the educational institutions they founded have now either been absorbed into the State system or crushed out of existence by State competition; we are apt to think of them as living in rude and uncultivated times; possibly there is an element of grotesqueness in the methods in which they manifested their appreciation of classical culture; but the appreciation itself was genuine, and these monuments of it will not soon vanish.

Another layer of names rests upon these, though mingled with them. To a considerable extent it comprises the names of the newer counties, towns, and other political divisions. The eye falls at random on Madison, Jefferson, Washington, Steuben, DeKalb, Schuyler, Marcy, Cortland, Kirkland, Livingston, Herkimer, Hamilton, Yates, Clinton and Pulaski. We have in these names the testimonial that the filling up of this country was contemporaneous with stirring events, and that the settlers delighted to honor the men who made themselves conspicuous as leaders in them.

In discussing other points we shall have occasion further to illustate the value of geographical names as materials for history. We shall especially have occasion to notice how easy it is to misread history of this sort, and how needful it is, therefore, to guard against erroneous conclusions. For the present, it is sufficient that we already see that the history wrapped up in such things is genuine history. Inscribed statues and columns and obelisks and pyramids and temples are not more real historical monuments than the names which have become affixed to the various physical and political divisions of a country.

In mentioning the aboriginal proper names, we have thus far purposely avoided one large class, namely, those in which the broad *a* sound predominates, Caughnewâga, Sauquedâga, Onondâga, Saratoga, Canaserāga, Niagara, and the like. Some one has called the Iroquois "the Romans of America." By a curious coincidence there is a strange resemblance between many of the aboriginal names in Central New York, and the neighboring names which

came from classical sources. How could one be expected to know that Ithaca and Utica come to us through the Latin, while Seneca is an aboriginal name? Since Aurora is only a naturalized citizen, what right has Tuscarora to be counted as native born? Do Verona or Geneva or Bellona sound any more classical than Canoga or Osceola? You might pretty safely say to any one: "What a fine old Indian name Cazenovia is," and only one man in a hundred would be able to reply: "Cazenovia is not an old Indian name, but a corruption from the modern Italian." What is there in the sound of *Cato* or *Cicero* to distinguish them from all the native names that end in *o*?

If all sources of history for this region were blotted out, except the proper names, would not someone find it easy to reconstruct the history, in outline at least, from the proper names alone? Starting from the unmistakably Latin character of the names that come from the Latin dictionary, noticing that these are contemporaneous with the Roman names of the historic period, but are evidently of later date than the names of the physical features of the country, how easy it would be to prove that the Iroquois were the original Italians, and that they had given names to our lakes and streams long before some of them migrated to Europe, and became the ancestors of the Romans. Possibly such names as Rochester, Worcester, Lancaster might be regarded as confirmatory of this theory, as indicating the localities where these primitive Italians had their camps, and developed the rudiments of that military discipline which, later, made Rome the mistress of the world. Absurd as such theories would be, the evidence for them would be quite as abundant and conclusive as that on which some of the men of the Roger Wendover and Robert Elsmere type have built up their substitutes for the facts testified to by Livy, and Herodotus, and Moses. The fact is, that every Greek and Roman syllable in our American proper names is a monument of Greek or Roman history; but without some aid from external evidence, we cannot always tell which syllables are really Greek and Roman, and much of the history they embody is history that was transacted on other continents, ages before the names were brought to America.

These names, therefore, may serve to emphasize the principle that we need to be careful when we try to translate from proper names the history that is in them. But they may also serve an

could be more mistaken. Rochelle comes to America through Huguenot channels, and commemorates undying opposition to the Roman church. Vernon, perhaps, went to England with the Normans, and migrated to Central New York as the name of an English Admiral. The larger number of the existing French names are the monuments of the heroes of our Revolutionary war, or of some early speculator in land, or of some settler's geographical fancy.

Learning these facts, a historical inquirer would be tempted at once to adopt the conclusion that for some reason the French explorers and missionaries avoided the country of the Iroquois. In confirmation of this he would note, not merely the absence of the old French names from that country, but the presence of them in many quarters as soon as you cross the frontiers. They abound in northeastern New York; for example, from Lake Champlain westward to the St. Lawrence, many of them unmistakably Roman Catholic, and affiliated with the Canadian names across the river. He might naturally infer that the Iroquois borders were those of the French and Jesuit influence, that they took possession of the country northeast of the Iroquois, as well as of the chain of the great lakes, but that they left the five nations to other influences. But this inference would be mistaken at every point. There were no early Roman missions at all in that northeastern country. The Roman missions which flourished there in the latter half of the eighteenth century were missions among the Iroquois who had then migrated thither; and of all the early Jesuit missions in North America, those in the heart of the Iroquois country itself were counted most important, were most fully and ably manned, and were most persistently maintained. The history of that country during the greater part of the seventeenth century is the history of the Jesuit missionaries and the French explorers in it.

If we look once more at the geographical names, however, we shall identify those which, directly or indirectly, are the real monuments of the history of early events. French spellings are found in such instances as Chautauqua, Chemung, Chenango, in the name Iroquois itself, in Irondequoit Bay. The name Frontenac, as applied to the one little island in the Cayuga Lake, may be similarly significant. If you look out these names on the map, and observe how they are located, you cannot help noticing that they mark the various canoe routes from the different parts of the

Iroquois country toward the head of canoe navigation on the Allegheny river, and therefore toward that great natural centre of commerce and influence which was once called Fort DuQuesne, and is now called Pittsburgh. We have in this the key to the whole problem. These instances point to the attempt to establish lines of French trading posts, French forts, French Roman Catholic missions and French alliances from Lake Ontario to the Ohio river, thus confining the English and Protestant possession of the country to a narrow strip along the middle Atlantic coast, and holding for France and the Pope all the rest of North America.

The attempt thus commemorated was important. It was persisted in for nearly two centuries—from the time of the earliest explorations of Champlain to that of the last of the so-called French and Indian wars. And the Roman missionaries, as well as the explorers and the statesmen, were fully alive to the fact that the success of the attempt depended largely on the establishment of French influence in the regions held by the Iroquois. Here, after a little, they concentrated their most strenuous efforts. The first Roman missions were among the Abenaquis in Maine, and among the Hurons and the Algonquins on the great lakes. But as early as about 1640, the attention of the Recollets and the Jesuits had been turned to the special importance of the Iroquois country. Their missions centered at Onondaga, but with branches among the Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas. For the fourth volume of the Documentary History of New York, published in 1851, Mr. John M. Shea furnished a list of twenty-three Jesuit Fathers who labored at these stations between 1640 and the time of the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht. They had attendants and assistants, the counting of whom would largely increase the number. They were men of enterprise and ability. They had whatever resources the power of the world-wide Jesuit order could command. They maintained their work with varying success until, in 1711, France, in the Treaty of Utrecht, formally relinquished to England all her claims to the Iroquois country. Even then they did not cease their exertions, although with this treaty the missions in the Iroquois country itself came to an end. The Sulpitians Francis Picquet and Pierre de la Garde, from 1748 till after 1760, made another attempt to carry out the old French policy, by gathering the Iroquois under French and Roman

Catholic influence near the mouth of the Oswegatchie river, where is now the town of Ogdensburgh; and in 1769, the Jesuit Anthony Gordon founded the Iroquois settlement of St. Regis, on the St. Lawrence river.

In this instance the very absence of French proper names is significant, when coupled with the French spelling of the old American names. There had been a time when the French names and the names of Roman saints dotted the region all over. But the French attempt to hold the country proved a failure. The English captured Fort DuQuesne, and named it Fort Pitt. What they did at Fort DuQuesne they did all along the lines of ancient French occupation. The old names were mostly effaced along with the power that established them. But the services of the French in exploring and describing the country remained for the benefit of their successors. And many of the old names of the physical features of the country continued to be written and pronounced in such a way as to perpetuate the fact that the Europeans who first wrote and pronounced them were Frenchmen.

This paper must close abruptly at this point, but let it close, like a sermon, with a practical application. It is the business of a Historical Society to collect materials for history. Some of these materials exist in the form of the unrecorded recollections of aged men and women; some in the shape of implements, and medals, and trinkets buried in Indian graves; some in the form of old church records or other records; some in rough bundles of yellow correspondence lying neglected in somebody's garret; some in queer old pamphlets and funny little old newspapers. Doubtless, history will never become so completely recorded but that much of it will still be accessible only in the form of fragments like these. He who takes an interest in preserving these fragments should not be looked upon as a harmless dotard amusing himself, but as one who is making genuine contributions to human knowledge and to the welfare of mankind. And among the various classes of fragmentary bits of historical material that need to be collected and classified and made available, none are more important, none more worthy the systematic attention of the men and the organizations engaged in such work than the proper names of the mountains, valleys, streams, lakes, cities, counties, streets, institutions, endowments, and the like, existing everywhere around us.

Life and Character of Gov. John A. Dix.

BY GEN. JAMES GRANT WILSON,

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ANNUAL ADDRESS BEFORE THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JANUARY 14, 1890.

"In treating of the early Governors of the province (of New York) I must caution my readers," says Washington Irving, in his "Knickerbocker's History of New York," "against confounding them, in point of dignity and power, with those worthy gentlemen who are whimsically denominated Governors in this enlightened republic,—a set of unhappy victims of popularity, who are, in fact, the most dependent, hen-pecked beings in the community; doomed to bear the secret goadings and corrections of their own party, and the sneers and revilings of the whole world beside; set up like geese at Christmas holidays, to be pelted and shot at by every whipster and vagabond in the land. On the contrary, the Dutch Governors enjoyed that uncontrolled authority vested in all commanders of distant colonies or territories. They were, in a manner, absolute despots in their little domains, lording it, if so disposed, over both law and gospel, and accountable to none but the mother country; which it is well known is astonishingly deaf to all complaints against its Governors, provided they discharge the main duty of their station—squeezing out a good revenue. This hint will be of importance to prevent my readers from being seized with doubt and incredulity, whenever, in the course of this authentic history, they encounter the uncommon circumstance of a governor acting with independence, and in opposition to the opinions of the multitude."

The State of New York is great in her memories of the past and in her hopes of the future. On her soil was fought one of the decisive battles of the world; in her borders flows unceasingly, the mightiest cataract known to man, and to the battle-fields of the civil war she sent nearly a quarter of a million of armed men. New York numbers among her sons by birth and adoption many illustrious citizens, such as the statesmen Hamilton, Jay, Livingston, Marcy, Seward,

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and Silas Wright, and the authors Bryant, Cooper, Halleck, Irving and Paulding. She has given four chief magistrates to the country and four Vice-Presidents, and her Governors of the past one hundred and twelve years have included, it may be safely asserted, as many eminent men as can be found among the highest officials of any other State in the Union. Among these may be mentioned the two Clintons, Jay, Van Buren, Marcy, Seward, Wright, Hamilton Fish, Dickinson, your late honored president, the accomplished Seymour, Samuel Tilden, and John A. Dix, the soldier, scholar and statesman, who was born in Boscawen, New Hampshire, July 24, 1798. He came of good New England stock. His earliest American ancestor, Anthony Dix, was a Puritan. His name appears in the Plymoth Records in 1623 and as a freeholder in 1631. The Governor's father, Timothy Dix, Jr., was among the earliest settlers of Boscawen and was a man of education and means. In his house Webster first met Grace Fletcher while she was teaching, and whom he afterwards married. The elder Dix became Lieut. Col. of the 14th U. S. Infantry and died during the second war with England. Young Dix was a bright and unusually intelligent boy. At the age of ten he was sent to Phillips Exeter Academy, the oldest classical school in New England, and perhaps the most celebrated in the country, numbering among its pupils such men as Lewis Cass, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, George Bancroft, and many others whom all Americans delight to honor. From Exeter, Dix was sent to Montreal College, where he acquired a knowledge of Latin that he continued to cultivate through life, and a mastery of French which he never lost, and which proved of great service to him in later years when representing our country at the Court of Napoleon the Third. In 1812, he was appointed a cadet and proceeding to Baltimore aided his father, Major Dix, and also pursued his studies at St. Mary's College. In 1813, he he was commissioned ensign of the 14th U. S. Infantry and accompanied his regiment, which was also his father's, taking part in the operations of that year on the Canadian frontier. Subsequently young Dix served in the 21st U. S. Infantry at Fort Constitution, New Hampshire, where he became second lieutenant in March, 1814, was adjutant to Col. John D. B. Walback, and in August was transferred to the Third U. S. Artillery. In 1819, he was appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Jacob Brown, then in command of the Northern Military Department and stationed at Brownsville, where

he studied law, and later, under the guidance of William Wirt, was admitted to the bar in Washington, D. C., where he spent several winters with the General. In 1826, Dix, who had recently married, was sent as special messenger to the Court of Denmark, Mrs. Dix accompanying him, and having transacted the business at Copenhagen, they spent several months in foreign travel before returning home. In the autumn he was ordered to Fortress Monroe, and two years later, having been promoted to the rank of captain, he resigned his commission to enter on the practice of the law at Cooperstown, N. Y.

And here I will introduce an anecdote which I once heard Dix relate of Col. John McNeil, who was wounded in the battle of Lundy's Lane, and lamed for life. He was a native of New Hampshire, with a martial figure and six and a half feet in height, he and Winfield Scott being the tallest officers in the Army at that time. Some years after the war McNeil was in Concord, at the opening of the Legislature. He was proud of his lameness and supposed that every native of his State knew how it happened. While walking in front of the Capitol a new member, some five feet high, was presented to the hero, and full of his own importance said in a patronizing manner, "I am glad to make your acquaintance, sir, how did you get hurt?" The General drawing himself up to his full height and looking down with supreme contempt upon the little law-maker said, "I fell through a barn floor, you damned fool! Did you never read the history of the late war?"

In 1830, Dix removed to Albany, having been appointed Adjutant-General of the State by Gov. Enos B. Throop, and three years later he was made Secretary of State and Superintendent of Common Schools, publishing during this period numerous reports concerning the schools, and also an important pamphlet in relation to a geological survey of the State. He became a member of the "Albany Regency," who practically ruled the Democratic party of that period. Going out of office in 1840, on the defeat of his party, he turned to literary pursuits, and was the chief editor of "*The Northern Light*," a journal of high literary and scientific character which was issued for three years. During this period he was elected a member of the Assembly, and was soon recognized as a leading member of that body. In 1843, he went abroad with his family and spent nearly two years in the Island of Madeira and in Spain and Italy, of which he published a pleasant account in a

volumn entitled "A Winter in Madeira and a Summer in Spain and Florence." From 1845 to 1849, Dix was a member of the United States Senate, having been elected as Silas Wright's successor. At the time that he, Dix, became involved in the Free-Soil movement against his judgment and will but under the pressure of influences that it was impossible for him to resist. General Dix always regarded the Free-Soil movement as a serious political blunder and labored to heal the consequent breach in the Democratic party, as a strenuous supporter of the successive administrations of that party up to the beginning of the civil war.

In 1848, Dix, while still in the Senate, was nominated by the Free-Soil Democratic party for the office of Governor, but shared in the overwhelming defeat sustained by VanBuren and Adams, the candidates of the same party for the positions of President and Vice-President of the United States. In connection with this subject I may here introduce a paragraph from his concluding speech in the Senate, where his career was a highly honorable one. He said: "Mr. President, two years ago, when I first addressed the Senate, upon this subject, under the instructions of the State of New York, I said that by no instrumentality of hers should slavery be carried into any portion of this continent which is free. I repeat the declaration now: by no act, by no acquiescence of hers, shall slavery be carried where it does not exist. I said, at the time, that in whatever manner the question should be settled, if it should be decided against her views of justice and right, her devotion to the Union and to her sister States should remain unshaken and unimpaired. Speaking in her name and for the last time within these walls, I repeat this declaration also. She does not believe in the possibility of disunion. I am thankful that her faith is also mine. My confidence is founded upon the disinterestedness of the great body of the people who derive their subsistence from the soil, and whose attachment is strong in proportion to their close communion with it. They have incorporated with it the labor of their own hands. It has given them back wealth and health and strength—health to enjoy and strength to defend what they possess. In seasons of tranquility and peace they are unseen—too often perhaps forgotten: but it is in their silent and sober toil that the public prosperity is wrought out. It is only in the hour of peril that they come forth from a thousand hills and valleys and plains to sustain with strong aims the country they have made pros-

perous. In them the Union will find its surest protectors. They are too virtuous and too independent to be corrupted. They are spread over too broad a surface for the work of seduction. It is in towns and public assemblies, where men are concentrated, that the tempter can with more assurance sit down, as of old, in the guise of friendship, and whisper into the unsuspecting or willing ear, the lesson of disobedience and treachery. From this danger the great body of the people are secure. And let us be assured they will never permit the banner which floats over them at home, and carries their name to every sea, to be torn down either by internal dissension or external violence. Such is my firm, my unalterable conviction. But, if I am mistaken in all this—if the spangled field it bears aloft is destined to be broken up—then my prayer will be, that the star which represents New York in the constellation of States may stand fixed until every other shall have fallen."

General Dix took an active part in the political canvass which elected Franklin Pierce and it may possibly be within the recollection of many persons in this audience, that he made a ringing speech in your beautiful city, October 13, 1852. He was invited to fill the highest post in Pierce's cabinet, but the place was given to William L. Marcy. Dix accepted the assistant treasurership of New York, now most acceptably filled by the President of this Society, and later Pierce obtained the General's consent to be appointed minister to France, but the nomination was never sent to the Senate. In this case as well as in the former one, intrigues were set on foot which poor Pierce had not the strength of character to resist, and so he twice committed a breach of faith towards a faithful friend and a most earnest supporter. In the contest of 1856, Dix advocated the election of Buchanan and Breckenridge with voice and pen, and four years later with equal earnestness opposed the election of Mr. Lincoln, voting for Breckenridge and Lane. In May, 1860, after the defalcations in the New York Postoffice, he was appointed Postmaster, and in the following January, at the urgent request of the leading bankers and financiers of the country, Dix was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by President Buchanan, holding the office until the close of the administration and filling it to the entire satisfaction and advantage of the country. His appointment immediately relieved the government from a financial deadlock, gave it the funds that it needed

but had previously failed to obtain, and produced a general confidence in its stability.

When General Dix accepted the office of Secretary, there were two revenue cutters at New Orleans, and fearing they would fall into the hands of the Secessionists, he ordered them to New York. The captain of the *Mc Clelland*, after consulting with the disloyal collector of New Orleans, refused to obey the order sent through an agent of the Treasury Department, whereupon Dix telegraphed: "Tell Lieutenant Caldwell to arrest Captain Breshwood, assume command of the cutter, and obey the order I sent through you. If Captain Breshwood, after arrest, undertakes to interfere with the command of the cutter, tell Lieutenant Caldwell to consider him as a mutineer, and treat him accordingly. If any one attempt to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." The publication of this famous dispatch, of which the original may be seen later in the evening, created a profound impression throughout the North, not unlike some of those stirring sentences sent by General Grant from the battle-fields of the South. "SHOOT HIM ON THE SPOT" is likely to live as long as the immortal words of the dying Lawrence: "Don't give up the ship!" With the celebrated dispatch I this morning received the following note:

TRINITY RECTORY, Jan. 13, 1890.

My Dear General:—With a confidence by which you ought to be complimented, yet with a solicitude which I cannot describe, I now entrust to your care the original dispatch. May your journey be prosperous! May you and the document return unscathed! Very truly yours,

Gen. Jas. Grant Wilson. MORGAN DIX.

At the commencement of the civil war, General Dix took an active part in the formation of the Union Defence Committee, and was its first president; he also presided at the greatest meeting of that period, held in Union Square, New York, April 24, 1861. On President Lincoln's first call for troops, he organized and sent to the field seventeen regiments, and was appointed one of the four Major-Generals of the New York State forces. In June following, Dix was commissioned Major-General of Volunteers, and ordered to Washington to command the Arlington and Alexandria Department. By misrepresentation and successful political intrigue, this disposition was changed, and he was sent in July to Baltimore as commander of the Department of Maryland, which was then considered a post of comparative unimportance; but, in

the defeat of the Federal forces at Bull Run, matters changed; Maryland became for the time the centre and key of the national position, and it was mainly through General Dix's energetic and judicious measures that the city and State were prevented from joining the Confederate cause. As illustrating his sagacity as a statesman and his firmness as a soldier, I may mention that at the time when it was expected that a terrible outbreak was about to occur in Baltimore, it was rumored that in such an event he would shell the town, and a deputation of leading ladies went to Fort McHenry to remonstrate. After some conversation he invited them to a walk around the walls. When the General came to the largest gun in the fort, he stopped, and said: "Ladies, there will be no trouble in this city unless it is created by persons of your social position. The common people will not rise until they see the aristocracy of Baltimore moving. The safety of the town and the lives of its citizens are therefore substantially in your hands. Will you oblige me by mounting these steps, looking over the top of that gun, and observing the place to which it points." The ladies complied, and one exclaimed, "It points to Monument Square!" "Yes," said Dix, "and I must now inform you that if there should be an uprising in Baltimore, I shall be compelled to try and put it down; and *that gun* is the first that I shall fire." There was no rising in Baltimore.

In May, 1862, General Dix was relieved from the command of the Department of Maryland, and ordered to Fortress Monroe; and in the summer of 1863, after the trouble connected with the terrible draft riots, he was sent to New York as commander of the Department of the East, and was continued in this important position until his resignation, soon after the close of the four years' war. In 1866, he was made naval officer of the port of New York, the prelude to another and a higher appointment during the same year, that of Minister to France. Among the many Americans of distinction who have filled that high office, it may be doubted if any of the number have done so with more honor to themselves and their country than John A. Dix. His character as an accomplished gentleman, his great experience as a statesman, and his familiarity with the French language, all combined to fit him for the position.

In 1872, he was elected Governor of the State of New York as a Republican by a majority of 53,000, and while holding that

office rendered the country an important service in thwarting the proceedings of the inflationists in Congress, and, with the co-operation of the Legislature of the State, strengthening the national administration in its opposition to them.

In the oversight of the militia system of the State, Dix was thorough and keen. He brought to bear upon the subject a professional knowledge of military matters and the enthusiasm of an old soldier. Under his administration the National Guard of New York received important benefits. Rifle practice was brought to a higher degree of perfection, and the general efficiency and discipline of the force greatly advanced.

As regards the State finances, the Governor's course was such as might have been expected. To no subject had he given greater attention during a long life, and on none had he more decided convictions. On these points he was as firm as his Dutch predecessor, the stubborn Stuyvesant, or as he was called, "hard-headed Peter."

In addition to several minor items of debt extinguished under the administration of Governor Dix, reference should be made to reductions in the State expenditure effected by means of Constitutional amendments. Of these three were secured—one reforming the system of canal management, a second reforming the system of State prisons, and a third prohibiting all taxation for canal expenditures. Large savings were thus effected; but the fruits were not gathered till a later day, and the credit was calmly assumed by the persons who had most persistently opposed those beneficial measures.

On a renomination in 1874, Dix was defeated in consequence chiefly of the reaction against the President under the "third term panic," and partly owing to the studious apathy of several prominent and zealous Republican politicians who desired his defeat. The office of Governor was filled by General Dix with unsullied integrity, such as had characterized his conduct in all the many public positions which he had held during the previous half century, and with the close of his term he retired to private life at the age of seventy-five with the universal respect of his fellow-citizens, and still in the possession of vigorous mental and bodily health.

During his long and busy career Dix held many other places of importance. In 1853, he was elected president of the Mississippi

and Missouri Railway Company, and ten years later became the first president of the Union Pacific Railway, an office which he held until 1868, also filling a similar place for a few months in 1872 to the Erie Railway Company. He was for thirty years a vestryman of Trinity Church and also a devout member, and in 1872, he became comptroller of that important corporation, and was frequently a member of the General and Diocesan Convention of the Episcopal Church. He was an elegant public speaker, expressing himself with force and felicity, and there was perhaps no orator of his time who was more frequently called upon to preside and speak on great occasions than John A. Dix. As already mentioned he presided at the war meeting in Union Square in 1861; five years later he delivered the address at the Academy of Music on the occasion of the reception by the Seventh Regiment to its members who had served in the Army and Navy during the civil war; and in the same year, by invitation of the New York Historical Society, he paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of Winfield Scott. He presided at the meeting held in New York in 1871, to express to United Italy the sympathy and congratulations of the American people upon the emancipation of Rome and its occupation as the future capital of the nation, for which he received the personal thanks of Victor Emanuel. When in the same year the Grand Duke Alexis visited New York, General Dix was asked to make the address on the occasion of the presentation of Page's picture of Farragut in the Mobile fight, intended for the Emperor's gallery, and given by a few New York gentlemen as a token of their appreciation of the sympathy shown by the Russian government and people during the civil war, and in recognition of the courtesies extended to the gallant Admiral and his companion during the then recent visit of the American squadron to Cronstadt.

In token of his recognition of the services rendered to his son by General Dix, the Emperor of Russia sent him the Star and Cross of the Military Order of St. Stanislaus, which was conferred on him at his New York residence by the Russian Consul, in the presence of a few guests, November 5, 1872. It was just before the State election, and he merrily remarked in reference to the date of its receipt, "I think this the most appropriate time, for if I should be elected Governor, I shall be able to wear my decoration on State occasions, while, if I am defeated, I shall have it to console my-

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self with." As a matter of fact, he never once wore it, but put it aside with many other heirlooms, for transmission to his children.

At the Centennial celebration held in the Academy of Music, New York, July 4, 1876, the General was again called on to preside. When in the course of the address by the Rev. Richard S. Storrs, of Brooklyn, he said of the city of New York, "Its leaders of opinion to-day are the men—like him who presides in our assembly—" the applause burst out instantaneously and was so prolonged that the speaker could not proceed, but stood in silence for a full minute. As he attempted again to finish the sentence the applause was repeated, and baffled him anew. At last the Rev. Dr. said, "I beg your pardon, ladies and gentlemen, but I am determined to finish the sentence if it takes an hour—'whom virtue exalts and character crowns.'" *Then* the enthusiastic applause was repeated, if possible, more vigorously than before. During the same year, General Dix delivered his last important public address, treating his subject, the "Political and Social Evils of the Day," in a vigorous and exhaustive manner, for although then in his seventy-eighth year, he exhibited no sign of weakness or waning strength, nor gave any evidence that his honored career was drawing to a close.

"In years he seemed, but not impaired by years!"

At the close of the address Governor Hoffman moved a vote of thanks, which was seconded by another New York Governor, E. D. Morgan, who, being urged to speak, said he was no orator like Dix, and if after the eloquence of the evening, he should attempt to make a speech, he feared that the General would say, "SHOOT HIM ON THE SPOT!" This allusion to his immortal order was received with uproarious applause.

General Dix was well known for his scholarly attainments and thorough culture, speaking several languages with fluency, and was distinguished for his proficiency in classical studies, more particularly in Latin. His translations of the *Dies Irae* and the *Stabat Mater* received the commendation of many of the most competent critics of both continents. They were privately printed, but have both found places in several anthologies, and may be seen in the admirable life of the General from the pen of his eldest son, the Rev. Morgan Dix, D. D., rector of Trinity Church. In 1864 there was issued in two octavo volumes, the "Speeches and Occasional Addresses of John A. Dix." His other publications, which ap-

peared during a period of fifty years, beginning with a "Sketch of the Resources of New York," and including orations and other brochures, number thirty titles. He was a great lover of music, and for many years played the violin for at least two hours each day. Later on in life he substituted the piano for the former instrument. The General said, "I do not think I have ever lost any valuable time by studying music, for my practice has always been after full hours of labor, when I should otherwise have given myself up to lounging." While I cannot claim for him the conversational gifts of a Carlyle, Macaulay, or Gladstone, all of whom I happen to have heard, he was an excellent talker, having read and heard much, met many illustrious men, and possessed a memory which held fast as with links of steel to everything worth remembering. Dix, as early as the year 1818, when on duty in Washington as aide-de-camp to General Brown, had visited Jefferson at Monticello, and was acquainted with almost all the prominent public men of that and later periods of his life. He vividly recalled debates which occurred seventy years ago, such as that between Rufus King, of New York, and William Pinckney, of Maryland, concerning which he said: "It would be difficult to conceive a greater contrast than that in the oratory of the two Senators. Mr. King's was calm, dignified, argumentative, forcible, and at times fervid; Pinckney's was impassioned, fiery, and sometimes bordering on violence, but sustained throughout with surpassing logical power." Dix was on terms of intimacy with John C. Calhoun and the other Democratic leaders, and sat in the Senate with the great South Carolinean and his contemporaries Benton, Clay and Webster. In a brief autobiography of his early life he says, "One of the chief celebrities of the time when I was hibernating in Washington was John Randolph, of Roanoke. He was as remarkable in his dress as he was in his physical characteristics. Tall, lean, straight as an arrow, his ungainly walk was made more conspicuous by a jockey cap and a cape over a long surtout. Willard's Hotel on Pennsylvania avenue, near the Treasury Department, was then known as Strothers'. It was the chief hotel in the city, and contained many of the most distinguished members of both Houses of Congress. Mr. Van Buren, Louis McLane, and Gen. Van Rensselaer, of Albany, known as the patron, had then parlors which were fashionable resorts in the evening. The most frequented of these places of meeting was that of John D. Dickinson, a member of

the House of Representatives, from Troy, N. Y. His daughter, an only child,—afterward the wife of Ogle Tayloe, of Washington—made it particularly attractive by her charming manners and conversation, as well as by her musical talent. I was then practicing on the violin, and we played innumerable duets—generally by ourselves, but sometimes for the entertainment of others. Randolph was an occasional visitor, and paid courtly attentions to the young lady—not with any hymeneal purpose, for, apart from the disparity of age, he was notoriously not a marrying man. One Saturday evening when Mrs. Dickinson's parlor was thronged with the *elite* of the capital, the subject of conversation was Edward Everett, then a young Unitarian clergyman, who had come to Washington with a distinguished reputation as a pulpit orator, and whose friends had obtained permission for him to preach the following day in the Hall of Representatives. Mr. Randolph came in when the discussion was at its height. He took no part in it until Mr. Dickinson, turning to him, said, 'Mr. Randolph, are you going to hear Mr. Everett to-morrow?' I remember well," adds the General, "as the hush of voices indicated the general interest in his answer, how a low murmer of mingled import ran through the room as he replied, in a sententious fashion not unusual with him, and in his heightened, squeaking voice, 'Can't patronize antichrist, Madame.' I did not know," concludes Dix, "to what branch of the Christian Church he belonged; it was quite manifest that he was not unwilling to proclaim himself an uncompromising Trinitarian."

Two of the General's anecdotes of Washington, which have not appeared in any of his biographies, may not be without interest to this audience. Many present will remember the death of Mrs. Robert Tyler during the past month. She was a daughter of Mary Fairlie, a noted New York belle who married Cooper, the English actor. Her father, Major Fairlie, was an officer of the American Army and a famous wit and *raconteur*, who made a wager with his friend Hamilton that he would not only make Washington laugh, but that the "Father of his Country," then President and residing in New York, should laugh uproariously. While out on the Hudson with a party of friends he was so overcome by the drollery of a story related by the Major that in a paroxysm of laughter he actually fell back in the boat in the manner of an oarsman who, as it is said, 'catches a crab.' It was several minutes before Washington succeeded in recovering his usual gravity of demeanor, and

Hamilton of course lost his wager with the William Travers of that time. The other incident is of an occasion when the American troops, poorly clad and armed, were in battle array in front of the disciplined Veterans of England. Washington rode along the lines and when he came before us, says the narrator, he stopped and said, "I place great confidence in this Rhode Island regiment." And when I heard that, "said the veteran," I clasped my musket to my breast and said, "Damn 'em, let 'em come on!"

General Dix had a strong love for country life and always looked forward with delight to leaving the city for some of the many country places which he owned or occupied during two score and ten years. His last summer home, "Seafield," on the south side of Long Island, at West Hampton, he purchased in 1870. He was an enthusiastic sportsman and this influenced his selection of a site near the Great South Bay. It consisted of fifty acres and a commodious residence. His son gives the following description of Dix when out duck-shooting. He says, "the General's costume can hardly be described in adequate terms. A more amazing, a more disreputable figure, was nowhere presented on Long Island. Obliged to be half the time in the water, wading after fallen birds, or adjusting his decoys, he usually wore a suit of india-rubber overalls, to which, when it rained, he added other articles of the same material, rendering himself indifferent to the heaviest storm. But ordinarily he completed his attire by a gray tweed coat, which looked older than its wearer, and an enormous straw hat served at once as an umbrella and a sunshade. About his neck hung a whistle, attached to a coarse piece of twine. The only thing in perfect order were the guns, of which he generally had two or three at hand, each shining from assiduous care, and each certain death to whatever came within its range. So extraordinary an object as the General in his shooting-blind has rarely been seen. He delighted in feeling that no one would imagine it to be he; and again and again was he pointed out to strangers passing by, on their way to or from the beach, as the greatest curiosity of the region. Their amazement generally knew no bounds. Subdued exclamations would attest it thus: "Do you see that man over there? Who do you suppose that is? That's the *Governor*; that's *General Dix!* "Why, you don't say so! Why, it can't be possible! Well, now, for mercy's sake, do stop and let's have a look at him! *Good gracious!*"

"The General spent part of every day in his lair, and was often there all day long: for whenever the birds were flying, or *likely* to fly—which in his hopeful view, was very frequently the case—he arose about four o'clock, and was in position behind his artillery, hours before any one else in the house was awake. Thus he literally lived in the open air, under the blue sky, and exposed to sun and wind and all the vicissitudes of the seasons: and in this way his system became, as it were, case-hardened, as beseemed that of a veteran of wars. I have no doubt that by these habits he added ten good years to his life, and kept up the vigor of his mind, the cheeriness of his heart, and the vivacity of his thoughts even to the end. "If we could have known," adds Dr. Dix, "what subjects he revolved, and in what meditations he was engaged, during those days, what an insight should we have had into his active mind, and what a book might have been written!"

Whatever General Dix did was done with all his heart. He entered into work and play with the same cordial and energetic interest. He had a keen sense of humor, and would laugh till laughter became painful at a good story, a comedy, or an amusing song. He loved the quiet pleasures of his own happy home, where each member of the family contributed their share toward the gratification of the household. He was exceedingly fond of games, and played them well; but he never thoroughly liked those in which there was an element of chance, grading his estimate of them according to their freedom from that source of uncertainty. Chess, of course, stood highest of all in his favor; whist standing second in his regard. Among his marked characteristics was that of invariable courtesy towards inferiors, and his unfailing deference to the fair sex, combined with a peculiar sensitiveness about saying or doing anything that would inflict pain. His philanthropy and public spirit were manifested on all proper occasions. As a citizen and Christian his example was faultless, and as a husband and father he was all that a man should be. He was a tireless worker, and he appears to have been without nerves, for he went on one occasion in the early dawn to see two men guillotined, returning to the family breakfast table as if nothing unusual had happened. What the venerable historian Bancroft said to me last week in Washington of Dix's predecessor, DeWitt Clinton, that he "narrowly escaped being a man of genius like Hamilton and Webster," was certainly true of the General.

After a brief illness, John A. Dix died in his own house in New York city on Monday, April 21, 1879, having nearly completed eighty-one years, and he was buried by his own request from Trinity Church, without parade or unnecessary ceremony, on the following Thursday. Many honors were justly paid to his memory, and his death announced by the President of the United States, who recommended his fellow-citizens "to participate in the general mark of respect to his worth as a private citizen, and to his eminent services as a Senator of the United States, Minister to France, and Governor of the State of New York."

On Saturday, June 28th, the coffin containing his remains was taken from the vault in Trinity churchyard, in which it had been temporarily placed, and conveyed privately to Trinity cemetery, where it was laid in the spot previously pointed out to his eldest son as his final resting-place.

For a quarter of a century John A. Dix shared with William Cullen Bryant the honor of being the first citizens of the great metropolis, where they so long resided. Both New Englanders, both scholars and men of spotless character, both Democrats who in later life acted with the Republicans, both passing fourscore, with a kindred love of out-of-door life, and both in equal request as presiding officers or orators on important occasions. In one particular only were the two men widely different. Bryant never held a public office, while Dix filled perhaps more official positions than any one of his American contemporaries, and, I think, it may be safely added, filled them with advantage to his adopted city and State and to the general government, all whom he served with equal fidelity.

According to the ancient Greek adage, "Whom the gods love die young." The same thought was expressed by an English poet in one of the most beautiful epitaphs ever written—that on a newborn infant, by Robert Lowth, who declined the archbishopric of Canterbury:

> "'Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade,
> Death came with timely care,
> The op'ning bud to heaven conveyed,
> And bade it blossom there!"

But if it is a blessing or sign of Divine favor to die young, surely it is a still greater blessing to live long, happy, useful, spotless lives, and sink serenely, full of years, into the grave, regretted and universally esteemed, like the contemporaries Bryant and Dix.

I have thus, Mr. President, briefly told the story of the career of one of the most distinguished of our State Governors—one whose

> "Life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him that nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, 'This was a man!'"

and I can most truly adopt Lord Erskine's words in closing the preface to Mr. Fox's speeches, that "I regard it as among the most happy circumstances of my life to have had the opportunity of thus publicly expressing veneration for his memory."

The Iroquois and the Colony of New York.

BY REV. W. M. BEAUCHAMP, S. T. D.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY FEBRUARY 24, 1890.

Great results depend on little things, and the course of nations is much affected by incidents of which they often know little or nothing. Some of these are so curious, so slight in themselves, yet so great in their consequences, that they seem parts of one stupendous plan, and we feel with others that "there's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." In no instance does this seem to me more evident than in our colonial relations to the New York Iroquois. They had just become a power in eastern New York, when the Dutch and the French made their settlements on either side. They were most likely to be strongly influenced by the French; they were several times almost on their side; yet, as a body, they adhered to the colony of New York, and so changed the destinies of a continent. The fact is well known, and has often been pointed out. It has seldom been shown on what very little things the result depended. The stratagem of a savage, the bravery of some besieged Indians, the eloquence of a forest orator, the personal friendship or the pledged word of some dusky son of the woodlands, alone saved New York from being French. I do not mean that such an event would have been an unhappy lot, but that it would have altered our destiny and changed the history of our race. The Five Nations did not plan for this, but they were unconscious agents in making our present history.

I have just completed a survey of the Huron Iroquois district, embracing portions of Canada and several States, and part of the work was a consideration of the origin and movements of this important family. It is difficult to answer every question satisfactorily, and there is no need of going over the whole ground. Our present subject takes in only those nations which lived in New York, and but for the period of our colonial existence. When first known they occupied districts which, for the most part, remained theirs unto the end, and their earlier history may be left untouched.

One single exception I would make to this. When the colonists came the Five Nations were already here, as a barrier between the North and the South. If they had long been in their later homes, the result was just the same as though they had recently settled in the land; but if they had come just in time to be this barrier, then it seems more plainly providential. When here before, I knew the Mohawk towns in a general way, but I have twice carefully gone over the ground the past year, without changing the decision at which New York archæologists had arrived. The Mohawks did not settle near the Mohawk river until late in the sixteenth century, but little before the Dutch and French came. The Onondagas did not settle in their country until about the same time. These may be regarded as fixed facts, abundantly proved.

They involve another thing besides the providential establishment of this barrier, just in time. Both nations were driven from their earlier seats by the Huron and Algonquin war, and French aid to their enemies awakened their hostility against the Canadian colonists. Suppose that the Mohawks had remained at Quebec and Montreal until Champlain arrived, and what would have been the result? That sagacious man would have won their hearts, as he did those of the Canadian Indians, and all the Iroquois would have been his friends. There would have been nothing between him and the Atlantic seaboard, except the River Indians in New York, and he might easily have possessed the whole land. As it was, he turned to the distant Hurons, and after two short invasions of New York, contented himself with Canada.

Just in time had some of the strongest Iroquois nations moved southward, just in time had they formed their league and acquired power, to become factors in founding and strengthening the future United States. The French would have brought here kindly hearts, courteous manners, and many of the best things of human life, but they never would have founded a republic, or given it grand proportions. The Iroquois were comparatively feeble, and incoherent as the sands of the sea, but by a like decree became a barrier which could not be passed. They served their purpose, but when that was fulfilled their league was broken, their power ceased to be.

In his "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World," Mr. Creasy points out the fact that the greatest and most brilliant battles were

not the most important, and on this he based his arrangement. For the sake of brevity selecting but few, he gave but one to the United States, or indeed to America, and that one the battle of Saratoga. If we were asked what were the important, decisive battles of America, we would have a larger choice. I would point to a forest fight in the interior of this State long ago, in which but a few white men engaged, and that without success. Champlain came to our hills, with his forest friends from the far-off Huron villages, to strike a deadly blow against the Iroquois, and failed. I have twice gone over the reputed site of the fort with great care, and might enlarge upon its features. Suffice it to say that if it has been correctly located, one error has been made by all. Judged by its relics and position, it was not an Onondaga, but an Oneida town, which so bravely resisted the invaders. It does not lie in the Onondaga country, but belongs to the group of early towns to the west of Oneida Creek, and the great bowlder on the village site, over 12 feet long, may well have been the earliest of the several Oneida Stones.

Viewed in its consequences, what would have been the result of Champlain's success there? I might mention several little things which would have given him victory; but had the town been taken, one of the Five Nations would have been blotted out, not a soul would have remained, and the strength of the league would have been broken. The Hurons had allies a little farther south, and with their aid the rest would soon have been destroyed, New York would have become Huron territory, and the French would have been free of the land. The destiny of this State was at stake, and the scale turned when Champlain turned his back on the unharmed Iroquois stronghold.

Much has been said of the kindly relations between the Dutch and the Five Nations, as though these came from the justice and great moderation of the former. On the whole the record is generally a pleasant one, although the Dutch supremacy lasted but half a century. I am not inclined to think there is very much to be credited to the Dutch on this account. They drove sharp bargains with the coast tribes, and wiped out all the Indian communities which stood in their way. Judged by their own accounts, the Esopus and other wars of the Dutch against the Indians are not greatly to the credit of their justice and tender mercies. What they did on the Hudson they would have done on the Mohawk, in a like case.

The truth is, up to the time of the English conquest, the Dutch only desired the lower end of the Mohawk valley, for which the Mohawks had no use, having all their villages in Montgomery county. Land difficulties came later. Then, they feared the Mohawks. They had met them in battle in 1625, and had been put to flight with their Indian allies, with a considerable loss to themselves. The general friendship had a rude interruption when Dutch soldiers were eaten in Mohawk villages.

Thinking them sufficiently far off the Dutch freely sold guns to the Mohawks, so that by 1644 they had 400 of these, and had become expert in their use. Too late the colonists saw what a power they had bestowed. Keeping these from the nearer tribes, they had made them an easy prey to the Iroquois, and from that time the supremacy of the Five Nations was established. It was too late to draw back, and the Mohawks had found other markets open to them in New England. Lest they should go there the traders' influence prevailed, and in 1654, it was ordered that they should have guns and ammunition, but "as sparingly and secretly as possible."

This fear appeared in other ways. In 1660, in reply to a proposition of the Directors in Holland, that the Mohawks and others should be employed against the Esopus Indians, those in New Netherlands answered that it would be dangerous to try this with the Mohawks, "for they are a self-exulting, arrogant and bold tribe, much too haughty through the continuous victories and advantages which they had gained over the French themselves, and the French Indians in Canada." Governor Stuyvesant felt this danger keenly, having seen much of them. In 1661, he wrote, "The gracious God may grant that the Maquas will not begin with us, after they have destroyed and finished the French." When the Mohawks made complaints against the Dutch, at a conference held at Albany in 1659, Stuyvesant was expected soon, and an answer was deferred. He was delayed, and the Dutch at Fort Orange were alarmed. To avoid possible danger they sent to Caughnawaga, and held a conference with the Mohawks there. At this time an allusion was made to an earlier alliance, but by no means as early as some have asserted.

One potent factor in this apparent good will was that of trade. Fort Orange and the Albany colony owed their existence to this, and a century and a half later the French said that the Dutch and

English traders did not want war, but beaver. Questions of trade entered largely into public affairs, as will be seen. To traders we owe the first mention of the Mohawks by name, in 1616, though they were known to them before that time, their abundant furs being highly valued.

If the trader wanted peace for his own ease and prosperity, yet higher considerations may have had due weight with others. It was regretted, in 1653, that the Mohawks kept the Canada Indians from trading at Albany, by warring against them, and means were devised to remedy this. In 1661, the principal regret expressed at the war of the Senecas against the Minquas in New Jersey, was that it injured the beaver trade. But Corlaer tried to ransom Father Jogues, the settlers at Albany treated him kindly at their own cost, the Directors ransomed French captives until this became a burdensome charge. De Courcelles' suffering troops were relieved and sent home, and there are abundant other evidences of a humane spirit. The Mohawks were not insensible to this, and it tells much of personal virtues, when we remember that they bestowed the name of their friend Corlaer on all the English governors of New York. Various events also confirm Governor Stuyvesant's statement that he not only had not incited the Mohawks against New England, but had tried to make a firm peace between them and other Indians, and the English and French.

On their part the Mohawks freely forgave the one act of early hostility. They went often to Albany, and smoked their home-made pipes in its streets. They supplied themselves with wampum, an article until this almost unknown in their land. They were kindly treated, as profitable customers, and did good service as mediators in the Esopus war. Sometimes they wanted favors in return, and in 1657 they asked help in repairing their castles, and protection for their wives and children, in case they went to war with the Senecas. At the conference at Fort Orange, in 1639, their thirteenth proposition related to neighborly acts: "Come to us with thirty men and with horses, to chop wood, carry it to our castles, and assist us in repairing them, and the Dutch can carry their wood sleds into the country." The inheritance of this good will passed from the Dutch to the English, and was confirmed by a formal treaty.

Precisely what opinion the English had of the Mohawks may be a question. They were already of high renown among the eastern

Indians, and greatly dreaded by them. They killed Sassacus, the Pequot chief, when he took refuge in their country, and fought against Uncas at a later day. After the English occupied New York, the Mohawks attacked and defeated King Philip near Albany. The English themselves had feared their power, and a Canadian governor had asked them to join the French against the whole confederacy, in 1651. This they had not done, giving some civil excuses, and but one slight act of hostility, if such it might be called, had occurred between them. When the Senecas went against the Minquas in New Jersey, in 1661, the English placed fifty men in the Minqua fort, to aid in its defence.

There was thus an open field for the new possessors of New York, and no time was lost in entering upon it. A treaty was made between the English on the one hand, and the Mohawks and the Senecas on the other. It was of a very simple nature. The Indians were to have free trade, as they had before with the Dutch, and satisfaction was to be made for wrongs or injuries on either side. One supplementary article gives a hint of their kind treatment by the Dutch. When they came to trade with the English at Albany, they asked "that they may be lodged in houses as formerly."

It may be noted here that while the French soon distinguished each of the Five Nations, for a long time the Dutch and English made but two divisions, as the French did at first. As a result the Dutch called the Oneidas the first village of the Senecas, and the French fort on Onondaga lake was described as in the Seneca country. The treaty of 1664 was nominally between the English, Mohawks and Senecas, but Onondaga and Cayuga signatures appear. At the treaty made in Albany, in 1682, between the Iroquois and the colonies of Maryland and Virginia, four of the nations only were present, and none of the Senecas, yet the Southern commissioners addressed them collectively as Senecas, while in the proceedings they are clearly distinguished. It is thus quite probable that the Senecas who fought against the Minquas, were not Senecas at all.

A new complication soon appeared in the Indian problem of New York. To trade with the savages in a small and quiet way was pleasant and profitable enough, until rivals appeared in the field, but then foresight and enterprise became imperative. As

wider ventures were made, national questions arose, and the Indian was both the cause of the difficulty and the master of the situation.

It is not now necessary to describe the grand and heroic work undertaken by the French missionaries in New York, though something must be said of it. At its very commencement in this State it had awakened some fear among the Dutch, as a possible hindrance to future trade. They did not, however, approve of the Governor's suggestion, that they should establish a trading house of their own in the country of the Senecas, as they thought the beaver traffic there would not be of long continuance. The destruction of the French fort, and the flight of the missionaries, of course abated their fears for the time being. It was but a short time, however, but long enough to transfer the question to the English officials, by whom it had to be met.

The French were alternately good friends or fierce enemies to the Iroquois. In the interests of trade they had already asked the New England colonists to aid them against the Five Nations, but this was when they had New York for a rival. Now there were but two parties in the field, and the English colonies held the vantage ground. The persuasions of the missionaries had temporarily failed to bring the Iroquois over to the French side, and sterner means would be employed. A vein of diplomacy, an assumption of humanity, a tinge of religious feeling ran through the whole scheme. For various reasons the French king resolved to exterminate the Iroquois in 1665; a task not accomplished, for they still live, but Governor d'Avaugour had announced his plan two years before. He wanted little said about it, but his letter has come down to us, with all its vigorous suggestions and possible consequences. Very shrewd was the old baron, and he thought it "politic to exaggerate more than ever the cruelties of the Iroquois in order the better to conceal the designs that may be adopted in this country, fearing lest English ignorance and Dutch weakness might be alarmed, and have their jealousy excited." If the king thought well of it, and would furnish the means, it would be well "to send, as soon as can be, three thousand men to the Iroquois settlements, not only to disperse that rabble, but to thwart also the progress of the heretics."

Not much later his suggestion was partially adopted. De Courcelles made an unsuccessful invasion of the Mohawk country, and was rescued from perishing by the people of Schenectady, whose

kindness was so ill requited a quarter of a century later. De Tracy had better fortune in the fall of the same year, and the Mohawk towns were burned, but without other loss to the inhabitants. On this was set up a territorial claim to the occupation of New York to the Mohawk river, by the French, soon followed by another in central New York, founded on Champlain's attack on an Iroquois fort in 1615, and the building of the French fort at Onondaga lake in 1656. Later came in the claim to all western New York, partly founded on De Nonville's invasion in 1687, and partly on French discoveries. The only claim that could be set up around the Bay of New York was made on account of Verrazano's voyage, and with that the Iroquois had nothing to do. Such were the French claims on the larger part of our State, and these they afterwards tried to maintain by force of arms. Discovery, the occupation of some Mohawk and Seneca towns for a few hours, the attack and repulse at an Iroquois fort, the building and evacuation of a French fort near Syracuse. They had preëmpted their claims, but did not stay long enough on them.

This brought an important matter right home to New York. There were no French settlements nearer than the present Canadian line, and yet that line was advanced close to the limits of Albany and Schenectady, and all along the Mohawk river. There could be no doubt that if the claim were not resisted it would soon be acted upon, and French trading houses would fill the Mohawk valley, and rise beside the lakes of New York. It was then that the Five Nations had their first real importance in the history of the world. Hitherto they had been fierce and savage tribes, to be feared or traded with, according to circumstances. It made little difference to the great nations of the world what their gains or losses were. A few traders might lament, but no kingdom would be the poorer if all perished. As in so many other cases, the strife of others gave them supreme importance. Kings gave them words of greeting from beyond the sea, queens thought it well to send their portraits to hang up in their cabins. Their chiefs were entertained by the most noted men. Ambassadors sought their council-houses, or went from town to town, persuading them to take up or lay down the hatchet. And the Iroquois took all this as a matter of course. They were the first of men, the ancients of the earth, those at whose frown distant nations trembled, and what they said must be done. More than once had they successfully

fought the white man himself, and they had made the earth a desert.

The strategic importance of their position in the impending conflict is easily seen, and had their advice been oftener taken, or their fearlessness been emulated by the English, the struggle would not have continued so long. The French adapted themselves to circumstances better, and it is almost surprising that they did not thus draw the Iroquois to their side. Had they done so the issue would never have been doubtful. The cordon of forts for which they strove at a distance, would have been placed near the seaboard; beyond it the English colonies would never have advanced. It is a curious thing that this should have been in the power of a small and savage people to determine, but there is no doubt in the matter. They were masters of the situation, and knew it well.

Their importance in this and other ways is no mere judgment of later days, but was clearly apparent at the time. They were brave and high spirited, shrewd, and as judiciously planted through the contested field as though the coming conflict had been fully anticipated. Each important avenue had its own watchful people, and their general constitution and reserved rights made them as much of a puzzle to diplomatists as our General and State governments have been in later times. They could temporize, and seem to yield much while conceding nothing at all. They had questions of etiquette as needful to be observed as those of the greatest nations of the world. They had shrewd notions of trade, and made their position pay commercially. In their way they had a high sense of honor, and this might destroy the best laid plans. Their desperate bravery was so well known that this trebled their strength among all the Indian nations. The cry of "Mohawk," would empty any eastern Indian village, and the Onondagas and Senecas were as much feared in the west. Their hostility was often inveterate. It is well known with what relentless hatred they pursued the Adirondacks and the powerful Hurons. The most moderate account of the conference between the Onondagas and De la Barre, has this answer to the remonstrances of the French: "Regarding the Illinois, I am at war with him; we shall both of us die fighting." A little later the Onondagas spoke for the whole confederacy, of the best western allies the French had, that "the entire Iroquois nation reserved to itself the power of waging war against the Illinois as long as a single one of them remained on earth."

kindness was at this time that Father Lamberville wrote from Onon-Tracy that the Iroquois thought that if war came in 1684, the French would certainly be destroyed. The good father himself said that if De la Barre had not made peace, he "might have beheld the ruin of the colony without being able to prevent it." The English had similar fears. Governor Dongan had made friends of the Five Nations, and it was necessary to keep them friendly. "If they were otherwise, they are able to ruin all the king's colonies in those parts of America." He said that the Iroquois were then "a better bulwark against the French and the other Indians than so many Christians." It was at this time that De Nonville determined that the destruction of the Iroquois could alone save Canada. His vigorous measures, and the restoration of French influence under Count Frontenac, caused a recurrence of fears in the English colonies. Governor Bellomont wrote in 1700: "Our Five Nations of Indians are the only barrier at present between the French of Canada and Virginia and Maryland, as well as between the French and New York. Now, if the French can so seduce those nations as to turn them against us, Virginia and Maryland will be quite destroyed." It will thus be seen how well it was for the English colonies that this far-reaching power, which could command or forbid war, was exerted on their side.

Governor Bellomont's anxiety on this point was great, and his confession of early mistakes ample. When he first came he had ridiculed the colonists for suffering a few hundred Indians to cut off five times their own number. He had learned wisdom, and could now "demonstrate that if the Five Nations should at any time, in conjunction with the eastern Indians and those that live within these plantations, revolt from the English to the French, they would in a short time drive us quite out of the continent." His anxiety greatly increased, for the English did little and the French were active, and so far had they been successful that in July, 1700, he doubted "whether it be in the art of man to retrieve the Five Nations." It is impossible to read Earl Bellomont's correspondence without sympathizing in his efforts, successes and [illegible] and seeing how much New York owed to this early Governor. Added to other trials were [illegible] not pleasant to a man of cultivated tastes. In the hot weather of August, 1700, he held an Indian conference at Albany. He said, "It lasted seven or eight days, and was the greatest fatigue I ever underwent

in my whole life. I was shut up in a close chamber with 50 sachems, who, besides the stink of bear's grease with which they plentifully daubed themselves, were continually either smoking tobacco or drinking drams of rum." He found them sullen, and it speaks well for his tact and forbearance that he restored them to perfect good temper and secured their friendship.

That such fears were felt, and such efforts made until the end of French dominion in Canada, is a matter of history. The balance of power was so even, and the Iroquois so favorably situated, that it belonged to them to determine the issue of the conflict. This being clear, we may turn to some things which affected their course.

The very earliest of these was trade. This had commenced in a private way quite early, but companies were organized for its better transaction. The captain of one of their vessels explored some of the rivers farther south in 1616, carrying on a profitable trade, and "also traded for, and bought from the inhabitants, the Minquas, three persons, being people belonging to this Company; which three persons were employed in the service of the Mohawks and Machicans; giving for them kettles, beads and merchandise."

This question seriously affected political and religious matters at a later day. The French governors and traders often opposed the missions of the Jesuits, because of their interference with trade; it being claimed that they sometimes created a monopoly for themselves, or at times interfered with the profits of others. The first English missionaries were kept from the Mohawks because the traders feared their influence. When Governor Bellomont wished to have a fort built among the Onondagas, in 1700, the Albany traders defeated his plan. They wanted trade at Albany, not near Onondaga lake. Fort Frontenac, at Kingston, Canada, was built to turn Indian traffic down the St. Lawrence. Oswego arose from the same influence on the English side. The French seized Niagara to divert the course of trade again; the English established a post in the country of the Senecas. One can see a similar strife, amicably repeated, between New York and Canada, in securing the carrying trade of the West, at the present day.

The French characterized the Onondagas as "men of business," and certainly they were as sensitive to the changes in commercial values as any broker of New York. They were witty on the subject, and applied it to things with which it had no connection.

The price of goods, their character, and the ease of obtaining them, swayed them to the French or English side.

Fort Frontenac was established at Kingston in 1673, as a nucleus for French operations, but especially to control the fur trade of Lake Ontario. The Iroquois naturally dreaded the long lake journey with all its perils, though they did not mind the expenditure of time if it gave them good bargains. It cost no more to live on the road than at home, and the French experiment did not prove profitable. When the English and Dutch had become as one, their markets became cheaper and more varied for the time, and in 1678 the Indians carried so many beaver skins to Albany, as to seriously injure French trade. The French were always at a certain disadvantage in this. Their own ports were closed for a considerable part of the year, and many things were imported through New York. Wampum could be had only thence, and so all things were dearer in Canada, which the Indians soon learned. I think but for this, the French would have gained the Iroquois, and with them the whole Atlantic coast.

The English or Dutch traders, for they are called either without any real distinction, reached the Senecas in 1685, and fixed their eyes on the regions beyond. This became necessary, for the beaver trade was greatly diminishing, but in spite of French efforts the Indians still carried most of their furs to Albany. Those were their friends who gave them the best prices. Dekanissora made an odd application of this in 1701. To carry the balance of power to its utmost extent, the Onondagas were very evenly divided at that time, half favoring the French, and half the English. As the French missionaries had served a good national purpose, the English authorities thought they might gain something in the same way. The proposition was made, and the shrewd old Onondaga chief gave his opinion. He dexterously, and after the manner of the white man, deferred the religious question until he and his friends had better clothes to go to church in, but they thought best to have a minister from those who sold the cheapest goods. In a similar way, some years later, when they heard some unpleasant stories about the English, they said they would not readily believe such bad news if powder were only cheaper. Still later, a Cayuga chief suggested that the English ells should be made longer, and their pounds heavier.

The writer of Abbe Picquet's life gives a little fuller idea of the disadvantages which the French had in trade. The posts were well placed, and "would have been sufficient to stop all the savages had the stores been furnished with goods to their liking. There was a wish to imitate the English in the trifles they sold the savages, such as silver bracelets, etc. The Indians compared and weighed them, as the storekeeper at Niagara stated, and the Oswego bracelets, which were found as heavy, of a purer silver and more elegant, did not cost them two beavers, whilst those at the king's posts wanted to sell them for ten beavers. Thus we were discredited, and this silver ware remained a pure loss in the king's stores. French brandy was preferred to English, but this did not prevent the Indians going to Oswego."

It may be said that the Iroquois adopted silver ornaments early in the last century, and have not entirely laid them aside, though they are now rare. Though they at first bought these, they learned to make them for themselves, and often in elegant designs.

The influence of trade on this great national issue having been shown, it is unnecessary to give the leading features, or various incidents of its pursuit. One important feature, however, deserves to be noticed, on account of its effects. Until very recently strong drink has been the bane of the Indian, a fact which he has seen and at times striven against. The French missionaries early took a stand upon this point, but were thwarted by rulers and traders, and in spite of their efforts, liquor became abundant even in their mission villages. The Mohawk chiefs at a national council in 1668, resolved to try to banish their destroyer, and, at Father Pierron's request, Governor Lovelace took the matter up, and promised to do what he could in restraining the evil. Time and again did some of the natives agree that no liquor should be brought into their castles, but those who made such laws always repealed them. Governor De Nonville, of Canada, deplored the English sale of rum to the Indians, and Governor Dongan, of New York, agreed with him, but was very sure that English rum was quite as good as French brandy. Sir William Johnson tried hard to restrain the rumsellers, but always had a generous cup for his own Indian visitors. So the red man suffered from all.

One of the greatest influences at work in this contest for New York was a religious one. I do not think any one can fairly read the journals of the earlier French missionaries without being satis-

fied that they were noble and unselfish in all their motives. Still, they were French, and the colonists of New York were Dutch and English. It was not in human nature that they should not sympathize with their own people. When complications increased, Dekanissora shrewdly said of the one remaining at Onondaga, "We know that the priest favors his own nation," but he did not think he should be blamed for this. It was a perfectly natural thing, to be allowed for and guarded against. But a fear was early felt. When the second mission was established at Onondaga and elsewhere, the courteous Governor Lovelace became suspicious. "They pretend it is no more but to advance the kingdom of Christ, when it is to be suspected it is rather the kingdom of his Most Christian Majesty." He therefore thought it wise to have an eye on them and the French king.

As time went on suspicions grew stronger. The removal of New York Indians to Canada, and the identification of them with the French, was not regarded favorably either by the English or the Five Nations, whose strength was decreased thereby. Governor Dongan broke up the missions, though of the same religious faith as those he banished; not desirous of changing creed or worship, but only of making French power less. Some have blamed him for this, but facts bear out his actions. Before this time, in 1683, the French openly boasted that the Jesuits had given them 200 good Iroquois soldiers. Kryn, the Great Mohawk, was one of these, and led in the attack on Schenectady, which resulted in its destruction. At a later day, Father Picquet's mission at Oswegatchie was a thorn in the side of New York, the occasion of many a bloody disaster. Judge Shea said in their praise as soldiers, that in the old French war, "In every campaign the Catholic Iroquois . . . . . were in the field side by side with the Canadian and French soldiers, generally attended as before, by their missionaries as chaplains." A foresight of this political influence had caused opposition to the work. Picquet's, however, was an armed mission, and might be termed a church militant. A priest by profession, he was a soldier in feeling and talents, and critically inspected the whole frontier with a military eye. His French biographer said that the post he established near Ogdensburgh was the key of the colony, and "served to protect, aid, and comfort the posts already erected on Lake Ontario." When war came, said this writer, "The war parties which departed and returned contin-

ually, filled the mission with so many prisoners that their numbers frequently surpassed that of the warriors, rendering it necessary to empty the villages and send them to headquarters. In fine, a number of other expeditions, of which M. Picquet was the principal author, have procured the promotion of several officers. . . . M. du Quesne said that the Abbe Picquet was worth more than ten regiments."

There is no need to dwell upon this further, but I may add that this national feeling was not peculiar to the French missionary. The English missionaries to the Mohawks, the New England missionaries to the Oneidas, did not fail to impress their political opinions on their disciples, and they took the sides to which their spiritual teachers inclined, as was natural.

I shall pass over the establishment of forts and trading-houses in this great struggle for trade and power, except to allude to one little known. Schuyler had persuaded the Onondagas to burn the French house and chapel in their town, in 1709, in the absence of the priest. In the spring of 1711, some French officers and men came there again to build a block-house and chapel, which were also destroyed by Schuyler. The French flag, however, was afterwards seen waving there, and sometimes the English flag appeared over the council-house, as public opinion swayed to the one side or the other.

One mechanical art played an important part. The blacksmith shop had become a necessity to the Iroquois, and English or French smiths were provided for in treaties, and were to be found in some of their towns. Sometimes the opposing party hid the anvil with a view to important consequences. This happened at Onondaga in 1708. The English smith came back to that place, and the French party hid the anvil in the missionary's house. He thought it "would be very important for the good of religion and the French colony were there a French blacksmith here; the Englishman would then decamp." The anvil, however, was given up, and the Englishman set up shop, but what his political and religious influence was, does not appear. He may have been instrumental in the destruction of the French block-house at Onondaga three years later, but at least was a person highly valued.

Governor Dongan may be said to have first given New York a boundary line. Against the pretensions of the French he set up

the claims of the English, placing the royal arms in the Seneca castles in 1684, as a sign that they were under British protection. The Iroquois did not clearly see the use of this, and it did not hinder De Nonville from burning the Seneca towns. When the queen's arms were placed in Onondaga in 1711, this recollection prompted the sarcastic speech of that independent people, that *these* were not sufficient for defence; they wanted *powder*. Governor Dongan, however, did so much that the king of England formally received the Iroquois as subjects in November, 1687, and forbade hostilities against them.

After this the sympathy between the colony and the Iroquois became more open and decided. The Mohawks were aided after their towns were burned in 1693. That nation proposed the building of two English forts in their country a little earlier. The English helped build and rebuild the Onondaga fort, destroyed in 1696, and supplied that nation with food. In 1700, a commission was sent to choose a sight for an English fort in the country of the Onondagas, but the project failed. In 1701, the Five Nations conveyed their beaver lands along the south shore of Lake Ontario and further west, to the British government in trust, and this deed was renewed in 1726. In 1708 came a proposition to build an English fort at Oswego Falls, then and still known to the Onondagas as Gaskonchiagon. The same name belongs to the falls of the Genesee river. The trading post at Oswego was built in 1727, but another trading house had preceded this among the Senecas, and a deed of land around the Irondequoit Bay was secured in 1741. No English or Dutch were as yet disposed to settle there, but the claim of English supremacy was set up and maintained.

Various arts, open and secret, were used to secure Iroquois aid. The old records make frequent accusations that the French partisans poisoned those who favored New York. When the Moravians first visited Onondaga, Canassatego had the English flag waving over his house, and received them warmly. He died soon after their return to Pennsylvania, and they were charged with poisoning him, so suspicious had the colonists become. The Moravians sincerely mourned his death, which seemed the natural result of age, but they none the less noted its political effect, for his successor in office was a French partisan.

"Underground presents and belts" were made use of, coming secretly to individuals, instead of before open councils. The

French converts received clothes and presents at baptism. Frenchmen not only lived among the Iroquois, but were adopted by them and became influential. The most remarkable of such instances was that of Father Milet, who was taken prisoner by the Oneidas, became a favorite with them, was adopted by a prominent family, and in due time became an influential sachem. Notwithstanding all their efforts, the English could prevail on the Oneidas neither to banish or give him up. Joncaire and Maricourt were almost equally influential. The latter bore the French flag to Onondaga in 1701, and it waved there for the last time in 1728.

There were other things that harmonized with Indian tastes. In his savage state the scalp of his enemy was the only unanswerable evidence of the red man's prowess, but no mercenary considerations were attached to it. When the white man offered a price for scalps, then war became a trade, and cruelty was at a premium. Perhaps Louis XIV. viewed it as a mere question of profit and loss when he did not approve of continuing the reward for Iroquois scalps in 1695, for he said nothing of humanity, but only that it cost too much. About the same time the English paid very liberally for scalps. In 1746 they gave $50 each for some of these. Sometimes advantage was taken. Vandreuil said, in 1757, that "since the settlement of the colony, the Five Nations had never been known to take up the hatchet against the English," but he now thought he had secured their aid. Some had been neutral, and in this way the Cayugas had always been faithful to the French. Now he had persuaded the Oneidas to introduce an English scalp into a Cayuga cabin, where none had been before.

The French, from the first, had an established etiquette for the reception of Iroquois ambassadors. When they drew near, an escort was sent forth to meet them, and a cannon was fired for each nation. The English did not adopt this until 1711, but the custom led the Canadian and Western Indians to say that the French treated their enemies better than their friends. In 1711, a large council was held at Albany, and 500 Iroquois were saluted with five guns as they marched down the hill and past the fort. In the council they sat in groups on the ground, each nation by itself. Sir William Johnson afterwards turned their love of ceremony to good effect in very many ways.

On the frontier it will always happen that lawless acts are frequent, and our history contains many sad records of such things.

It is sometimes said that no white man was ever yet punished for killing an Indian, but at the council at Fort Stanwix, 1769, the Indians gave Governor Franklin the name of "Great Doer of Justice," because he had executed some murderers of Indians. Generally, and in accordance with their own customs, they preferred presents in atonement for murders, and often asked that these might be given. On their part, in 1774, for the first time in their history, and contrary to their ancient customs, the Iroquois delivered up two murderers. As the first instance of the kind, Sir William Johnson thought it would be good policy soon to discharge these offenders, and it was done.

Time will not permit my entering largely upon the career and influence of this remarkable man, the one who first gave the colonies an Indian policy. So delicate were the questions he dealt with, so admirable was his management of them, so precarious were the relations of the colonies, that it seems they would have been ruined without him. He saw clearly how the French had secured influence, and met them with their own weapons. He took pains to address the Iroquois in their own language, a compliment which they especially valued; he marched at the head of their processions, and danced the war-dance with them; he invested councils with a dignity before unknown, and used such stores of wampum as never were seen before or since. He took part in their ancient condolences, and there is reason to suppose that he improved them. These were generally for the raising of sachems, and the French had made a great point of taking part in these. Johnson made a change at once, aiding in the raising of all chiefs, and keeping a record of their names. These interesting ceremonies, with some modern features, are still maintained. When a sachem dies the council-fire of the nation is extinguished, and is only relit when another takes his office. This fact escaped Colonel Stone when he was so perplexed at the going out of the Onondaga council-fire, at the beginning of the Revolution.

The baronet appreciated the influence of show upon them in other ways. New York had sent mere traders and interpreters on public business; Canada had always employed handsomely dressed officers and men. He established forts where he could, with Indian garrisons, and in all councils saw personally to points of Indian etiquette. He thought they might be improved, and did improve them. Most of the Mohawks learned to read, some to

write, and many to be good farmers. The Mohawk Prayer Book, which cost him labor and money, is a monument to his zeal for his Indian friends. He appeased Pontiac, brought back the Senecas from a dangerous hostility, and died in the very act of perpetuating the best interests of the colonies and his forest wards.

The Indian orator is a humorist, and I have often seen the smile or laugh reward some observation well made. We have followed out in a brief way some of his relations to the New York colony. He was a forest warrior, a forest statesman, a shrewd man of business. He had also a good-natured, genial disposition, which might furnish a subject of itself. When De la Barre told the Onondagas not to be alarmed at seeing his soldiers and vessels at La Famine, they simply replied that it was well, but he must not be troubled if he saw the Onondagas there with red and black paint upon their faces. Garangula's address at the same place was a masterpiece of eloquence and sarcasm. Dekanissora's speeches are full of shrewd observations. Hendrick's have many good points. When the Senecas visited the French in 1745, they asked for a little vermillion before they appeared in Yonnondio's presence, "Lest our Father should take us for ghosts, having the face pale."

At a later conference with the French, when the Iroquois had been detained beyond all reason, they were about being dismissed at the end of the year. The record goes on, "The ambassadors asked to remain until to-morrow, New Year's Day, because they had been told that on that day the palefaces kissed each other, and that liquor was furnished." After waiting so long, they did not wish to lose the curious sights and good cheer.

I have passed over many well known incidents, as the stratagem whereby a great Huron chief turned a probable peace into a terrible Iroquois war against the French. I have said little of sieges and battles, and quoted little from speeches famous in their day. Very slightly have I touched upon the work of Sir William Johnson, which is full of picturesque incidents, as well as of the most important deeds, but I have indicated how a small people may greatly affect the history of the world, and how obscure acts may produce important results.

The end of the colonial period fast came on. Johnson's health had long been poor, and he felt that he might die at any moment. Injuries and travels had already weakened him, and he could not

always attend to public duties. His old, wise, and confidential friends, the Iroquois chiefs, often talked with him about his death and its consequences, and wished his successor might be appointed. He was nominated by the baronet but a few months before his death, and in the letter written at that time, he said he thought it unnecessary to point out the importance of the Six Nations, their capacity to hurt the colonies, or the advantages resulting from their friendship. The Iroquois then had 2,000 warriors of their own, besides those of their tributary nations.

Quite ill at the time, he yet attended several conferences at a council at his home in 1774, but died before it was over. Consternation and confusion arose among the Indians, but they became quiet, attended the funeral, and performed the customary condolence. The grave was covered, the sky was cleared, tears were wiped away, and grief removed from the heart. Very touching was the scene afterwards, when his old and trusted Indian friends came and laid down the presents they had received from him, and expressed their sorrow and esteem. The new agent took his place and became their adviser, and in the grave of Sir William Johnson the long political alliance of the Iroquois with the colony of New York was buried.

The Early Welsh Settlers of Oneida County.

By Rev. ERASMUS W. JONES.

Delivered Before the Society December 3, 1888.

The earliest emigrants from Wales to America settled in Pennsylvania as early as 1682. A large number, mostly Quakers, arrived there from the vicinity of Dolgelley, Meirionethshire. The historian, Robert Proud, informs us that they purchased of William Penn forty thousand acres of land near the city of Philadelphia, and that the immigration continued for many years, until they had become quite numerous, occupying several townships. Among them were many of men, culture and influence. Churches were organized, chapels were built, and the ministers addressed large audiences in their native tongue. The Welsh language was freely spoken on the streets and market places of the city, and to-day among its best citizens and its most cultured scholars there are hundreds in whose veins flows pure Welsh blood. The nation as a distinct Welsh-speaking people, did not long survive the revolution. Their decline in that respect discouraged further immigration to that region. Many moved to other portions of Pennsylvania, and not a few, with fresh arrivals from Wales and some from New England, sought the central part of the State of New York, embracing the county of Oneida.

In tracing the history of the early Welsh settlers of this county, we labor under some disadvantages. They were men and women of humble means, and generally without much literary culture. Hoping for a better future, they left their native hills to seek homes for themselves and their children in "the land of the setting sun." They led a quiet life of toil, and no special exploits or wonderful achievements help to perpetuate their memory. It may be possible that some of them kept diaries of those early years. If they did few, if any, of those chronicles were ever made public. In all probability, the first Welsh settlers in Oneida county were Captain Nehemiah Jones and his family. The Captain was the father of the late Hon. Pomroy Jones, the talented author of the "Annals of Oneida County." This was in the year 1787. They moved

from Berkshire county, Mass., to Dean's Patent, in the town of Westmoreland. The father was a patriot of the revolution, and died December 19, 1838, in the 79th year of his age. He was not a native of Wales, but his son Pomroy, in speaking of the Welsh people, informs us that he himself had descended in a direct line from that people. Nehemiah Jones was a good citizen and a devout Christian. His memory is blessed.

In 1794 Arthur Breese, of direct Welsh descent, moved from New Jersey to Whitesboro. He was a gentleman of wealth and learning. In the year 1808 he moved to Utica. In Dr. Bagg's interesting history, we learn that in 1794 Thomas Jones, noted for his ingenuity as a blacksmith and locksmith, arrived in Utica, and remained here for some time, working at his trade. He was from Carnarvon, North Wales. There was another Jones—Simeon—that settled here during the same year. His house was on stilts on a knoll, in a swamp, where now rests the eastern end of the St. James Hotel. In the month of March, 1795, some twelve families left their native Wales and safely landed in New York, after a passage of fourteen weeks. Having stayed in the city for a few days, five of these families, being those of Griffith Rowlands, William Williams, Evan Davies, Hugh Roberts, and Owen Griffiths, (eighteen in number,) left. They took a small sloop and reached Albany; from there across to Schenectady, where they took a kind of a flat boat, and slowly worked their way up the Mohawk, until at last they reached Fort Schuyler, where now stands a part of the city of Utica. Then the place could boast of but one frame house, with eight or ten log cabins. One of these was a tavern, resting on the spot subsequently occupied by Bagg's Hotel. From Fort Schuyler our emigrants started for their destination, which was the highlands of Steuben, some 20 miles away. They hired a large wagon, four oxen, and a horse to act as leader. The roads were bad and the journey was long and tedious; but on the fourth day they reached the desired spot, in the vicinity of what is known among the Welsh people even to-day as the "store felen," (yellow store,) about half a mile west of Remsen village. It is said that in the year 1796 was born the first Welsh infant in Oneida county. The parents were Owen Griffiths and his wife, before mentioned, and the infant was none other than the late Griffith O. Griffiths, of Remsen, a gentleman of rare talents and much influence. For many years he was highly useful to the world and the church.

These hardy early Welsh settlers of Steuben had but few privileges, and suffered many privations. The nearest grist mill was at Whitesboro; there was but one horse in the township, and that belonged to an American, who, by the way, was a very kind man. Among these first settlers in Steuben there was no one who made a public profession of religion, and for a while they had no kind of religious meeting. This, to those who had enjoyed so great advantages of this kind at home, was a decided calamity. This state of things, however, did not continue long, for in 1798 there came to the settlement a number of religious people, gifted in prayer and in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Among the new comers we find the names of Deacon William C. Jones, William P. Jones, Evan Griffiths, Robert Griffiths, John Parry, Hugh Griffiths and David Jones. At once a prayer meeting was started at the home of Deacon Jones, which event was hailed with much joy among the settlers. In 1797, Richard Francis, from Pembrokeshire, South Wales, with some others, reached Fort Schuyler. In 1800, John Adams, from the same place, arrived.

John Williams and his wife, (whose maiden name was Elizabeth Jenkins,) came from Tresenwen, Pembrokeshire, South Wales, with their three sons, John, William and David, and were among the early settlers of Oneida county. They were farmers in easy circumstances, and on emigrating to this country they defrayed the expenses of several of their neighbors who came in the ship with them. John, the eldest son, was ten years old when he arrived first at Utica, in 1800. His father died after being three weeks in America, and his widow purchased a farm on Frankfort Hill, where she made a home for herself and her three sons.

John, after receiving sufficient education at school, was placed in the store of Dr. Solomon Wolcott to learn the business of a druggist and apothecary. With the patrimony to which he was entitled, he soon undertook a business for himself, and by industry, perseverance and unusual ability, he ere long amassed a fortune, the evidences of which may be seen to-day in Utica. The income from Mr. Williams' estate has contributed largely to the beauty and comfort of the city every year up to this time. John Williams was a member of the first board of aldermen elected after the city of Utica was incorporated. His character for integrity, sound judgment, and a shrewd foresight in business affairs, drew to him the confidence of the Welsh settlers not only in Utica, but in

Steuben. He was their adviser when advice was needed by many of them, and acted for many years as their banker. He was director in the old Ontario Bank and the Bank of Utica, and was a liberal contributor to every house of worship erected at Utica during his lifetime, and he was one of the first subscribers to (what was then a doubtful enterprise) the Utica Female Seminary, and was early interested in the Utica Orphan Asylum. In the record of the Welsh inhabitants of Utica, his name is entitled to a place. His brother William survived him. He made his home in Buffalo, where he left a very handsome estate. David grew up to manhood, and died at Utica in 1818. John, Francis and Thomas Reed came in the same ship which brought Mr. Williams and his family to America.

In 1801, these were followed by a large company, mostly young men, from South Wales, full of energy and resolution. Many of these settled in Utica and its vicinity, while others joined the settlers at Steuben. Among them we find the following names: John Stevens, Baptist minister; James Harris, Baptist minister; Abram Williams, John Reed, with six sons; Joseph Harris, David Thomas, William Rees, Simon John, John Nichols, John Rees, Nathaniel Davies, James Phillips, James Jones, David Reed, John Reed, Daniel Richards, Evan Owens, Rees Jones, Samuel George.

In 1800, we find that John Roberts and Evan Owens were in partnership as butchers in Utica, doing business on the lower end of Genesee street, on the west side. And in the tax-list of the village for that year is the name of William Pritchard, who was required to pay the sum of 12½ cents. In 1802, William Jones settled at some distance to the east from Utica, not far from the borders of Frankfort. He married a daughter of James Harris, and remained a farmer. He was the grandfather of Hon. Thomas L. James, ex-Postmaster General. In the latter part of the year 1801, Rev. John G. Roberts, from Ebensburgh, Pa., moved to Steuben and preached the first Welsh sermon at the house of John Jones; and from this time forth they had preaching on each Sabbath day; and so they remained for some years united in love without any regular church organization under the faithful ministry of Rev. John G. Roberts and Rev. William G. Pierce. In the year 1802, Edward Baldwin, a Baptist preacher of good talents and a most winning disposition, found his way to the settlement and rendered efficient service. In 1804, a log meeting-house was

built on the spot where now stands the Welsh Congregational church ("Capel Ucha'") in Steuben. This was destroyed by fire within the same year. In its place, in 1805, they built a frame church, which remained until the present stone building was erected. About this time Timothy Griffiths, a young man from Carnarvon, North Wales, joined the settlers, and in subsequent years was a man of great influence as a citizen of the town and an official member of the church. He was the grandfather of Hon. Timothy Griffiths, well known in Utica. The same year, 1804, this band at Steuben adopted a confession of faith and a church covenant, which were signed by the following persons: John G. Roberts and wife, William C. Jones and wife, Richard Jones and wife, Hugh Jones and wife, Robert Griffiths, Thomas Hughes, John Thomas, John Davies, David Jones and wife, William Griffiths and wife, William Roberts and wife, Robert Jones and wife, William G. Pierce, Hugh Thomas, Robert Evans, Anna Lewis, and the following were received at the same time as new members: Nicodemus Griffiths and wife, Elizabeth, wife of Morris Davies, Walter G. Griffiths, Anna, wife of John Roberts.

In 1804, Richard Thomas and family, from the Parish of Lleyn, in Carnarvonshire, after spending some years in Philadelphia, moved to Steuben, and settled about one mile southwest of Remsen. The father soon died, leaving a widow with many children. These sons and daughters proved to be of more than ordinary talent, and were highly respected. They were Daniel, Thomas, Lewis, John, Catherine and Mary. Evan remained in Wales, and was celebrated for his poetical talent. Mary died at Remsen in 1873, in her 94th year. Thomas was the father of the late Hon. Didymus Thomas, of Remsen, and of John T. Thomas, recently of Utica. In the year 1806, Rev. Richard Jones came from Philadelphia to Steuben and organized the First Baptist Society of that town, over which he remained a pastor for many years.

Although the majority of the Welsh emigrants that came to Oneida county in the closing years of the last century and the early years of this went to Steuben, there were many who settled in other parts. In the fall of 1798, John Lewis with his family settled in Trenton, about midway between the village and Remsen. In 1800 he built the stone house which yet stands, and is familiarly known among the Welsh as "Ty Cerig." Mr. Lewis' children have all passed away. His oldest grandchild is the ven-

erable John L. Lewis, now residing in Trenton village, in his 85th year. About the year 1801 John Jones, after a short stay in Philadelphia, came to Trenton with his wife and five sons, and settled on what was called the "Mappa farm," south of Trenton village, and they were soon known as the Joneses of the *farm*. Some years after this they bought land about two miles north of Trenton, and settled there, but they were still distinguished from their namesakes by that particular term. These hardy sons of the "farm," Griffith, John, William, Hugh and Samuel, are all in the silent tomb. Hugh Thomas came to Trenton in 1797, Edward Hughes and Owen Morris in 1800, James Francis in 1806. The last settled in South Trenton.

In 1808 John James, Griffith I. Jones, John Owens, David Manuel and Hugh Hughes settled in Remsen. In 1811 Hugh Owens, after a residence of ten years in Philadelphia, moved to the same town. Two of the six children are still alive—John J. Owens, of Remsen, in his 90th year, and Mrs. John Edmunds, of Utica, aged 77. David Anthony, Sr., came to Remsen in 1818. Of the children, our worthy townsman, David Anthony, of Seneca street, only remains. In the same year James Owen came to this country and settled in the town of Trenton, near Prospect. He was a man of wide influence, especially in the Calvinistic Methodist Church, and so were his children after him. The same year Lewis Lewis, the father of John L. Lewis, of Trenton, settled about half a mile east of Prospect village.

Watkin Roberts came to Utica in 1816, his wife in 1818. Three of their children have died, Robert W., Watkin J., and Mrs. Williams. Four remain—Ex-Congressman and editor-in-chief of the *Utica Morning Herald*, Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, a gentleman of whom the Welsh of the United States are justly proud; Mrs. Mary Howell, Dayton, O.; Mrs. Fanny Perry, Utica; and Mrs. J. L. Brooks, New York.

The first Welsh settler in Deerfield was Ellis Roberts, from near Bala, in North Wales. He chose Smith Hill as a location. This was about 1818. He was soon followed by many others of his countrymen. Among these were David Richards, Rowland Jones, Rowland Davies, David Davies and John Edwards. That many of the Welsh emigrants settled in Utica, or near it, at an early date, is evident from the fact that on the 12th of September, 1801, there met together at the residence of John Williams, near to

where now stands the Asylum, twenty-two persons, and organized a Baptist church. To the Welsh Baptists then belongs the honor of forming the very first church in Utica. Among them at the time were two elders, James Harris and John Stevens. In 1806 Abram Williams, James Morgan and William Francis were elected trustees, and during that year they built a house of worship. It stood on Hotel street, where the canal now passes. It was afterwards moved to where their present church now stands on Broadway.

The Congregationalists were not far behind, for on the first of January, 1802, the following persons united in a church covenant to which they subscribed their names: Nathaniel Davies, David Thomas, Martha Thomas, John Jones, James Phillips, John Nicholas, Sarah Richards, Watkin Powell, William Thomas, Evan Powell, Thomas Phillips, Jemima Morris, Rebecah Powell, James Davies. In 1804 they built their house of worship on the corner of Whitesboro and Washington streets. Afterwards, on the same spot they erected a commodious brick church, where they continued to worship for many years. The first regular pastor of this church was Rev. Daniel Morris, who came to Utica in 1802 with proper credentials from a Welsh church in Philadelphia. He remained their pastor for many years. He was followed by Revs. William G. Pierce, Rowland Griffiths, John Roberts, Howell R. Powell and Benjamin Powell. Some of these were supplies, others regular pastors.

Flourishing and strong as is the Welsh Calvanistic Methodist Church in Utica, to-day, it was not organized until the year 1830, and therefore does not so legitimately belong to our subject.

Rev. R. D. Thomas (Iorthyn Gwynedd) in the Welsh volume' "History of the Welsh in America," published in 1872, estimates the Welsh speaking population of Oneida county at 8,480. I think that these figures are too high even for the present day. Of this, however, I am not sure. It is a point not easily settled. Many have emigrated to the western States, and in some parts of the country the Welsh population has materially decreased. Still the Welsh are numerous, and at their preaching anniversaries the churches are often thronged.

In conclusion, I trust that even a native Welshman, without being accused of national conceit, will be permitted to say that the Welsh inhabitants of Oneida county have always stood high in the

estimation of their American neighbors. As a people they are quiet, industrious, moral and religious. Many of them through steady perseverance have arrived at high eminence as scholars, teachers, ministers, editors, physicians and lawyers. They are proud of their Welsh blood; but on this account they are not a whit less American in their sympathy. And while at their annual Eisteddfod they zealously cry: "Oes y byd i'r iaith Gymraeg!" with no less zeal they are ready on all suitable occasions to wave their hats and shout "Hail Columbia, happy land!"

In the preparation of this paper I consulted several authors to whom I am indebted; but I am mostly indebted to a small Welsh pamphlet written some twenty-nine years ago by that genuine Welshman who was once an ornament to the city of Utica, the late Rev. Llewelyn D. Howell.

Fairfield Medical College.

By LUCIEN B. WELLS, M. D.

Delivered Before the Society March 31, 1890.

The younger members of the medical profession can hardly realize that a prosperous medical college once existed at Fairfield, Herkimer county, New York. It was doubtless one of the oldest medical colleges in the United States.

The College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York, located at Fairfield, Herkimer county, had its origin in the medical school established by the trustees of Fairfield Academy in 1809. This school had acquired some reputation while attached to the Academy. It was even such in the second year of its existence as to induce the Legislature of the State to endow it with $5,000; and when it received the rank of college, they generously added to its funds the further sum of $10,000.

The charter of the college bears date June 12, 1812, to which is appended the seal of the University of the State, signed by Daniel D. Tompkins, Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, and H. Bloodgood, secretary.

List of Trustees.—Westel Willoughby, M. D., Jonathan Sherwood, M. D., Luther Guiteau, M. D., Dr. Solomon Wolcott, Isaac Sears, M. D., Dr. Abijah Tombling, Dr. Amos Hale, Hon. Simeon Ford, Clark Smith, Esq., Joseph White, M. D., Dr. Alexander G. Fonda, John Miller, M. D., Rev. Oliver C. Comstock, Dr. Isaac Sargeant, Reuben Hart, Esq., Amasa Trowbridge, M. D., Hon. Francis A. Bloodgood, Hon. William D. Ford, Dr. James Kennedy, Oliver Ellis, Esq., Andrew A. Bartow, William Smith, Esq., John Stearns, M. D., James Hale, Esq., James Hadley, M. D., Dr. Stephen Todd, Lyman Spaulding, M. D., Dr. Rufus Crane, Martin L. Bryan, M. D., Hiram Nolton, Esq., Delos White, M. D., Rev. Hezekiah N. Woodruff, Dr. Harvey W. Doolittle, Dr. Sylvester Willard, Dr. Jacob L. Sherwood, Rev. David Chassel, Dr. Elnathan Judd, Hon. Nathan Smith, Alexander Coventry, M. D., Abijah Mann, Jun., Esq., Rev. Phineas Whipple, Norman Butler, Esq., Moses Johnson, M. D.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, held December 1, 1812, the following individuals were appointed officers of the college, viz.:

Lyman Spalding, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.

Westel Willoughby, Jun., Professor of Obstetrics.

James Hadley, Professor of Chemistry.

John Stearns, Professor of Theory and Practice of Physic.

The class of 1812–13, as appears by the records, consisted of 18 medical students.

During the session of 1813–14, it numbered 24.

At a meeting of the Board, March 23, 1815, T. Romeyn Beck was recommended to the Honorable Regents to fill the office of Professor of the Institutes of Medicine.

January 30, 1816, the degree of Doctor of Medicine was conferred on two individuals, viz.: Horatio Orvis and Sylvester Miller. Dr. Beck gave his first course on Medical Jurisprudence. Number of students, 28; four graduates.

At a meeting of the Board, May 20, 1817, Dr. Joseph White, of Cherry Valley, was appointed President and Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the college, in place of Dr. Spalding. At the same meeting it was resolved that President White have leave to substitute his son, Delos White, M. D., to deliver lectures on Anatomy in his stead.

January 20, 1818, the class consisted of 41 students, of whom seven were considered worthy of the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

January 19, 1819, a resolution was passed by the Board of Trustees, dismissing any student who should be concerned, directly or indirectly, in digging up any dead human body for the purpose of dissection in the college.

January 20, 1820, the Legislature was petitioned for a law for giving the dead bodies of unclaimed convicts of the State prison at Auburn to the college, for the purposes of dissection.

January 23, 1821, Dr. Delos White resigned his professorship of Anatomy, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring subjects for dissection. The same year it was resolved to extend the course of lectures from twelve to sixteen weeks.

January 22, 1822, James McNaughton, M. D., was made Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. 62 students, 14 graduates.

For several years subsequent to this period, the affairs of the college continued to prosper, and the number of students to increase. At the close of the session ending January, 1827, Joseph White, M. D., in consequence of age and infirmities, resigned his professorship, and was succeeded in the chair of Surgery by John De La Mater, M. D. Number of students in attendance at this session, 144; graduates, 25. In consequence of the increase of students, an additional college edifice was erected, containing thirty-two lodging rooms, and lecture rooms of the old college edifice were enlarged and rendered more commodious.

1828. Number of students, 171; graduates, 33.

1832. This year the number of students had increased to 205; graduates, 39.

1834. The largest class ever assembled at the college was during the session ending in January, 1834, when the number reached 217, of whom 55 received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. The following year the number was 198. The organization of the medical department of Geneva College, and subsequently the incorporation of the medical college in the city of Albany, together with other causes, had the effect to diminish the number of students in attendance at the Fairfield College from the year 1834 until the final suspension of lectures in the latter institution; yet, the numbers continued to be respectable, and probably would have been until the present time had the proper efforts been continued to sustain it.

During the year 1836, the Regents confirmed the following alterations, by which the professorships stood as follows:

Westel Willoughby, M. D., emeritus Professor of Midwifery.

T. Romeyn Beck, M. D., Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence.

James Hadley, M. D., Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy.

James McNaughton, M. D., Professor of Anatomy and Physiology.

John De La Mater, M. D., Professor of the Practice of Physic and Diseases of Women and Children.

Reuben D. Muzzey, Professor of Surgery and Midwifery.

Subsequently Frank Hamilton, M. D., succeeded Professor Muzzey in the chair of Surgery, and with this exception the faculty remained as above during the operation of the institution. The last course of lectures was given during the winter of 1839–40.

The number of students was 105, of whom 26 received the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

Since the cessation of medical lectures, the college buildings have undergone material modifications, and have been thoroughly repaired for enlarging the accommodations of Fairfield Academy, for which purpose they are at present appropriated.

Lyman Spalding, M. D., was the first president of the college, and was succeeded in the office by Joseph White, M. D., in 1817, who resigned in 1827. The venerable Professor Willoughby succeeded Dr. White, and held the office until his decease.

LIST OF GRADUATES FROM ONEIDA COUNTY.—Luther Guiteau, Charles B. Coventry, Garrit P. Judd, Patrick McCraith, Rufus Priest, Benjamin Armitage, Luther Guiteau, Jr., Samuel W. Stewart, Isaac H. Douglas, Nathan Spencer, George W. Gardner, Asa Gray, (Professor of Botany,) George W. Cleveland, Benjamin P. Crossman, Walter Booth, Lucien B. Wells, Henry G. Beardsley, Edward Loomis, Warner Wadsworth, Peter D. Kimkern, Jacob Hunt, James S. Whaley, William Kirkwood, Thomas M. Foot.

There are doubtless others whose names I have not been able to obtain.

For the history of the institution I am indebted to the venerable William Mather, M. D., of Fairfield, N. Y.

Utica, N. Y., September 20, 1889.

A Chapter in Glacial History:

WITH

ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES FROM CENTRAL NEW YORK.*

BY PROFESSOR ALBERT P. BRIGHAM,
Of Colgate University.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY MARCH 4, 1891.

It is a well-known fact that Agassiz was the first to advance the doctrine of great ice invasions in former times. From the scratched rocks and transported boulders of the Alps, in regions remote from present glaciation, he read the records of that ancient history; and in his "Etudes sur les Glaciers," published in 1840, he gave this daring outline of ice history†: "The surface of Europe, adorned before by a tropical vegetation and inhabited by troops of large elephants, enormous hippopotami and gigantic carnivora, was suddenly buried under a vast mantle of ice, covering alike, plains, lakes, seas and plateaus. Upon the life and movement of a powerful creation, fell the silence of death. Springs paused, rivers ceased to flow, the rays of the sun, rising upon this frozen shore, (if indeed it was reached by them,) were met only by the breath of the winter from the north, and the thunders of the crevasses as they opened across the surface of this icy sea." After a time, Dr. Buckland, Dean of Westminster, a veteran English geologist, skeptical at first, was fully convinced that Agassiz was right, and together they sought and discovered evidences of glaciation in England, Wales, and Scotland. At length, Charles Lyell, the prince of geologists, was brought over, and Buckland wrote to Agassiz: "Lyell has adopted your theory in toto! ! ! On my showing him a beautiful cluster of moraines within two miles of his father's house, he instantly accepted it as solving a host of difficulties that have all his life embarrassed him."‡ Even Lyell had seen a thing all his life, and yet had not really seen it, because he had not the clue to its meaning. Hence we need not wonder that

* This paper was given substantially as one of a series of popular educational lectures on the Geological Work of Fresh Water. I have not thought best to change its character, nor does the paper attempt any systematic account of local glacial phenomena.

† Quoted in "Life and Correspondence" of Louis Agassiz, Vol. 1, p. 296.

‡ "Life and Correspondence" of Agassiz, 1, 309.

ice work in Oneida county is seen by few, although, to open eyes, its effects defy misunderstanding. We have here also a good illustration of a scientific theory, confirming itself beyond question, by explaining facts which have hitherto lain in seeming confusion. The past fifty years have filled out Agassiz's great conception most remarkably, and nowhere have glacial phenomena proved to be more abundant, or laden with more historic significance, than in our own country and at our doors. No department of physical science has been more eagerly occupied, or more prolific in results, than glacial geology in the United States, during the last score of years.

And in this time there have come some most important corrections to glacial theory. For example, the idea of excessive cold has been surrendered, a great measure of precipitation, with moderate refrigeration, being the prevailing factor; the notion, too, of a polar ice cap has waned, non-glaciated areas being found far to the north. So, too, the idea of suddenness, as seen in Agassiz's early account, is erroneous. If a glacial epoch were now approaching, years of observation would be needful to determine it. But the great fact remains in full strength. From the north, but not the extreme north, the present limits of our country were invaded by ice. Just where the centers of dispersion were, we do not know. We do know, that all this northern Atlantic area and most of the northern Mississippi region, were overrun by ice-flows which began beyond the Laurentian border. We know also that as we pass southward, we outrun the limits of the ice. And we get frequent evidence of the direction of the currents.

Passing across our country, including to the northward most of the central west, part of the Middle States and all of New England, is a more or less definite border, known as the limit of the drift, that is, of materials known to have been carried southward from their native rock beds.* The drift is made up of boulders, pebbles, stony clay, sand and soil. Commonly the ice did not reach quite to the drift border, because the glacial waters or later streams have carried the materials southward, but for our study, the ice limit and the drift limit may be considered to coincide, and this line we will roughly trace. It enters in the northwest, passes through Dakota, Nebraska and Kansas, beyond the Missouri river; passing eastward, it crosses the Mississippi river near St. Louis,

* The reader may consult, for part of this border, "The Glacial Boundary," etc. by G. F. Wright, Bulletin 58, U. S. Geol. Surv.

bends southward and then runs in a crooked course north of east, taking in most of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. Thence the glacial boundary crosses the northwest corner of Pennsylvania, passes up into southwestern New York, but quickly swings back across Pennsylvania and New Jersey, reaching the Atlantic coast at Staten Island, beyond which, along the shore of Long Island and New England, the drift border is somewhere under the waters of the Atlantic. It is also generally held that there was a great retreat of the ice, and that again it advanced, some of the evidence consisting of vegetable remains and true soils, intercolated between undoubted ice deposits. There are in our country great heaps of morainic materials which mark the limits of this second invasion.† These masses stretch across Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, Long Island and southeastern Massachusetts. Long Island, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket and Cape Cod are to a large extent mantled by this moraine, with its broad areas of glacial rubbish. Plymouth rock is only a stray boulder brought by the ice from some more northern home to its present resting place by the sea. The drift hills which clog the valleys of the Sauquoit, Oriskany and Oneida creeks, at Cassville, Oriskany Falls, and Pratt's Hollow, are parts of this terminal moraine, which passes south of the finger lakes, then up into Madison county, then bears sharply to the eastward across the valleys already named. As we shall see, the region of accumulation is some miles broad; for a continental moraine is no more a single ridge of loose material, than a mountain range is a single sharp line of elevation in the earth's crust.

What evidences have we that our hills and valleys were once covered with moving ice? Under any existing ice stream the rocks are scratched or striated, it may be gently, or very harshly and deeply, amounting sometimes to furrows some inches deep, or to pronounced flutings or rock mouldings. This is accomplished by loose stones held in the grip of the ice as graving tools. No other agency produces them, and such rock gravings are found by the thousand in our northern States.‡ They are in great variety of forms, and are pretty sure to be found where the soil is removed from rock of a

† See "Terminal Moraine of the Second Glacial Epoch," by T. C. Chamberlin, Third Annual Report, U. S. Geol. Surv.

‡ For a splendid exposition of this phase of glaciation, see "Rock Scorings of the Great Ice Invasion," T. C. Chamberlin, Seventh Annual Report, U. S. Geol. Surv.

fair degree of hardness. Perhaps they are most often found by stripping the soil in opening quarries. Thus a fine set of striæ is uncovered above the older limestone quarry at Oriskany Falls. These scratches may run up hill or down hill, and may be found even upon the vertical faces of a cliff, though erosion in such situations is most likely to obliterate them. Their more common direction in this region is southward, but with wide variations, since the ice conformed more or less to the hills, valleys and general elements of local topography. Thus while the general movement in New York was southward, the flow through the Champlain valley, according to Chamberlin, bore off to the southwest through the Schoharie and Otsego region, and even turned squarely to the west up the Mohawk valley nearly to Little Falls.* I shall be pardoned the digression, if I say that Little Falls is a point of great interest in our local geology. The upheaval, by faulting, of the Archaean rocks, the actual contact of Archaean and (presumably) Cambrian, the cutting of the river through the tough barrier raised in its course, with the yet undefined parts played by Laurentian drainage and glacial currents, conspire to make the locality worthy of careful attention.

The main ice current, as we have said, was to the southward, but any local valley leading in a different direction, would cause the underflow to swing off and make scratches in its own direction. A case at Hamilton, Madison county, will illustrate this law. About 250 feet above the valley, at the Colgate university quarry, are striae with direction south 15° west. This appears to mark the general flow over the region. Two hundred feet below in altitude, at the entrance of the valley which bears southeast towards Poolville, are striae with direction south 20° east, thus diverging 35° from those of the higher, or university quarry. Thus marked is the result of local topography.

Let us look now at a mass of hard, tough subsoil, such as may come out of a well or a sewer-trench. It is made up of clay and more or less angular fragments of rock, from the size of pebbles up to heavy boulders. It is often so compact that the workman's pick makes little impression upon it. The stones are not those of the underlying rock, at least many of them are not. The mass came from some other place,—not by water, for water sorts its burden when it drops it: it will give us fine laminated clay, sands,

* Third Annual, U. S. Geol. Surv., p. 365.

gravels, but no such mixed mass as this.—only ice can give this result. If the stones contained in the clayey matrix are scratched, we have additional evidence of ice action. I do not think you would find scratched stones at all points under the City of Utica, but cellars, paving trenches and wells dug on "Corn Hill" show quantities of the soft Utica shale, more or less ground up and mixed with the soil. Of course the shale is too soft to hold glacial scratches. But in excavating for the foundations of the Rutger street viaduct, a very heavy till was thrown out, containing hard, scratched pebbles. Such scratched pebbles and boulders are abundant in the cut made for the West Shore railway in East Utica; while at the corner of South street and Kossuth avenue may be seen a large Archaean boulder, about half of whose upper face has been distinctly planed off by glacial action. The railway cuts between Sauquoit and Clayville show the till or boulder clay, with well scratched fragments. But some of the finest specimens of such pebbles and boulders which I have seen in this vicinity are to be found in a section of blue clay cut by the east branch of the Oriskany creek at Forge Hollow. They are abundant at the railway station in Waterville, and indeed can be found on almost any roadside by a careful search. When one picks such a pebble from the ground, it is not unprofitable to give rein to the imagination, put the pebble back, some, perhaps many, thousands of years, and under vast masses of ice which clutched it and used it with such power.

Perhaps the most impressive part of the drift is the erratic boulder, which is so common a feature in all glaciated regions. An entire evening might be spent with interest, in the study of these boulders. Their great masses dot our fields and roadsides in valleys, and upon the highest hilltops. They tell a story of the highest interest, though their only apology to the farmer is that they can be stowed away in stone fences and strong foundation structures. They always correspond, in our neighborhood, to outcrops lying to the northward. And they increase in number and size as we approach the outcrops from which the glaciers plucked them. Remsen, Steuben and all the northern towns of Oneida county, have multitudes of gneissic and other rocks from the Adirondacks, although the bed rock is Trenton limestone, Utica slate or some other Paleozoic formation. South of the Mohawk, fragments of Oneida conglomerate begin to abound. A block of pudding stone on Paris Hill may once have rested above the present course of

the Mohawk, in strata continuous with quarries now worked on the Frankfort and Graffenberg hills. At Oriskany Falls above the quarries on the west side of the valley, is a ledge of coarse, white sandstone, weathering yellow and brown, much of it broken off into immense blocks. The hills to the southward are dotted with blocks like these as far as Earlville, seventeen miles, and probably beyond. One of these boulders measures nineteen feet in length, twelve feet in breadth and stands eight feet out of the ground. It rests on the hillside above the Waterville turnpike, two miles from Madison. If, as I suspect, it was borne from that part of the Oriskany beds above described, the amount of its transport is about two miles. One of these boulders on the campus of Colgate University has fourteen, twelve and five feet, as its respective measurements, with possibly an equal mass stowed away under the ground. From Oriskany Falls to Pecksport, the valley extends from northeast to southwest, and the boulders are confined to the slopes of the southeast side. This is due to the southward direction of the ice. It carried the blocks across the valley and shoved them upon and along the opposite side; thus the boulders, and glacial scratches at Hamilton bear corroborating testimony as to the direction of the ice.

As we go southward toward the limit of the drift, we at length find only small stones, then scattering pebbles, until we come upon soil wholly derived from the underlying rocks. We have said that the drift hills in the southern part of this county are a part of a great continental moraine. In other words, the front of the ice stood for a long time on the ridge between the Mohawk and the Susquehanna basins. Our valley was full of ice, and at its southern rim in Paris and Marshall, it was shoving up masses of earth and stones, melting and sending copious streams of ice-cold water through the valleys southward. We should expect, therefore, to find some masses of stuff left by the ice, coarse and fine, unsorted and with scratched and angular fragments. We should expect to find other parts of these heaps of debris, made up of sand and gravel, sorted by the water that poured from under the ice or through channels worn farther up in the glaciers. This is just what we do find, and the strata of gravel generally dip to the south, with the direction of the flow of ice and water at that time, but opposite to the course of the Oriskany and Sauquoit creeks to-day Some sections appear to indicate deltas made by tumultuous glacia

streams entering temporary glacial lakes. These irregular heaps of loose material well nigh choke up the valley from Deansville to Solsville, especially from Oriskany Falls to Solsville, where the Ontario and Western Railway has been compelled to seek a crooked path among the confused morainic heaps. Thus also we find a similar topography in the Sauquoit valley from Sauquoit to Cassville, and extending on to about Paris station, and in the valley of Oneida creek from near Munnsville to beyond Pratt's Hollow.

A previous lecture described a class of structures known as kames, or ridgy and undulating masses of gravel, laid down in arching channels under the ice, or, under certain conditions, in front of the ice. Sometimes they are irregular and tangled in outline and arrangement, while in other cases they may run for many miles across hill and valley, though in the latter case more properly called by other names. It is perfectly evident that an open air stream or lake could not make them, yet water made them, being the only agent competent to lay down a stratified deposit. The gravel ridges by the railroad station at Deansville are good samples of small kames, while the moraine heaps already noted are largely of the kame type. The Deansville cemetery is located along a low, narrow kame ridge, and the roadway cut through at one point gives a view of its internal structure. Since my attention was called to the fact, I have noted the almost unerring selection of such ground for cemeteries, due of course to its having suitable elevation, and being, from the nature of materials, always dry. Clinton, Deansville, Oriskany Falls and the new cemetery at Hamilton are examples. Mount Hope cemetery in Rochester is another illustration. The ice invasion, determining thus, where we shall lay our dead, is a sample of the constant relations between geological activities and human experience.

We notice also the formation of "kettle holes" upon the moraines of existing glaciers. And we may go to any morainic region in our own vicinity and find such depressions. No action of ordinary streams, or other causes now at work on the topography, could have made them. The haphazard dumping of materials from the ice, and the melting of stranded bergs, are the only possible cause. They are of all sizes and conditions. Madison Lake, which has no outlet, is a kettle-hole pond; but most of them are smaller, a few rods, it may be, in diameter. Some hold mere frog ponds, a foot or two in depth. Some hold water in wet weather, but only

moisture enough during the summer to support marshy vegetation. They are constantly filling with soil washed in by rains, and also with vegetation and shell marl, gradually thus being reduced in depth. In many kettle-holes the vegetable accumulations have been transformed into peat, or are changing toward that state. In one observed near Oriskany Falls, five or six feet of leaves, twigs, roots and mosses had been removed from the bottom, perhaps to be used as a fertilizer. Great logs which had fallen in as the mass accumulated, were still lying about. Swamps form not only in kettle-holes, but in valleys in which morainic accumulations have interfered with drainage. A fine example is the long swamp which extends from Sangerfield Center to Hubbardsville, a distance of nearly ten miles. As the ice receded northward, it left a considerable mass of moraine in the valley between Hubbardsville and Poolville. The ice then receded to about Waterville. Between the accumulations at Hubbardsville and the ice front and moraine at Waterville, a long lake came into existence. The brick clays at Sangerfield Center are a part of the fine sediments which found rest at the bottom of this lake. The filling by these sediments and by vegetation, forming the clay and muck of the existing swamp, have brought it to its present condition. There has also been a cutting down by the stream which forms the outlet of the swamp. Thus these two natural causes are constantly operative to reclaim the swamp and transform it into dry, arable land. Most of our lakes have some sort of a glacial origin, and are likewise subject to conditions which place a limit to their duration.

We have heretofore seen that the flooding and cutting of rivers combine to make alluvial terraces. Another class of terraces occurs, as shoulders of drift left by retiring glaciers along the walls of valleys, in front of the moraine. Madison Lake lies within such a terrace, Madison village upon the top of it, while Solsville is at the base of the companion terrace. And further from the ice front in such valleys, the valley bottoms consist of trains of coarse gravel which the waters at the time of melting carried down and deposited according to the ordinary laws of river work. Thus Bouckville, Hamilton and Earlville rest upon such a train of valley gravel. And in the same valley are frequent swamps and ponds which have a glacial origin.

A striking proof of the reality of the ice invasion is gained by comparing a glaciated with a non-glaciated region. For example,

compare New York or Massachusetts with North Carolina or Georgia, especially as to their soils. In the North, as we have seen, the soils and subsoils are a miscellaneous mixture of materials from a great variety of sources. Take an acre of land in Kirkland. If you could trace all the constituents, you would find pulverized gneisses from Canada or northern New York, fragments of Potsdam sandstone and Trenton limestone, with enriching mixtures of primeval deep sea mud which we call Utica slate. There would also be bits of Oneida conglomerate, pieces of iron ore, and, in the south part of the town, reddish soils from the powdered Salina rocks, like those under Hamilton College campus. But what should we find in Georgia? No foreign boulders, or smaller rock fragments, but layer after layer of soil, native rock, rotted where the seas laid it down, to the lowest depth to which atmospheric influences could penetrate, water aiding by its solvent effects. Thus we may find fifty or sixty feet of such unmixed native soil. The ice-plow has never thrust its powerful share into these soils to create such a stirring as was made in our latitude. Lying chiefly in Wisconsin is an area of many counties over which the ice did not sweep. It was surrounded by the ice, but for reasons not fully known, escaped the invasion. It is known to geologists as the driftless area of Wisconsin. To the north and east is a vast moraine, full of kettle-holes, and made up largely of debris from the Lake Superior region. But within this charmed area there is no drift except what the water has brought into the tract from glaciated regions on the border. Here the soils are of the sort which we have described as existing in the South. They are decayed rock, instead of rock flour; that is, chemical rather than mechanical processes have made them. There are no waterfalls in the district. There are several fine examples just outside; and there are many pillar-like rocks within the area, but none around it. The ice did not come in to push them over. They will stand until they are undermined or rotted down by ordinary weathering. The surrounding area has been scraped and plastered, hilltops pared down and valleys levelled up, while in the area which the ice did not touch, we have a topography which natural drainage and weathering would produce. The former is "geological youth;" the latter is "geological old age."

Picture in your minds the ice retiring from the broad American territory outlined at the beginning of our study. We shall see some of the great things that happened. If paleolithic man was

here before the ice crept down, he saw one sort of country. The men who certainly were here during the retreat, saw a different country. Many valleys were gone, choked with hundreds of feet of drift. The streams were busy, finding new paths to the sea, making their way as best as they could around the old blockaded channels. In doing this they have cut our cañons here in the east and given birth to our water-falls. If you find a gorge like that of the West Canada creek at Trenton, opening upon a broad valley, you can look around with confidence for the stretch of buried channel through which the stream flowed in pre-glacial times. The Genesee river is a good case. Above Portage it occupies its old bed. There it plunges into a cañon, which it follows for sixteen miles, whence, after three falls of nearly one hundred feet each, it issues, at Mt. Morris, into the wide, old valley again. The old channel, stuffed with glacial rubbish, can be seen where it crosses the newer and deeper channel at the Portage bridge on the Erie railway. At the Genesee Falls in Rochester the river has had a similar history. Likewise the Mohawk was driven out of some old channel which once carried the drainage of the interior to the Hudson, cut a gorge for itself, and took a deep plunge at Cohoes, New York. The Mississippi river at Minneapolis and St. Paul is another example of this glacial remodelling of the American continent, while Niagara, as we shall see, was the master-piece.

Remember now that for a long time, as the ice receded northward from the midcontinental glacial border which we have described, the streams from the ice-front flowed over into the Mississippi basin, or, in our longitude, into the Susquehanna valley. At length the ice fell back behind the water-shed which separates the Mississippi from the basin of the great lakes. This low ridge passes through Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York. In our neighborhood, this water-shed crosses the southern portion of Oneida county and the central parts of Madison county. The water from the ice still passed to the south, but plunged first into ice-cold lakes, which began to form between the ice masses and the water-shed. As the melting continued, the ice receded more and more to the north, and these lakes grew larger. One of them, six hundred miles long, filled the valley of the Red River of the North, and had its outlet through a now abandoned channel in southern Minnesota. The beaches of this lake lie at successive levels on either

side of this valley in Minnesota and Dakota, and are being made the subject of careful study by one of the glacial geologists of the United States Geological Survey. The rich wheat lands of this valley are the sediments of this lake, which bears the name of Agassiz, in honor of that bold student of glacial science. Lake Winnepeg is the shrunken, modern representative of these glacial waters. As the ice retired, the waters ceased to flow across the divide to the south, and found their outlet thenceforth in Hudson Bay. Similarly, as we come eastward, a vast, irregular sheet of water had its southern shore and outflow in Ohio and New York. During this period Lake Erie and Lake Ontario were merged in one. This is the period when, at least in its later portions, the low country between Lake Ontario and Little Falls was under water. After a time the ice retired far enough to open up the long closed Mohawk valley. Then a vast change took place. The drainage turned from the Mississippi and the Susquehanna, and moved towards the Hudson, sweeping in a mighty flood through our valley. This drew the water down several hundred feet, and differentiated Lake Erie from Lake Ontario. The old channel that led from the one to the other was plastered full. So the new Niagara made an attempt farther east, gained an outlet near the site of Buffalo, pushed northward and poured over a high rocky escarpment at Queenston, seven miles north of the present falls. Since that time the river has cut the gorge below the falls, which have receded southward to their present position. As in the Red River valley, so in northern Ohio and southern Canada is a broad covering of fine clay, the mud bottom of the lake in its time of greater extension.

After a time, another chapter was added. The ice withdrew from the St. Lawrence; the drainage of the interior left our valley and reached the ocean by way of the Thousand Islands, and Lake Ontario was drawn down to its present level. At these successive stages, the lake made the great beaches which continue at intervals from Niagara to Watertown. I have given the barest outline of a vast history, whose record is becoming more complete year by year, as multiplied observations correct minor errors and fill out the doubtful passages in the series of events.* Honorable as are the

* Those who wish to consult further may refer to Chamberlin's reports in the 3rd, 6th and 7th Annual Reports, U. S. Geol. Surv.; "The Ice Age in North America," by G. F. Wright, and "The History of the Niagara River," by G. K. Gilbert; Sixth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara.

records of savage and pioneer, sought out by this society in central New York, this had been historic ground for thousands, and if you please, for millions of years before it was trodden by the foot of man.

How long did the ice occupy these regions? To this question we cannot return even approximate answer in terms of years or centuries. But we should not therefore conclude that we can form no notion which shall be of value. That the stay of the ice was long is assured, and this fact has nearly the same educational value for us, which we should realize in mathematical precision. It required a long time for climate to change and for the sluggish, frozen stream to creep northward hundreds of miles. It took time for the ice to gather up and transport the vast masses of rock and soil which we find removed from their original home. It took time for this slow and ponderous file to rasp the mountain sides and rim out the valleys. And finally, it took time for the conditions of climate to be reversed again and for the invader to retire the legions of ice. Some glacialists, noting the continued shrinking of our northern glaciers, prefer to say that we are only now passing out of the glacial epoch.

This brings us to the supremely interesting question: how long since the ice melted away in our latitude, since the sun began to warm the earth, the grass to grow, the forest to cover the hills, and animal voices to be heard? Here it would seem that we might gain more assured results. The rate of recession of falls like Niagara, the rate of accumulation of post-glacial peat beds, the rate at which oxidation and decay have proceeded in certain glacial deposits, are all measures which have been used, in the effort to interrogate the past. But all of these data leave behind a large percentage of doubt. The Niagara problem has received the largest share of attention, but even here, Gilbert has shown that there is a long catalogue of residual questions which add doubt to all results.* We may fairly say that estimates range from ten thousand to one hundred thousand years for the close of the glacial period.

We ask eagerly the date of the ice because it is one line of proof for the antiquity of our race. The archæologist is one witness, the ethnologist is another, the philologist and the historian have also their answers, and the geologist comes down from his

* See "History of Niagara River," as above, pp. 81-83.

Archæan, Silurian, Mesozoic and Tertiary, to meet them on the border line between his science and theirs. I cannot better express this human interest in the glacial chronology, than by quoting from Professor Gilbert's paper already cited,—"From first to last man has been the witness of its (Niagara's) toil, and so its history is interwoven with the history of man. The human comrade of the river's youth was not, alas, a reporter with a note book, else our present labor would be light. He has even told us little of himself. We only know that on a gravelly beach of Lake Iroquois, now the Ridge road, he rudely gathered stones to make a hearth, and built a fire; and the next storm breakers, forcing back the beach, buried and thus preserved, to gratify, yet whet our curiosity, hearth, ashes and charred sticks. In these Darwinian days we cannot deem primeval the man possessed of the Promethean art of fire, and so his presence on the scene adds zest to the pursuit of the Niagara problem. Whatever the antiquity of the great cataract may be found to be, the antiquity of man is greater." We add a few words to explain to such as as may not be familiar with the facts, this assured statement that man is older than Niagara. We have abundant evidence that he followed the ice in its northward retreat. When the ice-front stood somewhere in northern New Jersey, or southern New York, long before the Mohawk valley was clear of ice and Niagara began, certain glacial gravels were deposited in the valley of the Delaware river at Trenton. In these gravels have been found many undoubted human implements, of the type known as Paleolithic. Similar discoveries have been made in Ohio, Indiana and Minnesota, where many flint tools have been found. We have not in this country, the abundant evidence of early man, as afforded by the bone caves of Europe, but our glacial deposits are thus yielding most important data.*

Was man here to be driven southward by the ice, as he certainly was here to follow it northward? We have as yet, no answer. Is the Eskimo of the north the lineal descendant of these paleolithic men? Again, no answer: but a wide field of research, and, it may be, of vast discovery, for zealous students of the earth and man.

* Those who wish a general review of man's relation to the glacial period may consult "The Antiquity of Man," by Sir Chas. Lyell, and "The Ice Age in North America," by G. F. Wright. Also, "A Study of Prehistoric Anthropology," by Thomas Wilson, (Smithsonian.) The latter (price ten cents) contains a good bibliography and many cuts.

Silas Wright, Governor of New York from 1833 to 1837.

By REV. DANIEL BALLOU.

Delivered Before the Society October 28, 1889.

Silas Wright graduated from Middlebury College in the summer of 1815, at the age of twenty years. While in college he had maintained a scholastic reputation. Endowed with rare powers of mental acuteness and force, with a resolute will and robust health, together with a calm judgment that rarely failed to serve him, he bore to the threshold of manhood the moral and intellectual culture of the schools and the physical vigor of a strong organism inured to hard labor in agricultural pursuits. At the close of the war of 1812, when the country was in a most perplexing state of political affairs, he entered a law office at Sandy Creek, determined to pursue the profession of law. He was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the State in 1819, at the age of twenty-four years. By his incessant labor and close application to duty his health became impaired, and in order to regain it he spent a portion of the following spring and summer on horseback. He traveled extensively in the western and northwestern counties of the State, gaining in health and strength as he journeyed. He spent some time in Canton, St. Lawrence county, in company with Medad Moody, an old friend of his father, who promised as an inducement for Mr. Wright to settle in Canton, to build him an office. The offer was accepted and was duly fulfilled, and Mr. Wright was soon established in the duties of his profession. The now thriving and bright city of Ogdensburg had been settled some twenty years, and was the county seat; but as Canton was nearer the geographical center of the county, it was believed that when the erection of new buildings became a necessity they would be located in Canton. The prediction proved true, and the rural village of 1819 has become a thriving college town, possessing among its varied attractions, St. Lawrence university.

Three years of student life in St. Lawrence University brought me into familiar associations with the friends and neighbors of Silas Wright. Many hours were beguiled in listening to the story

of his experiences and the incidents associated therewith. In person he was short and well formed, unassuming in manner and easy in deportment. In society and in business he was accessible to all, having no favoritism. He was a kind friend. It was said of him that he never made any charge for legal advice, but gave it freely for the good of his clients. He was strictly careful with regard to propriety and deportment, and had an ease and gentleness of manner which at once removed embarrassment. It was his custom to take his turn with his neighbors with the sick. He served as pathmaster in his highway district, and always put in a full day's work, and when the pastor was absent he conducted the religious services in the church. When Canton became the shire town of the county, it was said by rival towns that no suitable material could be found within the town with which to erect the conuty buildings. With pick and shovel in hand, he led his neighbors to the spot where a quarry was soon unearthed, and day after day he labored digging and handling the stones which formed the walls of the county buildings. For his labors he declined to receive any remuneration. He manifested a lively interest in the public schools and charitable institutions of the town and county. To the Presbyterian society he gave the land which it now occupies with its church buildings, and to the village he gave the public square. By such acts we readily see how the people learned to admire, and honor, and love him.

While these serve as an index to the character of the man, I scarcely need say that they but poorly portray the real glory and sunshine of a great and gifted spirit. It was not by bold and daring strides or by sweeping brilliancy that Silas Wright made his way to eminence and fame, but by persevering industry and unyielding loyalty to duty as God gave him to understand it. Becoming a citizen of Canton in 1819, he was postmaster in 1820, surrogate in 1821, and during six years he served as justice of the peace, commissioner of deeds, clerk, and finally postmaster, which office he resigned in 1827, when, as a member of Congress, he entered the broad arena of national statesmanship. Besides the civil offices mentioned, he held several positions in the military service. He was a captain of an independent military company in 1822, and was commissioned major of the regiment. Later he was promoted to the command, and in 1827 he was advanced to the rank of brigadier general. In 1824 he was elected State Senator on the

issue of permitting the people to elect the presidential electors. He received every vote cast in Canton save his own. He was at that time twenty-nine years of age. As a politician he strove to represent his party's interests, and always kept his character and standing as a citizen above reproach. On the floor of the Senate he was clear and well defined in statement, skillful and strong in argument, logical and convincing in debate. His admirers, gratified with his success, nominated him as one of the republican or Buck Tail candidates for their representative in the twentieth Congress in 1826. He was elected over the Clintonian candidate by over 500 majority. He despised monopolies; opposed all special legislation as wrong in principle. He favored paper currency. As a member of the committee on manufactures, he drew the bill which was substantially the tariff law of 1828. In advocating this measure, he made what at that time was regarded as the ablest speech of his life, His star rose still higher, because of his honest integrity and fearless zeal for truth. The citizens of Middlebury, Vt., complimented him with a public dinner, and the tariff bill and the masterly support he gave it made him a national reputation. How easily even great men are mistaken may be seen in the fact that this tariff bill proved to be exorbitant, and Mr. Wright regretting that he had given it his support, pronounced it "a great failure." In 1828, made memorable by the election of Andrew Jackson to the presidency when Martin Van Buren was Governor of New York, Mr. Wright was again elected to Congress. He resigned soon, however, and applied himself to the duties of Comptroller of New York, to which office he had been elected in January, 1829, while serving in Congress. The ability and integrity with which he handled the exacting labors of his new position are best emphasized by the fact that he was reëlected in 1832. During the second year after reëlection, however, he resigned the office to take his seat in the United States Senate, to which he had been called to fill the unexpired term of William L. Marcy. He entered upon his duties as Senator, January 14, 1833. He came with calm deliberation into the arena where intellectual swords were wielded by the profound ability of Webster and the calm and genial Clay, whose captivating magnetism was balanced by the fervid fire and stormy rhetoric of Calhoun. Clayton, Benton, Preston and Rivers were also leading men in the Senate. With or against such men, Silas Wright was compelled to make his record of failure or success. That affable courtesy, that respectful demeanor, that genuine man-

liness which characterized the young pathmaster and lawyer, the justice and the postmaster, matured by the experiences of years, served him just as truly now; and amid the most exciting moments of stormy debate his self-control enabled him, like Humboldt, seated upon the rim of the crater, to look calmly down into the boiling caldron below. He was not an enthusiast. He did not assume that which he did not know. He spoke upon every important question as one who clearly understood the premises. Nearly every position taken by President Jackson was ably sustained by Senator Wright. In 1837 Mr. Wright was reëlected for the full term Samuel Beardsley, of Oneida county, was nominated as a rival candidate, and was supported by those who disapproved of Mr. Wright's position in the State Senate on the canal and safety fund —issues of a previous campaign. In 1843 he was returned to the Senate, and in 1844 the office of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States was tendered to him by President Tyler, but was declined, as he preferred to remain in the Senate. During the same year he was unanimously nominated by the Democratic national convention at Baltimore for Vice President on the ticket with James K. Polk, but he declined to accept. September 4 of the same year he was nominated by the Democratic convention at Syracuse for Governor of New York. He was opposed by Millard Fillmore, and after an earnest campaign was elected by more than 10,000 majority. After his election he resigned his seat in the Senate. When he assumed the executive, the duty of enforcing instead of making laws was imposed upon him. The agitation of the anti-renters was active at this time, and when a deputy sheriff named Steele, in Andes, Delaware county, was killed in the discharge of his duty, Governor Wright issued a proclamation declaring that county to be in a state of insurrection. Excitement ran high. The village of Delhi became a military encampment, from which squads of soldiers went through the county enforcing the law. The antagonism of the anti-renters was turned against the Governor, and Mr. Wright was defeated in the gubernatorial election in 1846.

Conscious of the rectitude of his course, without chagrin or disappointment, he returned to Canton. He had refused to pardon the anti-renters while Governor, and he would not pledge himself to do so if reëlected, which prevented his receiving the support of all who sympathized with them, and they voted against him. But a defeat occasioned by a division in his party was not sufficient to

eclipse the brilliant record of his honorable public service. Leading Democratic journals in several States nominated him for the next President, and while his star was yet rising in the national horizon the veil of death was dropped suddenly between him and all earthly aspirations.

After his return from Albany he worked upon his farm as a common laborer and devoted his evenings to his large correspondence. His last labor of a public character was the preparation of an address, which he had been invited to deliver before the State Agricultural Society, and which was read by his friend, John A. Dix. Mr. Wright's wife was Clarissa Moody, the daughter of the long time friend who first welcomed him to Canton.

One who knew him intimately through many years said: "I never knew him to utter an unchaste word or an immoral sentiment." He was discreet in the use of words, rarely giving offence. Politics to him was the great school in which the science of government was taught. He showed not the politician's low cunning, but the high attainments of statecraft which made him the peer of Clay, Calhoun and Webster. His death, August 27, 1847, of apoplexy, at the age of fifty-two years, was regarded as a national bereavement. His immediate friends and neighhors felt their loss most keenly. They had seen him go forth to the capitals of the State and the Nation, amid waving plumes and banners, surrounded with music and flame; the cannon had welcomed his return and a thousand glad voices had shouted their greeting, but when they saw his familiar face set to the long journey from which it would never return, with a sorrow as heartfelt as their enthusiasm had been joyous, they mourned.

Prehistoric Remains in Sweden.

BY THOMAS R. COLLING.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY MAY 31 AND NOVEMBER 29, 1886.

To the Members of the Oneida Historical Society:

Through the courtesy of your Society, I have been asked to present in the form of a paper, translations of articles or portions of articles from the Swedish work, comprising thirteen volumes, recently received by the Society as a gift from the Royal Academy, Stockholm, Sweden.

The work in question is entitled,—"Konglig Vitterhets Historie och Antiqvetets Akademiens Månadsblad," which may be rendered—"Monthly Journal of the Royal Academy of Belles-Lettres, History and Archæology." It is one of the several publications of the Royal Academy on the general subject of Swedish antiquities. It first appeared in 1872 as a monthly publication, afterwards changed to a quarterly, and is intended to present the antiquities of Sweden in a popular and interesting manner, and thus to win the attention of many who would be repelled by the more profound and learned treatment of Swedish archæology as presented in the "Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige," (Swedish Antiquarian News,) an Academy publication devoted to the scientific consideration of such subjects and issued only at irregular intervals.

The work is ably edited by Dr. Hans Hildebrand, amanuensis to the Academy, an expert archæologist and careful historian. He contributes a large proportion of the articles which fill its pages, and is, moreover, the author of several important works relating to the early history of Sweden. His father, Brother Emil Hildebrand, up to the time of his death, August 30, 1884, contributed many articles relating specially to numismatics. Among other contributors Dr. Oscar Montelius, a historian, and the author, in collaboration with Dr. Hildebrand and others, of a comprehensive and valuable history of Sweden; he has also published other works relating to prehistoric times, and of these his "Svenska Fornsaker," (Swedish Antiquities,) holds foremost rank as a standard work of reference. The mention of such distinguished names on the list

of contributors will serve in part as an index to the scholarship of the work itself. The information covers a wide and varied field and shows careful and patient research with no small degree of learning and critical knowledge.

In presenting translations of articles or portions of articles from the work under consideration, the result, as a whole, from the very character of the work, must be. more or less desultory. The variety of subjects which go to make up the contents will not admit of treatment as a connected narrative, and so our plan will be to consider first the articles of a more general character, and afterwards those which are merely descriptive of special objects. Before taking up the articles selected, a few words explaining the condition of Sweden and its inhabitants during pagan times, will give us a clearer understanding of the subjects, although in this introduction we shall only have time to consider in a cursory way the more salient features of prehistoric Sweden.*

The story of Scandinavia is strangely fascinating. Although the remotest antiquity of the North is shrouded in impenetrable obscurity, there are traces that man has inhabited the region for almost countless ages. In Denmark and the south of Sweden, facts demonstrate that man occupied the soil when conifers, that is, pines and other cone-bearing trees, covered the land. Subsequent changes in the flora of Denmark show that this epoch must have been very remote, for the conifers were displaced in time by forests of mighty oaks, which in turn, after the lapse of ages, gave way to the beeches, now the prevailing forest trees. We possess no records of those very ancient times. Allusions in classical literature of the South are very meager and throw but little light upon the subject. Of the saga literature of the North, only five sagas cover a period as early even as the ninth century, ranging between the years 860 and 1033. So far as relates to Sweden, these sagas furnish very little material; and, besides, so much fiction is inwoven with the fact, that it is very difficult to separate one from the other. Excursions into the realm of myth and fable offer but few attractions when one is searching for facts.

* In collating the facts presented in this introduction, the translator has availed himself of the rich materials offered by Swedish writers on this subject and desires especially to express his obligations to the following works: "Svenska Folket under Hednatiden," by Dr. Hans Ol. Hildebrand, amanuensis of the Royal Academy of Sweden, and "Om Lifvet i Sverige under Hednatiden," by Dr. Oscar Montelius. It is hoped that the facts here given will render clear what might otherwise be obscure in the translated articles which follow.

In the prehistoric remains of Scandinavia, however,—and Sweden is especially rich in such remains—we find the means for penetrating the obscurity which for so many centuries has veiled the past, and with these as guides before us, like blaze-marks in a trackless forest, we can grope our way back into the centuries and discover in the darkness of the far away past the secrets it has so long and silently kept.

From these remains we learn that there was a time when the condition of man was so rude that he knew nothing whatever about metals or their uses; a time when all his weapons and the implements required in his daily life were fashioned out of stone, wood, horn or bone. Points for his arrows and lances, knives to cut his food, scrapers to prepare the skins of beasts for his clothing, or his rude skin hut, chisels, hatchets or axes to cleave and fashion wood, all were alike of stone. From the common use thus made of stone during the time of this rude and primitive civilization, the period is known as the *Stone Age*. At that time the people subsisted chiefly by hunting and fishing. The offensive weapons used were the hatchet or "celt," the axe, axe-hammer, poniard, lance, bow and arrow, and probably also the club and sling, so common among savage tribes. Arrow and lance points were always made, by preference, of flint, when obtainable, the peculiar behavior of this stone under the workman's stroke rendering it especially desirable for that purpose.

Vestiges of the most ancient population of the North are found in the so-called "kitchen-middens," or masses of culinary refuse which have recently received much attention. Fireplaces still covered with coals and ashes have been found in the midst of such *débris*, showing that the primitive inhabitants cooked their food. "Kitchen-middens" occur in Denmark and at Tierra del Fuego at the southern extremity of South America, but *not* in Sweden, as belonging to the Stone Age; all such remains found in Sweden belong to a later period. Small earthen vessels often occur among such remains, and doubtless served as cooking utensils. Amber, which was abundant along the Baltic coast and also along the coasts of Scania, was fashioned into beads to furnish ornaments, necklaces, &c., to gratify the innate vanity of this primitive race. Perforated teeth of the bear, wolf and other animals, were probably used for a similar purpose.

Special care was used in constructing tombs for the dead. The preparations attending sepulture show that the people had some idea of a future life, but not the glorious immortality of the Christian's hope; it was only the continuation and prolongation of the same material, earthly existence which had been led in the flesh. And so, when the dead were laid in these sepulchres, axes and hammers, arrows, lances, hatchets, knives, beads, and the best of whatever was needed while living, were brought by relatives or friends and laid at the side of the dead; they would be needed in the other world as they had been needed in this. Sometimes one of the little earthen vessels, already mentioned, is found among the articles, as though a pot of food had been supplied by some thoughtful attendant.

STONE AGE.

During the earlier part of the Stone Age, the implements were very roughly made, but a great change was wrought before the close of the period. The different objects were then smoothed or polished, and so beautifully shaped and finished that even now we can only look at them with admiration, and wonder that anything so beautiful could have been made at a time so remote. Excepting Denmark and North Germany, (Mecklenburg, Holstein and Hanover,) whose stone and bronze relics are almost identical with those of Scandinavia, there is probably no country which can produce a richer collection of polished specimens of the later Stone Age than Sweden.

During the Stone Age, the population of Sweden was confined mostly to the southern parts, particularly Scania. Of the 46,000 stone objects found in all Sweden, at least 35,500 belong to Scania.* Not more than about 2,500 have been found in Svealand and Norrland together.† Of the 35,500 found in Scania, about 31,200 are of flint, while farther north the proportion is reversed. In Andermania, out of 800 stone relics only 60 are of flint. At the close of the Stone Age the people were ignorant, not only of the use of metals, but also of the art of writing. There is, therefore, no existing monument of the language of the people of that time.

It is not possible to determine the exact time when the Stone Age closed, but everything indicates that it was about 3,000 years

* This estimate is up to the year 1884.

† The mainland of modern Sweden comprises three grand divisions—Gothland at the southern extremity, Svealand in the middle and Norrland at the north. These are further subdivided into "län" or provinces.

ago. There are traces of the existence of the Stone Age in nearly all parts of the world, but at different epochs in different parts. In the East it was a relic of the past while it was still flourishing at the North.

Bronze Age.

The higher and older civilization of the East gradually introduced into the North the knowledge of metals, at first only of bronze and gold. This opened a new era which is called the Bronze Age. While Prof. Nilsson † believes bronze was introduced by Phœnician colonies, and others refer it to Etruscan influence, the burden of evidence seems to show that it was the gradual expansion of Eastern civilization, for the remains found in Hungary and contiguous countries bear a very striking resemblance to those of the early Bronze Age of the Scandinavian North, which is not the case with objects found in western Europe. The Bronze Age began at the close of the Stone Age, and continued through the ten centuries preceding the Christian era, closing about the time of Christ's birth. The period is divided into two—the earlier or older Bronze Age, and the later or younger Bronze Age.

Bronze objects were mostly made by casting in a mould, either of hardened clay or hollow carved stone. Proof of this is furnished in the vases and other hollow objects which are often found in an unfinished state with the clay core still in place. Nearly all the bronze used in Scandinavia consisted of about 90 per cent. of copper and 10 per cent. of tin; as no tin mines are known in Scandinavia, and the copper mines were not yet worked, the alloy had to be imported. The art of soldering or brazing was unknown. If an object needed repairs, the crack or break was mended by riveting or pouring on molten bronze. The same kinds of tools were used during the Bronze Age as during the Stone Age, but were made of bronze instead of stone; however, as bronze was dear, and stone was cheap, many stone tools were still in use. The most common tool in use during the Bronze Age was a kind of hatchet or chisel called a "celt," from the Latin *celtis*, a chisel. These were of two kinds: one had a shaft or tang which was driven through the end of a wooden handle; the other had a socket and small eye. The curved end of the wooden handle was inserted into this socket, and a thong through the eye and over the handle

† Sven Nilsson, author of "Skandinaviska Norden's Urinvånare," (Primitive inhabitants of the Scandinavian North.)

bound the two firmly together. Of the 2,500 or more bronze objects found in Sweden, 700 are celts.

During the Bronze Age, the population was still in the south of Sweden. Of the 2,500 bronze objects found in Sweden, only 150 were found in Svealand and only two in Norrland.

Iron Age.

Following the Bronze Age is the Iron Age. Whether the knowledge of iron was introduced into Sweden by the incoming of a new population or whether it was the direct result of commercial relations, is a question. There are good reasons for the support of both theories. The Iron Age is usually reckoned from the birth of Christ until the final establishment of Christianity in Sweden—about the middle of the eleventh century. Although our present civilization may still be called the Iron Age, the period, archæologically considered as such, lasted through the first ten centuries of the Christian era. During this period, the knowledge of silver, lead, bronze alloyed with zinc, glass, ivory, the art of soldering and gilding metals, &c., was first acquired by the people of Sweden.

The immense numbers of foreign coins belonging to this period and the great dissimilarity between objects pertaining to the first part of the Iron Age and those which are referred to its close, have made a threefold division possible, viz. : the early Iron Age, from the birth of Christ to the year 450 A. D. ; the middle period, from 450 to about 700 A. D. ; the later Iron Age, or period of the vikings, from 700 A. D., to the last half of the eleventh century.

The most important innovation during this period was the introduction of the art of writing. The graphic characters employed were called *runes*. The word *rune* means a mystery or secret, possibly from the supposed mystery of communicating ideas by means of written signs. The step from such a notion to the belief in a magic power possessed by the runes was an easy one. Even the sagas refer to them as having talismanic virtues. In the Edda Brunhild teaches Sigurd this magical power in the following words :

> Thou shalt cut runes of victory if thou wilt gain the victory ; thou shalt cut them on the hilt of thy sword.
>
> Thou shalt cut others on the blade, pronouncing twice the name of Tyr.*

* Tyr (gen. Tys, acc. Ty) the Mars of northern mythology ; one of a triad of gods, of which Odin (Woden) and Thor were the other two. He was also known as the "sword god" and the rune which bears his name, corresponding with the letter T, somewhat resembled a sword in shape. His memory is preserved in the name of the third day of the week, Tuesday, as is also that of the other two in the names of the two following days.—Tr.

Thou shalt carve the runes of the tempest if thou wilt save thy vessel from the dangers of shoals.
Thou shalt cut them on the stem, thou shalt carve them on the rudder.
Thou shalt cut the runes of thought if thou wilt become wiser than others.
Odin himself invented runes.

The ancient runic series of the early Iron Age contained more characters than the series in use at the close of the Iron Age, when the number was only sixteen. Runic inscriptions were carved not only on monumental stones, often in the most elegantly interlaced scrolls, but also on different objects designed both for use and for ornament. Runic inscriptions, while recording nothing of value as history, still form the earliest monuments of Swedish literature, and the use of runes was superseded by the introduction of Gothic and Roman alphabets.

Objects belonging to the Iron Age are often most elegant and elaborate in design and even at the present day would be considered highly ornamental. Magnificent brooches and buckles of silver or bronze, the latter often ornamented with fillets and beads of silver or gold; chains and necklaces of gold, silver, and bronze; large and elegant beads of silver, glass, mosaic, rock crystal and amber; bone combs, &c. All this wealth of beauty and elegance was the handiwork and possession of those people we have been accustomed to consider only as rude and barbarous, savage vikings and fierce warriors.

The systematic division of prehistoric times into three grand periods, as above, was first proposed in the last century, but it was not reduced to a scientific system until about sixty years ago. The honor is chiefly accorded to a Swede, Sven Nilsson, the distinguished author of "Skandinaviska Nordens Urinvånare" (Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia) and the Dane, Christian Jürgensen Thomsen, founder of the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen.

With this brief explanatory introduction, we shall now consider some of the articles from the work before us.

Archæological Periods. *

At the present day when attention is more closely directed to prehistoric remains and one begins to think more seriously of their meaning, the question continually arises, to what period do they belong?

* 1872—p. 2.

It frequently happens that the people have an answer ready at hand. In the mound rests the man (king or warrior) whose exploits are recorded in history—and many a time it happens that to one and the same person a grave is assigned in more than one place; the burial field is the reminder of a battle between such and such ones, a burial place for a cloister (which is never found), &c., &c. On these explanations which have nothing for, but much against them, it is not necessary to dwell. There are others which seem more plausible, but yet are not better.

In West Gothia have been found graves in which were coal ashes and burnt human bones which by some persons well versed in the disposition of archæological periods were supposed to be graves from the Cremation Age. Another important grave, which crowned the summit of a large hill has since then been opened and in it were discovered unburnt remains, supposed by some to be of a more recent date than the Cremation Age.

It was Snorre Sturleson who, in 1200, in the preface to his Sagas of the Kings, used the expression *Cremation* and *Mound Ages*. "The earliest time," he says, "is called the Cremation Age, for then all the dead were burned and stones raised to their memory; but since Frö was buried in a mound in Upsala, many chiefs also made mounds as monuments for their kinsmen. Thus Dan the Splendid, in Denmark, for example, made mounds, and many of his kinsmen also; and thus the Mound Age began in Denmark. But with the Swedes and Northmen, the Cremation Age lasted much longer."

The expressions are very clear—a mound with unburnt remains, or burnt remains without a mound. But experience has shown many times that burnt remains also occur in mounds; indeed, I venture to assert that of the thousands of mounds found in central Sweden, most of them contain burnt remains. This indicates a certain want of accuracy in Snorre's statement. In the graves of the so-called Cremation Age just mentioned, I found pieces of bronze and iron, small fragments, but still large enough to show that the working of metals was well understood at the time the mounds were thrown up. The graves of the Mound Age which, according to the popular notion, are younger, on the contrary belong to a period when, here in Sweden, man did not possess any knowledge of metals, but was obliged to content himself with using axes made of stone instead of iron axes, which we can hardly do without; in place of steel spears—I will not mention fire-arms

—a pointed cut stone. The time when man had nothing but stone, bone or wood to work up into necessary implements, must have been very remote. Our history does not mention it, nor does the memory of our ancestors go back so far. During all time history teaches, there never was a lack of metals and therefore a necessity for using stones for tools. The Stone Age must therefore be earlier, which is confirmed by other facts—and so the grave of the Mound Age was not younger, but older than that of the Cremation Age.

Thus Snorre's system is wholly inaccurate. However, we may pause a moment before condemning him. Snorre speaks merely of the ancestors of his contemporaries, of the race of Northmen in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. He knew of no older population of the three countries. We can not attach any great importance to his classification. He does not pay due regard to facts which require an explanation. It is not difficult to ascertain what degree of culture our ancestors had, for example, at the close of pagan times, nor from the quantities of relics which our soil offers us, to recognize it as belonging to them during their shifting development. So far as we can go back, iron was known to them.

But if we spread out the relics before us, and arrange them according to mutual resemblances or differences, we shall distinguish two large groups of discoveries to which iron is entirely foreign, two civilizations which do not bear a near relation to the civilization which we must accord our forefathers. In one of these groups we find cutting tools and weapons, yet they are not made of iron but of bronze, consisting of copper and tin. In the other, we find both cutting tools and weapons, but they are of stone; and the discoveries which belong to these groups can be reckoned by thousands.

Thus, from accurate study of antiquities and attendant circumstances, the conclusion is reached that here in Sweden are found three ages which, according to the material used in the manufacture of sharp weapons and edge tools, are called the Stone, the Bronze and the Iron Ages. It is necessary to be exact in speaking of edge tools and edge weapons, for since the diffusion of a knowledge of the three ages, many a person has formed the wrong idea that all relics of bronze belong to the Bronze Age. Were this so, then we are still living in that age, for we are constantly using bronze, and yet no one would seriously dispute, perhaps, that our time is

also characterized by iron. We might just as well belong to the Stone Age, for our whetstones and our pestles are still of stone; no more appropriate material for them has been found.

Thus there was a Stone Age in Sweden, and its remains are most abundant in the southern and western portions of that country. Its principal grave collections occur in Scania and West Gothia. Beyond Tiveden and Kolmorden, no grave of the Stone Age is known with certainty, but stone relics are met with in Svealand as well as in Norrland, although by no means so common as farther south. During the Stone Age, corpses were buried unburned, often in a sitting posture. When the Stone Age began, how long it continued, when it ended,—all this cannot be answered. We know no more than that the period preceded the Bronze Age.

The Bronze Age has its principal districts also in southern Sweden, but the graves of this period extend farther north than those of the Stone Age, and its discoveries in central Sweden are much more important than those of the Stone Age. Within the Bronze Age are distinguished two periods, differing in the nature of the burial place as well as in the style of work. During the older period, corpses were buried unburned, and the relics of the time are much finer and more elegant than those of the later Bronze Age, during which the dead were cremated. When the older period passes into the younger we do not know, any more than we can name a beginning for the Bronze Age as a whole; nor have we the means for determining with certainty its closing period. Some concurrent circumstances make it probable, however, that the closing limit was at Christ's nativity.

Sometimes, among the discoveries of the older Bronze Age, stone objects are found of exactly the same sort as those of the Stone Age. This fact can be thus explained: At the beginning, the supply of bronze was not equal to the amount needed. Copper, as well as tin, had to be imported from foreign parts, and it is evident that at that time there were obstacles in the way of its regular introduction.

The Iron Age has a wider extension in Sweden than the other two ages. The finds of this period range usually from Scania to Angermania, both provinces named, included. Two periods must also be distinguished in this age, on account of the nature of the remains. The Iron Age—by this expression is usually meant only the Iron Age—may be reckoned from the time o

Christ's birth until about the year 1050, when Christianity was beginning to be established in our country. In the succession of more than ten centuries, data as to time are also furnished by foreign coins and other foreign objects which occur is our discoveries.

The older Iron Age can be dated in detail through the objects of southern origin which occur, mingled with native relics. In the first place, West Roman coins, (commonly silver,) etc., are found in the country, belonging to the first, and especially to the second century and the beginning of the third, A. D. Then come Byzantine coins, mostly of gold, etc., belonging to the fourth century. Lastly come West Roman, but still more East Roman coins from the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. The older Iron Age did not last equally long in all parts of Sweden, lasting longest in Gothia, Helsingland and Medelpad. It is not easy to determine its end in these regions, but the seventh century may be named as the possible time.

During the older Iron Age, the burning of corpses occurred as well as burying, but it cannot be said that one method is any older than the other. The relation between them is not fully explained, but it seems as though the different methods belonged to different parts of the country.

The time of the younger Iron Age is determined also by means of coin discoveries, among which may be noted the Cufic (Arabic) coins brought into Sweden by way of Russia during the ninth and tenth centuries. The younger Iron Age which appears throughout Sweden, even in Angermania, can be reasonably assigned to the Svea or Swede race.

During the younger Iron Age dead bodies were usually burned, although burial (sometimes without a mound) also occurs towards the close of pagan times, in certain isolated regions. Thus it appears that Snorre's classification has no complete correspondence here.

In consequence of the peculiar character of prehistoric remains, we must distinguish still another group of the Iron Age, which begins, it is supposed, simultaneously with the older Iron Age of the Swedish mainland, but outlives the latter and continues until its Goths became Christians. In Gothland* there is an unbroken

* Gotland or Gothland, *i. e.*, the island bearing this name. Care should be taken not to confound it with Gothland of the mainland.—Tr.

connection between the discoveries of the Iron Age, and therefore one cannot speak about an older and a younger Iron Age there, but simply about *an* Iron Age which runs parallel with and is contemporary with the older as well as the younger Iron Age of the mainland. But in Gothland, the previously mentioned periods can be clearly defined. In Gothlandish graves are found sometimes burnt, sometimes unburnt remains, but the different conditions are not referable with certainty to separate periods.

After the pagan period, came the middle period, when the civilization of Sweden kept even pace with that of the rest of Europe, although in our remote land we still preserved many of our peculiarities. Still, in general the European Middle Ages correspond with our Middle Age, and here three periods are distinguished.

The Romance Period, during which architecture is marked by rounded arches, its carved and painted works are characterized by stiffness, by severe symmetry and not infrequently by awkward clumsiness. In architecture, this period lasted until 1230–1300, closing at different times in different districts; in the plastic arts, it lasted until about 1250, perhaps a little longer.

The Transition Period and the early Gothic, whose architecture is distinguished by a mingling of rounded and pointed arches, whose carvings and paintings have exchanged stiffness and harshness for an agreeable softness, delicacy and symmetrical finish. In architecture, this period appears shortly after 1230 and seems to have continued through 1300. The transition period was of specially great importance to sculpture and painting, which arts were in their most flourishing condition about the year 1350 or a little later.

The later Gothic Period, whose architecture is characterized by the single dominant pointed arch, whose paintings and carvings have changed the rounded, quiet forms of the previous periods for others more angular, but at the same time, lighter and more animated. The flourishing season of these arts enters in during the first half of 1400 and continues to the close of the century. In Sweden, the limits of the Gothic period were determined when the reformation and the Renaissance were introduced. The handiwork of the Middle Ages bore evidence of an appreciation of art and delicacy of conception, and reflected the true style of the age.

It was thought best to present the foregoing review in the first number of the "Månadsblad" as an aid to help unfold the past to us. Systems may need altering more or less, especially when so much

care is required in defining the limits of the different periods, as shown above in giving the three periods of the Middle Ages. Until for good reasons radical changes are made, the classification given will be useful, because it throws light on the significance of these periods when mentioned in the following pages.

Stone Heaps.*

High closely piled stones, or stone heaps, occupy a very important place among our fixed remains. The use of the name *kummel* (barrow) should be avoided, because there are rune stones from the beginning of the Middle Ages which are designated in their inscriptions as *kummel;* the word would thus designate two different kinds of remains, which would be absurd. Whether the word rör (bound-stone) or röse (stone heap) be used, it is all the same; both occur in our popular speech; but while, as cited by Rietz, the word rör (bound-stone) belongs to South Sweden only, röse (stone heap,) on the other hand is used as far north as Vesterbotten and as far south as Halland. The use of the latter word seems preferable, as it has a more extended range. Stone heaps (rösen) are of many kinds, but the round ones only will be considered at the present time.

All heaps of stones are not archæological remains. In stony districts, the stones are picked up from the fields and piled in heaps; the so-called cultivation heaps (*odlingsrör*) or waste heaps in our fields, are often of entirely modern origin, but occasionally the centre of such a waste heap is an ancient grave mound.

In general ancient stone heaps which come under the head of antiquities can be distinguished from modern ones and from accidental piles of stones, by the regular form which the ancient heaps always have. They are regularly convex, circular or oval; around the base there is often a row of larger stones, a so-called *foot-chain*, which served to keep the stones of the heap from falling down. But the foot-chain is not always present, and the ancient heaps also often show very careless treatment; therefore, when examining a stone heap which at first sight appears very irregular, the conclusion should not be arrived at that it is not an ancient one.

Stone-heaps do not belong exclusively to any part of Sweden. They are the most wide-spread of our fixed antiquities; they occur in Scania and do not disappear in the district of Piteå. They do

* 1873—p. 32.

not pertain to any particular period in pagan times, but to all periods, and there are to be found heaps pertaining to the Stone Age, others belonging to the Bronze Age, and similar ones which are identified with the Iron Age.

Most of the heaps contain graves and both burnt and unburnt remains have been discovered therein. In most cases, with the remains, or among the ashes, are found objects from which may be determined the time of the burial, and thus the age of the heap. Positive information in regard to this is furnished only by the original grave, usually in the center, and for the protection of which the heap was made. It often happens that near the edge of a heap, remains are found of burials which took place some time after the heap was formed over the original grave, but the age of a heap cannot be decided except by investigating the contents of the grave. A tolerably good idea may be formed of the age by its situation, provided it is associated with other antiquities of whose age there is no doubt. If, on the contrary, the heap is isolated (they are often found solitary on mountain heights) there is of course no such clue; but even its isolated situation, far from human habitation and signs of civilization, does not prove that it belongs to any other period or civilization than that of the relics found in the vicinity.

Among antiquities must also be reckoned a number of waste heaps which lie in districts where the soil is no longer cultivated. It is not certain to what period they belong. They have everywhere attracted the attention of the country people and many legends have been told about them.

Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between a heap and a mound. The mound consists of earth, but often contains a stone heap, and besides, the earth is sometimes mixed with stones. On many a stone heap a layer of mould has been formed between the stones during the lapse of time, and on many a mound of mixed earth and stones, the mould between the stones has been washed away.

All stone-heaps, wherever they are, and however they may occur, are protected by law. Their spoliation is punished by fine. This of course does not apply to waste heaps thrown up in modern times; but, as already intimated, one must first be sure that it is a waste heap before disturbing it, and also to note carefully whether the pile of stones picked up from the field does not conceal a veritable ancient stone-heap.

The heap illustrated is at Bjrőkeby in Toresund parish, Angermania, and lies to the north of the town at the side of a raised stone, east of the road. The water which appears in the picture is Lake Mar. A little nearer the town is a triangular arrangement of stones and a circular one filled with earth; farther down the hill, a larger but damaged heap. On the west side of the road are fourteen stone-mixed barrows, one stone-heap, ten steps, one trident-shaped mound of earth, 22 paces long. It may be assumed with certainty that the heap here illustrated belongs to the Stone Age.

The figures and statements concerning antiquities at Bjőrkeby are taken from Baron Olof Hermelin's antiquarian description of Toresund parish, which is preserved among the archives of the Royal Academy at Stockholm.

CROMLECHS.*

Cromlechs are the oldest among the many monuments of heathen times in the North, sepulchers for those who, long before the birth of Christ, called Sweden their fatherland. Three or four thousand years have passed away since these sepulchers were built, and other races have taken possession of the land, often ignoring and neglecting the graves which, perhaps, contained the bones of their ancestors.

A cromlech is a sepulcher whose walls are made of large, thick stones, set on end, which reach from floor to roof, and on the inside are usually smooth, but rough on the outside. The floor of the chamber consists of sand, small stones, &c. The roof was generally formed of one or more huge blocks of stone, which were also smooth on the side facing the interior, but rough everywhere else. On the upper side of the roof stone are often found small, round, bowl-like cavities, about two inches in diameter. Such hollows do not appear on the roof of Swedish cromlechs alone. Even in other countries the same hollowing is found. The form of the chamber itself is four-sided, five-sided, oval or nearly circular.

When found in their original condition, usually isolated, these sepulchers have their roof-stones bare. Cromlechs are generally covered by a mound of stones. In Denmark they are called "langdysser,"† if this mound is oblong, and "runddysser,"‡ if it is round. Some have evidently been completely buried in a mound,

* 1873—p. 49. Stendősar, sing. stendős.
† "Long heaps." ‡ "Round heaps."

and different circumstances indicate that such a mound was thrown up just after the close of the Stone Age.

The large cromlechs are often called "gånggrifter,"* (gallery sepulchers,) because a passage-way, constructed in the same manner as the chamber, leads from the latter to the east or south. This passage-way is usually longer and narrower than the sepulcher itself and frequently not so long. The "gånggrifter," (gallery sepulchers,) are often called by the people "giants' chambers," (jättestugor.) In latter times they have been called, but not appropriately, "half-cross sepulchers."

Cromlechs, in the widest acceptation of the term, including also gallery sepulchers, occur quite numerously in southern Sweden. About 250 such sepulchers are now known in southern Sweden and most of them are found near the coast of Scania, in Falköping district in West Gothia and in Bohuslän. They are found, also, although more sparsely, in other parts of West Gothia, Halland and Öland. In Närike and in West Sudermania, also, some antiquities occur which resemble "gånggrifter." Sepulchers similar to these are wholly wanting in central and northern Sweden.

In Norway but few cromlechs have been found, but in Denmark such remains are very numerous. Cromlechs are also found in North Germany, (where they occur as far east as the mouth of the Werchsel,) in the northern provinces of Holland, in Belgium, England, Ireland, the Channel Islands, France, Spain, and Portugal. In Switzerland there are but few, except in the Jura Alps, where some are to be seen. In Savoy and Italy they are not common, but a few exist in Corsica, Gozzo and Malta; while in North Africa they are very numerous. Further they are found on the Peloponnesus, in the Crimea, on the northern coast of the Black Sea and in the Indies.

Cromlechs formerly were usually considered as druid altars, but careful investigations have proved that they were sepulchers. Those found in Scandinavia belong to the Stone Age. In France and Africa they often contain relics of metal deposited at the side of the dead body. The Khassirs, a savage tribe in the highlands of India, to this very day construct cromlechs in which they bury their dead.

The cromlech pictured after a drawing by G. Brusewitz, lies in Haga forest, Stala parish, in Orust Island, Bohuslän. The burial

* Sing. gånggrift.

chamber of four stone walls is four-sided; its length at the floor is 7 feet; breadth and height, nearly 6 feet, and the greatest length of roof stone is 10 feet. When a spot near its edge is pressed hard, the large roof stone can be made to oscillate, and, although there is only a slight motion, it is said to produce a hollow sound. A similar property is also noticed in other cromlechs.

GÅNGGRIFTER (GALLERY SEPULCHERS.)*

Gånggrifter (gallery sepulchers) have been mentioned as a variety of cromlechs. They are, nevertheless, so important that they deserve to be again mentioned.

Fig. 35 shows a gallery sepulcher (gånggrift) cleared of its earth covering so as to show its arrangement of a larger and higher chamber and a lower passage-way going out from the latter at right angles. The walls are built of large rocks or blocks selected with special care, and in the inside they are quite smooth, but the tops are very often uneven and peaked. Their mass, and consequently their weight, is such that when they are once accurately placed they are not easily removed. The chinks in these stone walls were usually filled up with pieces of stone.

The roof was made of large blocks or, if limestone happened to be near, of flat rocks and either one might be of very respectable dimensions. A gallery-sepulcher in Ranten fields, near Falköping railway station, has for a central roof stone, a limestone rock sixteen and one-half feet long and twelve feet broad. In the angles between the roof stones were laid smaller stones so that the whole was completely covered. The most remarkable thing about gallery sepulchers, in a technical point of view, is the roof stone, for the accuracy with which they are laid in their places is wonderful. They are so ponderous that the least miscalculation would have caused the down-fall of the wall-stones. A gallery sepulcher at Vetterlin, in Falköping, has three roof blocks, all very large; one of them rests on a very small surface of two opposite wall-stones, another on only four small surfaces, and the third on two opposite wall-stones and a gable stone with three surfaces. One might easily suppose that the three blocks were lifted up by giant strength and exactly laid with great care on the top of the wall-stones. Such, however, was not the case, for after the walls were set up, a solid slope of earth was probably banked on the outside, and the roof

* 1873—p. 97. Sing. gånggrift; from gång, a passageway, and grift, a grave or sepulcher.

stones moved up by the aid of heavy timbers. If the wall-stones were propped from within by timbers, to prevent them from slipping, or if, as King Frederick VII. of Denmark supposed, they were held in place by a filling of earth, clay and gravel, firmly packed, then all that was necessary to lay the roof stones in place was the mighty effort to move them and the nicety of poising them.

The chambers of "gånggrifter" are rectangular or oval, and often very large. One at Björnshall has a chamber 42 feet long and about 10 feet broad. The interior height is often great enough to allow a full-grown man to stand erect on the floor of the excavated chamber.

The passage-way may have even larger dimensions than the chamber. A "grift" or sepulcher in Bistord field, near Ranten, has a chamber 32 feet long and 8 feet broad with a passage-way 33 feet long and 4½ feet broad, by inner measurements. The entrance to the latter is furnished sometimes with a threshold and two side stones capped with a boulder.

To protect the one buried in the sepulcher, the latter was surrounded with a mound of earth which sometimes is so well preserved that even the roof blocks are completely hidden beneath the sod. More commonly, however, the roof stones are visible, at least those of the chamber, and one or more of those covering the passage-way. Many of these sepulchers are found denuded of their covering of earth, and if the roof-stones are missing, the inner filling of earth has also disappeared to a greater or less degree.

At the outer edge of the tumulus is often found a foot row of small boulders which are nearly always overgrown with grass. "Gånggrifter" do not have such large foot rows as are found encircling cromlechs without passage-ways.

Grave Mounds. *

Next to stone-heaps, mounds or barrows are the most common of our fixed antiquities. They are all of about equal size, while stone-heaps are longer at the north and generally longer towards mountain or forest tracts. Mounds represent all periods of pagan times. They may contain remains of the dead from the Stone Age as well as from the Bronze or Iron Ages. They may contain burnt or unburnt remains. The body or the mass of burnt bones, whether placed in a receptacle or not, was usually protected by

* 1873—p. 60.

stones, flat rocks or boulders, set around and over. These latter often formed quite a stone heap around the place of sepulture. The mound of earth is so frequently found mixed with stones that it is often difficult to say whether it is a mound or a stone-heap.

In those parts of the country more especially representing the Stone and Bronze Ages, noticeable mounds are often seen lying isolated or in sparse groups, in field or on rising ground. Groups of small low mounds, lying close together, are also seen and, on careful investigation, are found to belong to the Bronze Age. If we except Scania and the southern part of Halland, where graves of the Iron Age are comparatively rare, it may be said that in almost every borough of the Sweden of pagan times lies a cluster of graves of the Iron Age, the greater part of them being mounds. Such a cluster generally lies on a hill or upland and usually is so disposed that the largest mounds occupy the top of the hill, the smaller ones, the side.

Sometimes there have been more recent burials in the outer parts of the mound, and it is difficult to determine what the relationship was between the persons thus buried and the original possessor of the grave, whether they were his relatives, his servants, his captive enemies, or others in no way related to him.

Standing Stones. *

Standing stones or monoliths are another form of permanent remains in Sweden.

Like stone-heaps and mounds, standing stones occur over nearly the whole country, and like stone-heaps and mounds, they belong to widely separated periods. An examination of the stone-heap or mound will generally furnish information concerning the time to which its remains belong; but this is by no means the case with standing stones. It is true a grave is sometimes found at the foot of the stone, and in cases like this the question of time can be easily settled; but oftener the stones appear to have been set up, not as a monument to mark the grave, but as a memorial of some unknown person or event.

From the relics found near the standing stones, however, the age of the latter can generally be determined. By this means the conclusion is reached that many of the clusters of standing stones in Scania belong to the Bronze Age, and that the greater part at least of the standing stones in the Mäler province belong to the

*1873—p.83. Resastenar.

Iron Age. To this age can be referred the two stones illustrated in the drawing by Baron Hermelin, which stand in Sundby inclosure in Toresund parish, sixty-five paces from the strand of Vaxängs bay on whose opposite side begins the gravel ridge which runs north north-west across Sela Island. One stone is 7 feet 4 inches high: the other, 6 feet 3 inches. In the immediate vicinity are one three-cornered grave, three stone-heaps and one mound.

These standing stones are undressed and set up with a rough face. The ancients, however, selected their stones with great care; it is also evident that many times they split apart larger blocks in order to get stones of the form they wished. All standing stones are, of course, not so large as those here illustrated; there are many only about two feet high, or even less. Others are found much larger than those already described. The so called *slummer stone*, or King Götrik's stone, south of Gödesta bridge was 19½ feet high with a middle breadth of four and one-half feet. In 1865 it fell to the ground and was broken in two pieces.

Standing stones are found which are not isolated, but form part of other remains, as border or side stones. Such a one appears in the center of the mound illustrated.

A people capable of writing, accustomed to raising monumental stones, would naturally hit upon the idea of making the mute stones speak by cutting an inscription on them. Rune stones might therefore be considered a particular variety of standing stones. For very obvious reasons, runes were cut on stones with a broad and flat surface; but rune stones are also found which are high and nearly as broad as thick; also standing stones which are very broad. The latter occur frequently in those districts where lamellar stones were easy to obtain, for instance in Öland.

Stone Circles.*

Mounds have foot-chains as we have seen. It frequently happens that the earth filling of the mound has been taken away, while the stone circle around its base remains. But many a stone circle has never inclosed any mound, and the ground within it is flat, either on a level with the surrounding field, or even higher than the latter and level with the tops of the stones in the circle. Such stone circles are quite common and belong to the Iron Age. Sometimes the ground within the circle is strewn with stones.

* 1873.—p. 145.

The stone circle illustrated is in Odensicke fields in Yttersela parish. "Northeast of the field," Baron O. Hermelin, in his report, says "there are thirty graves, mostly low stone circles, one three-cornered stone setting and one stone-heap; farther north, in an inclosure, one larger stone setting with sides twelve paces long, fifty-five graves, most of them stone-bounded low mounds, one stone circle with filling of small stones; still farther north in the same inclosure, one stone circle nearly level inside and eleven feet in diameter—the one illustrated—a second one, similar, twelve feet in diameter, an earth-mixed stone heap, a small flat heap and a small mound."

How were Stone Implements Made.*

Prof. Nilsson demonstrated several years ago that flint could be easily fashioned by means of stone, and pointed out certain stones which he supposed had been used for such a purpose. Corroborative evidence has not been wanting. Several years ago an Englishman came upon an Indian tribe in California which still used stone implements. The Englishman knew all about objects of the Stone Age found in Europe, and believed they were made with tools of hardened copper. He soon fell in with the arrow-point maker of the tribe, and begged to see proof of his skill. The Indian sat down, laid a flat stone on his knee, took a piece of obsidian in one hand and a piece of agate in the other. With one stroke of the agate, he split the piece of obsidian, and one stroke against the surface of the fracture separated a scale one-quarter inch in thickness. This he took between his thumb and forefinger, held it against the stone on his knee, and gave blow after blow with the agate which each time took off a little chip. By degrees the piece of obsidian assumed a definite shape. The man first finished the lower part and then continued his work with careful strokes. After somewhat more than an hour, he had completed an arrow point which was fully an inch long. The Englishman then gave him a broken bottle and asked him to make an arrow point of glass. Two attempts were unsuccessful, but the third time he really made an arrow point, and apologized for the two unsuccessful attempts by saying he had never worked glass before and did not know the nature of it. Fig. 6 is the drawing of a flint arrow-point found in Sweden. In Sweden obsidian was not used, but similarly faced flint blocks have been found, and masses of flint chips. Fig. 7

* 1872.

shows a piece of flint whose cleanly faced surface indicates that many chips were taken off. Fig. 8 shows a separated chip. Fig. 9 shows an arrow point with serrated edges, formed from such a chip. Flint blocks, flint splinters, and flint chips are the necessary result of the working of flint, and occur during all periods of the Stone Age which were characterized by the use of flint. They cannot be used, therefore, to indicate any pacticular period of the Stone Age. Flint is worked in England and France to this day. In England, the most celebrated flint works are at Brandon, in county Suffolk. As gold and diamonds are sought for elsewhere by mining, so here one digs for flints which occur in the earth under the form of large, smooth nodules. The first thing to do is to split the nodule into pieces. Each of these pieces is then worked down with a small hammer. Now the workman is ready to begin chipping, for which two hammers of different sizes are used, broadest in the middle and tapering towards the four-sided, narrow ends. Supporting the piece of flint against his left knee, he aims a blow at an angle of 45 degrees against the upper edge of the flint and separates a chip the whole length of the piece. A skillful workman with materials of the best sort can split off nine thousand chips a day; the common result of a day's work, however, is seven thousand. Gun flints are of twenty-three different kinds, and are shipped to Brazil and other parts of America, to South Africa, New Zealand and Spain. Fire flints are of two kinds. They are exported to the East and to Brazil, and are also used in Europe, *e. g.*, in the Tyrol. The English flint workers of the present day use iron and steel hammers, but stones can also be used with the same results, and men of the Stone Age were accustomed to the latter. Sometimes they prepared special hammering stones with half-round depressions in which the finger tips rested when the stone was used.

The fashioning of certain implements required great skill. It was not only necessary to take off splinters or chips from a block, but it was also necessary to remove any unevenness from the surface or to give a requisite thinness to an already completed implement, which was done by light blows on the edge. This final operation is seen on knife blades and spear and arrow points. A poniard from Scania furnishes proof of such work.

A large number of flint implements were subjected to another operation, viz., polishing. On knives and daggers, spear and arrow points, the edge was left uneven. The edge on axes and chisels, on the other hand, was smoothed and sharpened; indeed the whole

tool, or at least the greater part of it, was generally polished, so that the surface was even and smooth. Sometimes it happened that a tool just polished and thus finished was injured; for example, an edge was damaged. It was necessary then to chip off a new edge which, in its turn, had to undergo the polishing process. In collections are frequently seen such unfinished tools which were never polished on the newly cut part.

Polishing tools were made of stone. Large rocks or blocks, not easily moved, were used, which by their smooth, often hollowed surface on one or both sides, show for what purpose they were used. Wherever such large polishing stones are found, one may safely infer that stone implements were manufactured, or at least polished there. Sometimes flint splinters or chips are found near such polishing stones which bear unequivocal testimony to the manufacture of stone implements at that place. It is possible that in the operation of polishing, attrition was hastened by the use of sand. But smaller and easily handled polishing stones were also used. Sometimes they were flat and four-cornered, but they were oftener nearly cylindrical at the start, although by constant use they became smaller in the middle and many-sided; only towards the ends have they retained the original thickness. These stones sometimes have the appearance of a large and clumsy petrified thigh bone. One of these many-faced polishing stones is here illustrated.

The materials oftenest used on polishing stones were quartz and quartzose rock.

Small portable stones, generally of slate, belonging to the Stone Age, are also found, which were used for sharpening rather than polishing, (probably suspended from the girdle and used to sharpen bone needles or other pointed instruments.)

Until now we have had under consideration the manufacture of flint implements. During the Stone Age, however, other kinds of stones were used, although in Sweden, except in the most northern parts of the country, none of them gave such character to the civilization of the time as flint.

Wherever flint was wanting or was not found in requisite quantity, use was made of stones of igneous or volcanic origin, diorite, trapp, &c., which could be easily worked, although they did not have the brittleness of flint, and therefore could not be treated in the same way. An axe is shown, the greater part of which is polished, while

the upper part bears unmistakable evidence of having been picked; as this part would be inserted into the handle, the unevenness of the hacked surface would be of practical advantage.

Implements of slate also occur, although very seldom. A slate lance is shown of the kind met with, especially in northern Sweden. Slate implements were probably made by sawing, and afterwards polishing. Concerning this sawing, it may be added that the English antiquary, John Evans, made many experiments in stone sawing and arrived at the same result as did the Switzers, Keller and Troyon, viz.: That a hard stone may be cut through with a flint chip, either alone or used with sand.

During the Stone Age, axes were used which, like those of our day, were furnished with a hole into which the handle was fastened. To make such an axe, some of the kinds of stone last named had to be chosen; it was not possible to bore flint on account of its hardness and brittleness, but even the boring of other stones offered no inconsiderable difficulty. Different methods have been tried to explain how the ancients drilled stone, and by what simple means even a hard stone may be bored through. This explanation does not rest upon any superficial notion, but partly on experience of still living customs of a few civilized peoples, partly on successful experiments made by modern investigators.

A diorite axe is shown which has been bored, although the bore does not extend through it, also a cross section of the axe through the hole, or rather holes, for we see that the boring was started from both sides.

It only remains now to devote our attention to the handsomest objects which were manufactured during the Stone Age out of other stones than flint, the so-called axe-hammers, which usually have one end cut square off or rounded, the other worked out to a rather short edge, making the axe-hammer useless as a tool. As a weapon it could, on the contrary, be used to advantage.

Two illustrations show an elegant axe-hammer found in Vittsjö parish, West Göinge province, Scania, and presented to the State collections by the Swedish envoy at Copenhagen, Baron Beck-Früs. The edge of the hole on the underside of the weapon is surrounded by a raised rim. The upper end has the form of a flattened round button. The upper and under sides meet in a sharp edge. Doubt has often been expressed as to whether an object so well executed could belong to the Stone Age.

We thus see that the Stone Age, of which these discoveries speak so unequivocally, certainly existed. A people who used in their work no other tools than stones and sand, bones or horn and wood, could fashion stone for use more than well. We also learn from it that what seems great and difficult can be overcome by simple means, if only they be rightly employed. Above all we learn that we should not be too hasty to decide, from the present standpoint of human progress, what during an earlier civilization was or was not practicable.

THOR'S HAMMER.*

The old Norse sagas and songs show what deep reverence our pagan ancestors had for Odin. We have evidence also that Frö was the chief god of the Swedes. But notwithstanding this, there is a god whose remembrance is more lasting than that of both of these, and that one is Thor. His name still survives in surnames of persons and his memory is preserved in the names of many places. He was a god of thunder, and to this day we unconsciously preserve his memory in the two words with which we designate the imposing natural phenomena of thunder "tordönet" (thunder) Thor's din or noise, and "åskan" (thunder) originally "ås-ekjan," Åsen's or the god's journey.†

Thor was not a Scandinavian god merely, but he belonged to the whole Germanic territory. His Old Norse appellation "Thorr," presupposes an older form *Thonr*, and this we find again in the Anglo-Saxon *Thunor*, Old-Saxon *Thunar*, Old High German *Donar*. But we meet with Thor again under another name in a more remote region. Our kindred stock, the Hindoos, knew no god by the name of Thor, but they did worship a divinity, *Indra*, which had all the attributes of our Thor. Both were responsible for thunder and lightning. Thor was red-bearded and strong; Indra's beard golden and his strength mighty. Thor never rode on horseback, but always drove in his chariot. Indra also traveled in a chariot when engaged in strife. Thor was a mighty champion and his warfare was usually waged against the East. The Hindoos mentioned Indra's combats in the East. Thor had for a weapon, a hammer; Indra, the same. Thor's hammer was forged by the swarthy elf, Sindre; Indra's, by beings who in Indian mythology correspond with our elves. The stone implements, axes, chisels,

*1872—p. 49.

†This applies with equal force to our English word "thunder."—Tr.

hammers, &c., which are frequently found on Swedish soil have been considered as Thor's hammers, thunder-stones, thunder-bolts, &c., a notion which we find universally prevalent. A supernatural Power was therefore attributed to these stones. They were considered able, for example, to restore a plentiful flow of milk, if rubbed on the udder of a cow whose milk had dried up. According to the belief of the Hindoos, Indra's hammer had the same effect when it came in contact with a cow's udder, but among the Hindoos this did not remain a meaningless ceremony, for in their figurative speech they understood by the milk-giving cow, the clouds from which rain fell when the thunder rolled. Like Thor, Indra was not merely a god of Nature. In the fire from heaven, which was produced by no human agency, there was something purifying and holy, and therefore a sacred significance was ascribed to the two gods. Both consecrated marriage and both received the dead into their keeping.

Thor's hammer was called Mjölne (or Mjälne, Icelandic, Mjölnir.) The popular belief still prevailing, supposes that Thor's hammer was of stone and there are early traces of such a notion; but, on the other hand, the hammer was also thought to be of metal—copper, rarely of iron, and this might have been the common way of representing it during pagan times in the North. So much importance was afterwards attached to it that the hammer was forged. Thor's iron hammer is thought to have been in appearance like the iron hammer in daily use, and of which one from pagan times, found in Sweden, is illustrated (Fig. 23,) or like a commen sledge, larger than a common hammer and of uniform thickness.

In consequence of Thor's sacred regard for human life, in which the hammer played an important part—for with the hammer the bride was married and with it was consecrated the pyre on which the dead body was burned—it is very reasonable that Thor's hammer should have acquired a universally received symbolical meaning.

It has been thought, but it is a wrong idea, that the symbol of Thor's hammer is the hooked cross. Among others, State-Counsellor Müller, of Copenhagen, contends against this interpretation, and he has shown that the hooked cross must designate a divinity whose power permeates the world and sets it in motion—something more appropriate to Odin—and that we see Thor's hammer symbol rather in the sign T. In North Germany, this sign is still drawn for protection on house and dwelling, not four-armed, like the

hooked cross, but three-armed, as a hammer appears with its handle projecting from the middle. The sign of the hammer was not only placed as a protecting mark on house, dwelling, &c., but was worn as a charm, as one at the present day wears a cross on the bosom: at least discoveries often show pendant ornaments in more or less manifest hammer form, for which it is difficult to find a more reasonable explanation than the symbolico-religious. The principal forms which occur in the State Historical Museum are the following:

1. A silver sledge, hanging in a ring, found in 1770 in Täby parish, Roslagen (Inv. 131.)*

2. A silver hammer with a handle which widens towards the hammer itself. This ornament, which hangs in a silver chain, was found in the year 1870 in the fields at No. 6 Pålstorp in Raus parish, Northwest Scania, together with fragments of other silver ornaments, seven whole and 28 broken Cufic silver coins belonging to the years 899–916, Carolingian base coins, and a damaged and worn-out German imperial coin, (Inv. 4313.) The find can be considered as belonging to the tenth century.

3. A silver hammer, which departs considerably from the original design. No dividing line is found between the handle and the hammer proper, where the whole thing becomes thinner. The three-pointed triangles stamped in with a punch, occur very often on ornaments of the later pagan times. The original was found in 1729 in Scania with Anglo-Saxon and German coins and broken silver jewels. Another hammer ornament like this, but smaller, was found also in Scania (Assarstorp, Gärdslöf parish, Vemmenhögs district) together with Anglo-Saxon coins of King Ethelred (reigned first time 978–1013, second time 1014–1016.)

4. A silver hammer which is still farther removed from the original form. Two such were found at Slottsmöllan, near Halmstad, with Cufic coins.

5. A particularly well decorated hammer ornament of silver, hanging on a chain of the same metal. The ornaments, fillets and beads of silver, are applied. They show that the spiral in no wise occurs exclusively on objects of the Bronze Age. The original was found on Öland in the fields of Bredsätra, in the parish of the same name.

* Inv.-Inventorium, referring to the No. as catalogued in the Museum.—Tr.

We see by these hammer ornaments, what cunningly wrought works were found in Sweden at the time when Christianity was struggling with paganism for the mastery over the minds of our forefathers.

Bracteats of the Middle Ages.*

Bracteats can certainly be reckoned among the most peculiar objects of the Middle Ages. Fancy, if you please, coins which sometimes had the size of a specie rix-dollar but the thickness of letter paper. When bracteats were first brought to notice, (and they are frequently found in the soil,) it was some time before they could be satisfactorily explained. By some they were superstitiously considered to be miraculous, and supposed to be related to the powers of darkness, dealing with the affairs of human life. Others took them to be medals, struck to commemorate celebrated persons or events: but numberless bracteats do not give any name for the person whose image appears on them, and numberless others have no representation whatever to which an explanation would apply; at times bracteats are so roughly made that they cannot be considered as memorials. The explanation is at last given that they were coins, and that this explanation is the right one is shown by this fact, that many bracteats are designated by the legend on them as *nummus*, *moneta*, *denarius*, (money, penny.) It is, however, very excusable that this idea was not received at first, for more useless coins can hardly be conceived of. Bracteats are found having a diameter of 4.7 c. m.; the majority are, of course, smaller, but all are extremely thin, some so pliant that they may be doubled up, others so brittle that with careless handling they fly to pieces. Such money could not be carried in a purse or portemonnaie, for in such a receptacle they would soon be cracked or broken in pieces. In order to carry them, they were laid in piles so that each piece fitted closely over the one under it, and to hold such a pile together a string was tied around it, or they were laid in a closely-fitting box made expressly for them.

At any rate, bracteats were very convenient to have; if one needed change, it was the easiest thing possible to cut a bracteat in two once or twice; many such halved or quartered bracteats occur among finds of relics. Towards the close of the bracteat period, in certain minting places the image on the face was duplicated and

* 1880—p. 1.

a vertical line struck between the two similar representations. If the coin was cut at this line, one could plainly see the image of the coin on each half and thus be assured of its validity.

The word *bracteat* comes from the Latin word *bractea*, thin plates of silver or gold, and by bracteats are understood thin coins stamped only on one side. With very few exceptions, bracteats of the Middle Ages are of silver.*

Bracteats were coined for a long time, but only that period in the numismatic history of certain countries is called the bracteat period, when the chief coin, the so-called penny, was a bracteat. Outside of this time occurs also the period when bracteats were struck, not as the chief coinage, but for small change to be used in connection with two-sided coins. There is some dissimilarity between the bracteats of the two periods. Bracteats of the bracteat period proper are usually larger and the relief on the reverse corresponds exactly with the sunken image on the obverse. After the bracteat period the bracteats are generally smaller, and the impression does not appear so sharp on the obverse—not to mention other differences.

In the terminology of northern antiquarian research appears the appellation "gold bracteats," and by it is to be understood round plaques of gold on the reverse of which, by stamping, punching or overlaying, are various applied ornaments. These objects have no other resemblance to bracteats of the Middle Ages than that they show a device on one side only, and that this is produced in a way which bears a real resemblance to coinage; they are not so thin as the derivation from the word *bractea* implies, and the name is therefore very improperly applied to them. It is now, however, so generally employed that it would be unwise to change it; we should only bear in mind that these "gold bracteats" of our pagan times have not the slightest relation to bracteats of the Middle Ages.

Bracteats of the Middle Ages, from the proper bracteat period, are peculiar to a part of Germany and neighboring countries eastward, (Hungary, Poland, Bohemia,) and northward, (Denmark, Sweden and Norway.) The German cities where bracteats were

* Many gold bracteats from the German Middle Ages have been noticed, but part of them are spurious, made in modern times, and the remainder have had no circulation as money, but are to be considered as medals, struck for some anniversary, often with the same dies which were used for the common coinage of silver bracteats.

first coined are Erfurt, Saalfeld, Eisenach, Mühlhausen, Nordhausen and Goslar, all situated in Thuringia and about the Harz. During three-fourths of 1100, all of 1200 and the beginning of 1300, bracteats were, with very few exceptions, the only coins in north and north-east Germany. At the north-west we have Hesse as the extreme limit of the bracteat region; no bracteats were coined in the cities of the lower or middle Rhine, none in Franconia or Bavaria proper. On the other hand, a genuine bracteat group appears in Suabia, (western part of the kingdom of Bavaria, Wurtemburg and South Baden,) and in the German parts of Switzerland. In this region, whose types are clearly distinguished from those of North Germany, the bracteat period extended until the middle of the fifteenth century.

So sharp were the boundaries of the German bracteat region, so decided the taste for or against bracteats on both sides of the boundary, that the Mayence archbishops, for example, who in their see city coined regularly two-sided denarii, in their two Thuringian minting cities, Erfurt and Heiligenstadt, on the contrary, excluded bracteats altogether from the coinage.

The center of a bracteat bears a symbolical representation or sometimes a substitute of such a simple character—a letter, for example—that one can not speak of it as a device. Outside of this round center is a rim which during the oldest periods was narrow, afterwards broad. The oldest bracteats are quite flat, although their figures are in relief; the later bracteats have the ground surface itself raised, so that sometimes they have the appearance of an upturned bowl. The largest coins were the lightest as well as the thinnest. Such large and thin coins were struck off, not only for the Emperor Henry himself and his successor Lothair (1125–1137) but also for contemporary coiners in the Goslar district, for example the Archbishops of Magdeburg the Bishops of Naumburg, Merseburg, and Hildesheim, the cloisters of Quedlinburg and Nienburg. The coins were so thin that the stamp of one side appeared through on the other side to the confusion of the latter. These large and thin two-sided coins were called "half-bracteats."

In order to understand how such impracticable money as bracteats could be made we must consider the methods of coinage, for which all modern appliances were wanting.

Ingots of silver were reduced to thin plates by hammering; these were afterwards cut in pieces, the size corresponding with that

of the proposed coin. . Two dies of copper or steel were engraved: one ended in a projecting point fastened in an anvil, the other was cylindrical; such a one is preserved in the State Historical Museum. The disc was laid onto the fixed die, on the disc was placed the engraved end of the free die, which the workman grasped with his left hand; with his right hand he wielded the hammer, which struck the upper end of the die. The one illustrated shows traces of diligent work. It is easy to understand how differences in coinage arose under such a system.

Germany during the twelfth century was split up into many small provinces ruled by temporal and spiritual masters. Every province, every place where commerce was carried on to any extent, had its mint. During the bracteat period the money of the whole country was recoined at intervals, at the commencement, perhaps, of every tenth or eighteenth year, then oftener; in many places, every year. On a given day all coins in circulation were delivered over to the master of the mint, melted up and recoined, and those who turned in old coin received a corresponding quantity of new (distinguished by a special mark so that mistakes would be impossible) with a discount, however, of a certain percentage which by degrees was increased from two to twelve per cent. The new kind of money, the only legal medium of exchange, was known in the trade of the time as *nova moneta.* If, after the recoinage any one had old coin still in posssesion, he was punished and the old coin confiscated or cut up. During the bracteat period, frequent recoinage was necessary; the coins were so thin they could not remain long in circulation.

The century during which bracteat coinage was commenced (1100) shows in the province of art a specially rich development, and this is manifested in the execution of bracteat dies. Some of the coins were very well struck with high relief and sharp lines, but the devices were extremely simple. Between the denarii of the Othos and the bracteats of the times of Frederick Barbarossa, the difference was very great. The oldest bracteats now known belonged to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Their best period was at the close of the twelfth century. The style was elegant, although not free from the stiffness which belongs to the Middle Ages. During the thirteenth century they became almost unnoticeable, even rude and with rapid advances larger. The legend con-

cil
versary, oftef letters often arranged without regard to order.
silver bracteats.

During the fourteenth century they ceased everywhere in North Germany to be the chief coins. They were succeeded by thicker two-sided coins which were called *grossi*, that is, thick, from which the modern name *groschen* is derived.

Even Sweden had its bracteat period over which much darkness, still rests. Olof Skötkonung and his son Anund Jacob coined common two sided thick coins. At the middle of the fourteenth century two-sided coins were again struck, although very small. Between the two periods indicated by these two coin groups, falls our bracteat period. Bracteats were unknown among us until after they had been some time in use in Germany. Swedish bracteats were never so large as many of the German ones. Their size was variable and we can divide them into two groups, one with large, the other with smaller bracteats.

King John Sverkersson's Coins.*

The numismatical history of Sweden during the Middle Ages is very incomplete. Older investigators have attempted to exhibit a complete series of coins from this period, but it has been, in most cases, nothing more than guess work and diversion. Brenner and Berch, whose great work in Swedish numismatics could never be understood, commenced the series too early, one with Olof Trätälja, the other with Ottar Vendrilkradi. The learned and ingenious Keder believed he had even found on a gold coin a symbol referring to Odin, although he did not venture to assume that it was coined in Sweden. No one who has critically studied the early history of our fatherland, and has any acquaintance with the Middle Age coins of other countries, will maintain that in our country native money is found before the establishment of Christianity during the reign of Olof Skötkonung. Our history of coins begins then with the king who received not only missionaries but also mint masters from England. But during the long period between Olof Skötkonung's son Anund Jacob, and King Albert, from the middle of the eleventh century until 1363, there are only a few definite points around which may be grouped with any probability, still less with certainty, the many nameless coins and bracteats which have been preserved until our day.

Such a starting point is offered by King John Sverkersson's coins, of such great importance, as there is but one king of the name of John in our history during the Middle Ages.

* 1875—p. 181.

To this king, who reigned 1216–1222, Brenner and Berch, in their well known works, ascribe three coins, among which the first has on one side an I in the midst of three crowns, and on the other a lion rampant. The other two are bracteats bearing the name *Johannes* around a dragon's or eagle's head on one, and on the other around a crown or something similar. Recent and more critical numismatists have expressed doubt as to whether these bracteats are not spurious pieces made at a later time in order to deceive coin collectors. Their genuineness, however, has been established by a find made while ploughing up a drained marsh at Jungkullen in Dimbo parish, Vartofta province, West Gothia, and deposited in the Royal Numismatic Cabinet. In this find appear not only both of the bracteats described by Brenner and Berch, but also seven others of the same sort, but of different types. All except one have the name *Johannes* completely exposed with the addition of the word *Rex* on two of them, and all are provided with a beading around the margin. It is a great pleasure to be permitted to record these bracteats in the numismatic history of Sweden.

In regard to size, workmanship and quality of the silver, these bracteats are so much alike that they appear to have been issued simultaneously from the same mint. That they are Swedish there is every reason for believing, not merely because they were found together on Swedish soil, but also because the introduction of foreign coins in any quantity into our land had ceased before the coinage of bracteats of this kind had commenced in Europe. There is no foreign king of the time, by the name of John, to whom these bracteats could be referred, except the English king, John Lackland (died 1216); but the coins which were struck at this time in England have not the slightest resemblance to the bracteats in question. Since there can be no doubt that these bracteats are Swedish, as was stated at the outset, there can be no doubt in referring them to King John Sverkersson.

Runic Inscriptions on the Marble Lion from Piræus.*

At the entrance to the arsenal in Venice is a lion, 10 feet high, of Pentelic marble. It was brought to Venice by Francesco Morosini. It formerly stood near the Piræus, which, on this account, received the name "Porto Leone."

*1875—p. 97.

Towards the close of the last century, a Swede, Johan David Åkerblad, who was visiting in Venice, discovered on the sides of the lion two long, partly obliterated runic inscriptions cut in worm-like scrolls. Through his drawings these scrolls and runes were first made known. Since then they have often been figured and described. Many who are versed in the knowledge of runes have been able to read single characters and here and there a word. The zealous Danish investigator, C. C. Rafn, of Copenhagen, published in 1856 as the first part of "Antiquités de l'Orient," a special work on the lion and its inscriptions, in which he undertook to give a full interpretation of both inscriptions, after new drawings as well as photographs and plaster casts. He translated the inscription on the left side as follows: "Håken in union with Ulf and Åsmund and Örn took this harbor; these men and Harald the Great imposed heavy fines on the inhabitants of this land, in consequence of the uprising of the Greeks; Dalk of necessity stopped in a foreign land; Egil took up the march with Ragnar to Roumania and Armenia." The inscription on the right side is, in substance, as follows: "Asmund carved these runes in company with Åsgeir and Thorleif, Thord and Ivar, by order of Harald the Great, although the Greeks interfered . . . (and forbade it)." Harald the Great might have been St. Olof's half brother, Harald Sigurdsson, who was afterwards King of Norway, and Ulf might have been the Icelandic Ulf Ospaksson. The inscription was probably cut in the year 1040.

All who are conversant with the subject agree that this interpretation is fanciful and not based on facts; but Rafn's publication has still some value for the many explanations collected in it, and, in point of time, as we shall see, he is perhaps tolerably correct. I have neither seen the lion itself nor the plaster casts in Copenhagen, but only part of the drawings. Judging from these, the inscriptions are certainly runic, but they are so worn that they can not be wholly deciphered; still, it appears that one or two words have been read correctly. How many more might be read I am not prepared to say.

The worm-like scroll on the left side is comparatively simple, while the scroll on the right side is ingeniously carved and interlaced. Scrolls of this last sort, inclosing a runic inscription, were not used in Iceland, Norway or Denmark, neither in the south of Sweden nor in Gothland. Öland has a few rune stones with interlaced

scrolls, but no one of them is exactly like the one under consideration. The complete counterpart to the worm-like scroll on the right side of the lion, is found only in Svealand, especially in the districts around Mälar, oftenest in Upland. The scroll carved on the right side of the Piræan lion, belongs with those which occur on rune stones of the later group in Svealand.

The scrolls and runes on the Piræan lion were carved, as I suppose, about the middle of the eleventh century, or a little later, by a man from Svealand, most likely from Upland.

(NOTE.—This subject is taken up again in 1884. Dr. Ingoald Undset, of Christiania, was sent to Venice in 1883, to investigate the inscriptions on the lion, and in October and November of that year he made a thorough examination and detailed drawings. His preliminary report does not give the results of his work.) —*Translator.*

THE DISCOVERIES AT DUNE.*

Among the nine silver vessels which appear in the Dune find, the one here illustrated (Fig. 15) holds its own. Its form and decoration leave no room for doubt that we have before us a production of Oriental art work. The bowl, as the figure shows, is cup-shape with a low base. A ring serves as handle and resting on it at right angles with the bowl, is a flat piece decorated with a foliate ornament, illustrated by itself in Fig. 16.

The shape of the cup cannot be said to resemble that which characterizes cups of the Middle Ages. A common Western form had the side less straight, the contour of the bowl curved symmetrically from the rim to the base. Of still more striking resemblance is the handle. A similar handle with straight overpiece appears on an earthern vessel found in one of the many subterranean tombs at Hemse, Gothland. The burial ground belongs probably to the last period of pagan times, or to the first period after Christianity was established. In foreign collections there is abundant opportunity to see Oriental vessels with the same kind of handles. In the ornamentation, even, we find evidence of the Oriental origin of the cup. Along the top and bottom runs a leafy vine, as a border. This motive has certainly a very wide application and plays an important role in the ornamental art of the West. Among the many variations of this motive are found, however, such differences, that they may be arranged in dissimilar groups. The group to which the variety here illustrated belongs, is indisputably Oriental. Its distinguishing feature is angularity in the curves of the vine and in

* 1882.—p. 86.

the projecting piece. Even the ornamental band which runs around the cup is of Oriental type; the winged lion, the animals arranged around the tree of life, (*hom*, Heb.) This motive appears on Assyrian monuments and went thence into the stock of decorative motives in Persian and Arabian art.

Concerning the object itself, it remains to be said that the bowl is cast, the pattern is raised up from the inside, but the marks on the upper inner surface are polished off. The grounding of the ornamental band is made of fine circles, beaten close to one another. The ring and upper part of the handle are cast in one piece and soldered to the bowl, as is also the ring at the base, which serves as a foot. The whole thing, inside and outside, is gilded.

Although, in what precedes, I have spoken of Oriental work, Oriental styles, &c., it is not my purpose to maintain that this vessel was necessarily brought to Gothland from the East. The discoveries of Arabian coins, which occur in such large quantities in Sweden, especially in Gothland, bear witness to relations with the East, but this vessel certainly belongs to more recent times. During the Middle Ages, Oriental tastes prevailed in one European country, Spain, under the domination of the Moors and Saracens. This vessel may have come thence, and it would be much more to the point in this case to favor a Hispano-Moresque origin, as all the coins in the Dune find bear Arabic inscriptions and all were struck in Spain except one, which was issued from a mint on the western coast of North Africa. The vessel probably came to Gothland in company with the coins.

After the vessel came into the possession of a northern owner, he amused himself by scratching different things on the bottom, both inside and outside, which in themselves are of special interest. On the bottom appears the five-pointed figure whose mystical significance in warding off evil is everywhere known; it is, however, so carelessly drawn that it could hardly have been in fit condition to accomplish such an end. On the inside, at the bottom, another owner has also engraved something mystical, namely, the Sator-Arepo charm, in runes, which is here given in ordinary letters:

S A T O R
A R E P O
T E N E T
O P E R A
R O T A S

The lines, whether read in the usual way, or backwards, up or down, give the same formula.

This formula is very ancient. According to C. W. King, it has been found scratched on the stucco on the remains of a Roman building discovered at Cirencester, England. According to Aus'm Weerth, it was found inserted in the mosaic pavement in the church at Pieve Terzagni, in the neighborhood of Cremona, which mosaic pavement probably belonged to the close of the eleventh century. According to P. Meyer, it occurs on the margin of an English MS. of the thirteenth century. The formula appears in handwriting on a MS. of the fifteenth century in Munich. In the museum at Berlin is a Coptic *ostrakon*, supposed to belong to the beginning of the Middle Ages, with the formula, somewhat distorted, reproduced in Greek letters. In 1600 it was still in use in Abyssinia, and the five words were declared to be names of the five wounds of Christ.

An instance may be cited of the tenaciousness of similar mystical traditions. In a little book of charms written by a peasant in the district of Salzwedel, the following is given as a remedy for hydrophobia : A piece of paper containing the magical formula in question is to be laid between two slices of bread and butter and then on one outer side three oblique crosses are to be drawn, and on the other a five-pointed figure.

On the Dune vessel the five-pointed figure is also engraved on the outside at the bottom.

Fire-Places.

During my official trip last summer, I received through K. A. Hagson, of Linköping, information of an important discovery pertaining to the beginning of the Iron Age, recently found in the fields of Södra (south) or rather the so-called Stora (great) Lund, in Flistad parish, Boberg district, East Gothia. On visiting the place, I obtained more definite information concerning the extent of the discovery, and with the kind assistance of Mr. Hagson, succeeded in getting the relics for the State Historical Museum, where they are now arranged under No. 7,038. At my visit there was unfortunately no opportunity for making further excavations at the place, but it is desirable that the place should be thoroughly explored. The articles secured are :—

1. A small earthen vessel, without handles. The vessel is cracked in two places and several small pieces are chipped off. The surface is reddish brown, smoky. Height, 10 c. m.

2. The small pieces of another earthen vessel of the same kind of material as that just described.

3. A half-round iron knife. Length, 85 c. m.

4. A broken iron buckle of La Tène type, full size. The spiral and first part of the pin, together with the upturned end of the lower part of the rusty buckle, are now missing. Length, 6 c. m.

5. A flattened bronze ring.

6. An oblong tablet of thin iron, on which a thin sheet of bronze is fastened with four small iron rivets. Whole length, 6.4 c. m.; width, 3.1 c. m. Neither on this nor on the other plates are now to be seen any rivets or eyes by which they were fastened to anything. The small rivets which hold the bronze plates fast to the iron do not project beyond the back.

7. A similar plate, of the same size, but the embossed ornaments are different and the iron plate is broken in two.

8 and 9. Plates of the same sort and size.

These relics were found in the spring of 1882. No mounds or stone-heaps were seen at the place where the discovery was made, but near by lie several small, round heaps, together with round and square stone settings. There were found here, while drawing gravel, a number of small holes from one and one-half to two feet below the surface, filled with black earth and burnt bones; every hole was covered with a small limestone. A small earthen vessel was occasionally found among the bones, but it contained no bones itself. Only one larger vessel was found containing bones: it was quite large and smooth and covered with a small limestone which had crushed the vessel: among the bones in it were found the four tablets described under Nos. 6–9.

The little earthen vessel described under No. 1 stood up in a pile of burnt bones, with its mouth immediately under a little limestone. It contained something black, like soot, but no bones.

This discovery is of special interest as one of the oldest finds of the Iron Age now known, from the mainland of Sweden. The graves have, both in themselves and the articles found in them, a striking resemblance to graves known by the name of "fire-places" or "ash-pots," from the beginning of the Iron Age, which were first explored in large numbers at Barnholm. Similar graves have since been discovered in other parts of the North, but in Sweden they are still but little known. Graves of the kind may occur, but in most cases they contain no relics, or at least no relics have been

noticed, and hence they are too often overlooked. They deserve, however, a better fate, because they are memorials from a very remote and still very little known period. We now know considerable about the Bronze Age proper and a large part of the Iron Age, but of the transition from the first period to the last, we know less here in Sweden than in Norway and Denmark. Every discovery which throws light on this time, however trivial it may appear, should be carefully secured.

The most recent investigations show that iron was known in Southern Scandinavia several centuries before the birth of Christ, thus earlier than there has been reason for supposing.

The find from Southern Lund shows also that iron early found its way as far as East Gothia. The grave in which the iron knife and buckle lay, belongs to the time when the use of iron was known here. But buckles of this type are, as discoveries in Italy and Central Europe show, not later than the third century before Christ. How long a time elapsed between the year of manufacture and the year of burial, of course in this, as in other cases, it is impossible to determine, but I know nothing which would justify us in referring the graves just mentioned to a much later period than the one to which buckles of the type in question generally belong. That the graves in Southern Lund are of such antiquity is also confirmed by the other objects found. Such iron knives as represented are also found in the older "fire-places," (brand-plätter,) at Barnholm, and the tablets shown are of the same kind as the belts of bronze-covered iron, from a very early period of the Iron Age, which are found in Holstein.

Is Thor Pictured on a Swedish Font ?*

In the year 1878 the State Historical Museum received a cylindrical font of limestone which belonged to Ottrava church, in the diocese of Skara, and lately was kept in Dimbo church. Its measurements are: diameter, 82 c. m.; height, 58–59 c. m. The outside of the font is divided into eight rectangular panels which are filled with pictures in relief, carved with a great degree of rudeness. One of these pictures has received considerable attention, since Prof. Geo. Stephens believes he sees in it a picture of the god Thor, with hammer and oar-blade. This interpretation is published in C. J. Ljungström's work "Vartofta Härad och

* 1879—p. 42.

Staden Falköping," † and in Stephens' own work, "Thunor the Thunderer." As the discovery of an old Norse god in a carving on a Christian font would be not only an interesting but a very peculiar occurrence, the assertion requires investigation, and this leads necessarily to an adverse result, for on the Ottrava font there is *not* a picture of Thor.

Stephens' Thor picture appears in the panel E. Thor has on his forehead marks from the hammer of the giant Rungne, is tightly girded at the waist, the hammer in his right hand, and in the left the oar with which he rowed Hyme's boat; the three animals represent the three monsters he slew in his combats. (The foregoing is Stephens' explanation.) The mythical sagas, so far as I know, do not mention that Thor slew monsters in such animal forms as those here represented. Rungne threw a whetstone at Thor, half of which stuck to him; the parallel scratches, however, on the forehead cannot be explained by it. The hammer is represented, of course, but the hammer pertains not alone to Thor, but also to certain artisans, for instance to stone.cutters, and furthermore, we have here a stone-cutter, and the very cutter who made the font. What Stephens took for an oar-blade is really two objects; the man holds in his left hand a chisel, the edge of which is close against the other object,which appears to be a four-cornered plate, but really is a cleverly made figure of the font itself. Many fonts are found with the name of the maker carved on them. His modesty is shown also by the place selected for his picture, for it is found near the panel which shows a man (Christ or a priest) who holds in one hand a book, with the words, "Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit"—he who believes and is baptized shall be saved—presumably the central figure.

In another panel we have a sitting man, holding a book in one hand and giving the benediction with the other.

Another shows the bust of a cross-bearer placed over an arch. Possibly this arch represents the font seen from above.

Another shows an enclosure and a tree within it. Stephens' conjecture that it is the tree of life is perhaps correct.

After the figure of the stone-cutter comes a picture of a vine branch coming out of the mouth of a head, probably a dead man's head. This symbolical representation is not uncommon

† "Vartofta District and the City of Falköping."

during the Middle Ages, and may be simply explained as a representation of life regenerated from death.

Another panel shows a picture of the Crucified One. The surrounding spaces are filled with foliations. Another shows a worm, &c.

Two Proposed Works.*

In the first quarter of the "Månadsblad" for this year, I considered the great Rune Work which the Academy—thanks to the Berger bequest!—is enabled to publish. Two other publications are included concerning which it may not be out of place to mention here a few words.

One is a description of the important Vendel discoveries. Concerning them a preliminary review is given in the "Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige." In order to tempt the readers of the "Månadsblad" to study this review, I give an illustration, parts of a bridle bit which were taken from the head of a horse buried in the same tomb with his master. I will only add a few explanatory words.

The bit of course consisted of leather, of which fragments are still preserved, but the leather was completely covered with bronze plates, quite broad, of which hardly more than the edges and a part of the separating lines are seen. The broad surfaces are sunk into the gilded bronze and filled with enamel, red or yellowish red.

On objects belonging to the close of the older Iron Age, small and thin garnet scales are often found set among narrow plates of gold. On this account enamelled works from this period are rare, and certainly there has not been found up to the present, within Norse, as well as Germanic territory, any object pertaining to this period which can display such elaborate treatment in enamel, as the bit in question, from Vendel.

To find enamel on a Germanic object of that period cannot awaken surprise. The Gauls, according to the accounts of Latin authors, were skillful in the art of working enamel. The discovery shows that the art was practiced not only in Gaul, but also in Britain. When the Romans became masters of these two countries, enamel working was carried on. It is quite natural that the German races, who evidently had a sense for bright color, should take up this industry, hitherto unknown to them, when they settled in Keltic-Roman territory. History depicts the Germani as untama-

* 1884—p. 174.

ble fellows, more interested in deeds of violence than in anything else. Objects of antiquity show us as another side of their life, great skill in handiwork and a very refined and characteristic taste. The occurrence of enamel on this bit is, moreover, of great importance, since foreign investigators have supposed that enamel was unknown during the so-called Merovingian period.

In this hurried review, we have presented a picture of the remote past in the history of the Northman, whose exploits and discoveries are so intimately connected with the early history of our own land.

Of the beautiful brooches and buckles whose varying forms of one and the same model are found throughout Europe; of the elegant bracelets, necklaces, head-bands, arm-rings, finger-rings, &c.; of the various styles of ornamentation which obtained at different periods, at times elaborate beyond description, at others, simple and plain; of the magnificent bracteats which were used as pendants or ornaments—of these and numberless other objects, we have no further time for consideration.

When, in retrospect, we consider one after another these silent, yet living witnesses of the past, it seems to me we must accord even to the simple race which existed during the Stone Age, a degree of civilization far higher than is generally attributed to them. With his meager knowledge and patient skill, the Northman certainly made the best of the limited means at his command. Placed in the same situation, with the same surroundings and materials, but with the added enlightenment of our own age, I very much doubt whether the results of our labors would be one whit superior to the elegant examples of workmanship which we now possess as relics of that remote age.

In conclusion, I think we must, in view of such facts, agree with a modern French writer, that "the intelligence of man is born with him; it is developed by himself; and we must place the point of commencement of the career of progress which he has pursued in an unbroken chain through the centuries, at the very beginning of his existence on the earth."

Sangerfield History:

ITS PEOPLE, INDUSTRIES AND DEVELOPMENT.

By HON. AMOS O. OSBORN.

Delivered Before the Society September 27, 1886.

In the year 1788, the Oneida Indians conveyed the twenty towns on the Unadilla river to the State of New York. A common name for this tract was afterwards "Clinton's Purchase." In the year 1789, Township No. 20 was surveyed by the State for Michael Myers of Herkimer, Jedediah Sanger of New Hartford and John I. Morgan of New York. On the 3rd day of May, 1793, the State conveyed the same, at the rate of three shillings and three pence per acre, to John I. Morgan. Its town and county name from February 16, 1791, to April 10, 1792, was Whitestown, Herkimer county. From April 10, 1792, until March 5, 1795, it was Paris, Herkimer county. From March 5, 1795, to March 15, 1798, it was Sangerfield, Herkimer county; and from March 15, 1798, to April 4, 1804, when it was annexed to Oneida county, it was Sangerfield, Chenango county.

The letters patent from the people of the State to Mr. Morgan contained this clause: "Excepting and reserving to ourselves all gold and silver mines, and five acres of every one hundred acres of said tract of land for highways." The deeds of the proprietors to the settlers contained the following: "Subject only to the reservations and restrictions in the original letters patent;" that is to say, they did not convey to the settlers any gold or silver mines nor five per cent. of the land, but in every instance that has come to the writer's knowledge, they never failed to take pay for all the acres, including the five for the highways, described in their conveyances; although always particular to subject the land to these conditions. In this way they received pay for about 950 acres at the rate of $2.50 per acre, which they never owned, but which the State generously intended for the use of its citizens. And this State property is, and has been for nearly a century, annually taxed for State, county and town purposes. As left by the act of March 24, 1797, the town, consisting of 73 lots of the 100 comprising the

township, 27 of which were set off to Bridgewater, is fairly in the Chenango valley. A small part is watered by three branches of Oriskany creek, two of which rise in the town of Marshall, flow southerly into Sangerfield, then westerly through Waterville, where they unite, then northerly into the the main creek at Deansville. The other is the Tenny brook in the west part of the town. Lots 67 and 73, inclusive, in the east part of the town, are watered by the west branch of the Unadilla.

The first settlement began in 1792, and with the exception of 1793, the year previous having been one of early frosts, killing corn, continued very rapidly for several years. The names of the settlers in 1792 were Asahel Bellows, a Mr. Clark, Sylvanus Dyer, Nathaniel Ford, Bazaliel and Nathan Gurney, (father and son,) Minnierva Hale, Henry Knowlton, Zerah Phelps, Phineas Owen and Jonathan Stratton. Of these, only Mr. Hale, the elder Gurney, Knowlton, Phelps and Owen are known to have had families. Mr. Stratton probably had none, and Mr. Dyer certainly had not, for on the 30th of October, a year and four months afterward, he married Hannah, the eldest daughter of David Norton, who, according to his diary, was the guest of Mr. Dyer on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of June, and of Mr. Stratton on the 4th and 8th. Both of these probably kept bachelor's hall.

Of these settlers of 1792, I do not afterwards find the name of Asahel Bellows, nor of Mr. Clark, who early in May of this year had the misfortune to lose a leg by the falling of a tree. Sylvanus Dyer had quite a family. He was a merchant, tavern-keeper, farmer, and for nearly twenty years a useful citizen. Some part of his life was spent in Cazenovia. He died a resident of the town of Marshall, near Waterville, January 9, 1843, aged 78 years, leaving descendants in Oswego county and at the West, but none in Sangerfield. Nathaniel Ford was one of the party that surveyed the township in 1789. He was a good man, spending a long and exemplary life in town. He died January 14, 1855, aged 86 years. His successor was his nephew, Horace F. Locke.

In 1801, Nathan Gurney sold out to Ichabod Stafford, and removed from the town. Phineas Owen at the same time also sold to Mr. Stafford, but remained in the town till his death, leaving a family. Minnierva Hale died on the farm occupied by him, January 28, 1840, aged 76 years. He was father of a large family, and left many descendants, only one of whom of the same name, A. Jerome Hale, of Waterville, remains.

The Knowltons sold out early in the century to Christopher Young and Isaac Jeffers. Benjamin died here early in 1809, aged 81 years, and Henry removed from the town. Zera Phelps sold his farm early in the century to Jonathan Hubbard, and removed to Batavia, Genesee county. Jonathan Stratton's name does not appear on the town records after 1801. I have no means of learning anything of the growth and thrift of the town for the three years that it was part of Paris, as none of the assessment rolls of those years are preserved in the Paris town clerk's office, nor are any there earlier than 1832.

Early Politicians.

The following electioneering notice was published in the Utica *Patriot*, dated April 18, 1803:

Electioneering Nominations.—At a meeting of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the town of Sangerfield, convened at the house of Ebenezer Hale, (now Sangerfield Exchange,) for the purpose of nominating a suitable person to represent this county in the General Assembly, the following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That Lodwick Hewitt be chairman, and Robert Benedict be secretary.

Resolved, That this meeting adjourn till Thursday, the 7th of April inst., at 2 o'clock P. M., and this notification be put up in different parts of the town, and general information be given.

Thursday, 7th.—After opening the meeting pursuant to adjournment, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the chairman and secretary, with the following persons, viz.: Daniel Brown, Amos Muzzy, Ichabod Stafford, Elias Montgomery, Minnierva Hale, Isaac Terry, Jr., Benjamin White, Seth Peck, Sherman Bartholomew, and Stephen Preston be a committee to promote the election of the candidate.

Resolved, That the aforesaid committee cause this meeting to be published in the *Patriot*.

Lodwick Hewitt, *Chairman*.

Robert Benedict, *Secretary*.

There is also published on another page of the same paper a precisely similar notice of the Democratic party in town, with a different electioneering committee, among whose names are Nathaniel Ford, Seeley Jewell, Stephen Wightman, Ralph Patrick, Thomas Stephens and William Page. These were nearly all the Democrats at that time in town. Justus Tower was father of Horace D. and Henry Tower. He lost his life in April of the year succeeding, on his mill dam during a freshet. He was supervisor at that time. Daniel Brown was a merchant trading in a

two-story building where the Episcopal Church now stands. Amos Muzzy was postmaster of the town, having been appointed December, 1800. Ichabod Stafford was father of the late Aaron Stafford. Elias Montgomery was father of the late Richard and Bradford C. Montgomery, keeping a tavern west of the Centre in a house afterward destroyed by fire. A daughter of his, Mrs. Sophia Corwin, of Clifton Park, Saratoga county, is still living. Benjamin White, one of the first two settlers in Waterville, lived in the house built by him and now owned by A. O. Osborn. Isaac Terry, a justice of the peace dwelling in the village, was father of Edmund and Orrin Terry. Sherman Bartholomew was the chief physician in the village, and father of Dr. Darwin, Rush, Mrs. Eliza Bacon, and Mrs. Almira Owen. He was brother of the late Mrs. Henry Hearsey. He lost his life at Sackett's Harbor in the war of 1812. He gave the name of Waterville to the village. Stephen Preston was the present Dr. Medina's grandfather, residing at the Centre. Lodowick Hewitt was brother of the late Sherman Hewitt, and Robert Benedict the father of the late physician to the State Lunatic Asylum at Utica. He then lived in the house next west of the Berrill factory. Stephen Wightman was father of Eber and Ira Wightman, and Ralph Patrick father of Erastus and of Mrs. Aseneth Miller, still living in Sangerfield. Thomas Stephens, father of Thomas R. Stevens, a life-long resident of Waterville; and William Page, schoolmaster, surveyor and farmer, was father of Lansford, Putnam, Henry and Hull Page.

Turnpike Companies.

On the 30th day of March, 1801, an act was passed by the State Legislature to open and improve a certain road from the dwelling house of Benjamin Wilson, in the town of Oxford, Chenango county, in the nearest and most direct route that "circumstances would admit of," through the towns of Norwich, Sherburne, Hamilton, Sangerfield and Paris, to intersect the Genesee turnpike, near the house of Jedediah Sanger, in Whitestown. Three thousand shares were subscribed for at $20 each, making a capital of $60,000. Amos Muzzy, of the Huddle, was one of the two directors in the town, and David Norton at the Centre the other—both tavern keepers. It was at first expected that the road when it reached Sangerfield, would run through the Centre on the east side of the swamp, because it was really the nearest, most direct and level

route through it; but Mr. Montgomery, an active and energetic settler of much influence, lived and had a tavern on the road starting from the east part of the Huddle and running westerly two or three miles out of the way, which was already made. This passed by the village stores, was handy to the taverns of Mr. Muzzy and himself, and although leaving David Norton out in the cold, would be on the whole very fine for the stronger parties concerned in the new turnpike. Of course these circumstances and the superior influence and power behind, clearly admitting of no other route, the road was opened and gates erected on the longer, hillier and poorer one. It had been used only a year or two as a turnpike, when the entire line was thrown up and surrendered to the town as a failure. Nobody would travel on it and David Norton was pleased. It is still often referred to in conveyances describing land on its line, as the "Oxford and Chenango turnpike, formerly so called."

But a really important element in the prosperity of the town from 1808 to the opening of the Erie canal in 1825, was the Cherry Valley turnpike. This was chartered in 1803, as the "Third Great Western Turnpike Co." Its first organization was made at a meeting in Sangerfield, at the house of Ebenezer Hale, November 16, of the same year, when the electors chose John Lincklaen president, Samuel Sidney Breese secretary, and James Green treasurer. November 14, 1804, another meeting was held at Mr. Hale's in Sangerfield, when the first election of directors was held. Among the persons chosen were Aaron Morse and Oliver Norton, of Sangerfield. At a meeting held in Cazenovia, April 9, 1805, it was voted that stockholders might pay the greater part of their subscriptions in labor in constructing the road; also that additional stock should be issued, already increased to $95,000, and at a meeting 4th February, 1806, $15,000 of stock was appropriated, to be expended under the direction of John Diel, Benjamin Gilbert, and Calvin Smith, in making the first ten miles of the road west from Cherry Valley, which appears to have been the first section completed. At a meeting held in the house of Uri Beach, in Sangerfield, August 6, 1810, it was voted that wagons with tires more than six inches broad might pass free of toll. Many of our older inhabitants yet remember when there was a public house at every mile or two on the road; and it was said that the odor of tar, a bucket of which was carried under every wagon, could be perceived all along the road to Albany. Among the inn-

keepers on the turnpike in Sangerfield, were Theron Norton, Elias Montgomery, Samuel Duncan, David Norton, Uri Beach, Ebenezer Hale and Christopher Young. The charter was finally given up, and the road abandoned in 1856, when after half a century of varying prosperity it ceased to be valuable.

Its greatest season of prosperity was in 1815, and least in 1852.

SCHOOLS.

The first school house in the town of Sangerfield was built of logs, and stood across the road west of the dwelling of Dr. Preston at the Center. The next was a frame building on the west side of the road, half-way from Daniel Livermore's to the Centre green. The first school bill I have been able to find reads as follows:

"This is the number of the scholars:

John Williams, Three.
Samuel Stevens, Five.
John J. Phillips, Four.
John Thomson, One.

JOHN WILLIAMS,
JOHN THOMSON, Trustees.

MARY THOMSON, Instructor.

Sangerfield, July the 6th, 1795."

The district or neighborhood in which the school was taught must have been on the road leading from Nathaniel Ford's southeasterly to Brookfield.

The first school at the Centre was taught by Hannah Norton, afterwards Mrs. Sylvanus Dyer. The first regular school bill, and for that time a formal document in plain handwriting, reads as follows:

"A return of schooling kept in Sangerfield, in the county of Herkimer, which began the 28th of December, 1795, and continued till March the 19th, A. D. 1796. Wages 6 dollars and two-thirds per month.

"DANIEL A. BRAINARD, Instructor."

Then follow the names of the pupils and the number of days they respectively attended. They were the children from about 18 families—two from what is now Waterville. Seven of the children were from the David and Oliver Norton families. This school teacher was grandfather of I. D. Brainard, of Waterville. The school at the Center was taught more than once by Oliver C. Seabury, father of Heber, Micah and Ahiman, a man then well known

in this and adjoining towns as a surveyor and teacher. He surveyed and plotted the village of Waterville. His residence was on the west side of the road on the hill north of the Conger settlement, now Stockwell. The first school-house in Waterville was on the ground now occupied by Mrs. Barton's residence. It remained there until 1815, when the two-story brick building was erected, which was taken down in 1872, to give place to the present union school edifice. For some years, until the need of more room to accommodate the increasing numbers made it necessary to occupy the whole building for common school purposes, the upper story was reserved for a select school or academy. Its first teacher was the late Rev. Ely Burchard. He was succeeded by Philo Gridley, afterwards judge, and by Abner Cook, who became an eminent lawyer in Otsego county. A lady teacher in 1826 or thereabouts was a Miss Bryant, who was so near-sighted that she could not see the paper, billets passed from the boys in the adjoining room through the board partition to the girls in her own, and was in consequence very popular with her pupils. Miss Byrant came into the village from Massachusetts with the family of Daniel Putnam, the Baptist minister, in 1824. She married in Brooklyn and died there.

Among the teachers last occupying the second story was the late Simeon H. Calhoun, who spent most of his life as a missionary in Syria. When teacher here in 1830, he was not a professor of religion, but was an earnest, good man, full of humor and story telling. He was a graduate of Williams College. He died five or six years since in Buffalo, after a life of good works and great usefulness.

Another later teacher was Lewis N. Wood, an ardent student of nature, who first measured the dip of the corniferous limestone in Eastman's quarry in 1834, and is alluded to by the State geologist, Vanuxem, as a "school teacher in the neighborhood, his name unknown." Mr. Wood settled in Geneva, Wis., and was a noted and skillful physician.

One of the useful district teachers was Mason Southworth. the son of a clergyman, at that time in Bridgewater, and a brother of the late H. O. Southworth, of Rome. He was an exellent teacher, always devising and adopting something new and good in school methods. He removed to Michigan, near Kalamazoo, where he was a popular and influential citizen.

The late Abner Livermore, who taught in the Huddle, Waterville district, gives the following account of his experience: "I went from Terrytown, where I lived, to the Center, in the spring of 1806, intending to take the Center school, but Oliver Cromwell Seabury out-generalled me. He got it, and that summer I took a school in Whitestown, (Middle Settlement.) General Oliver Collins was one of the trustees. I again hoped for the winter school at the Centre, but did not get it, and finally took one at the Huddle. This proved the most numerous, crowded and unmanageable school I ever tried, and at the end of the first quarter I got the trustees to give the teaching to another man. He gave out out before spring. It was too tough for him. Mr. Livermore died at the residence of his son Fidus, in Jackson, Michigan, January 26, 1857, aged 79 years."

The town residents who have been among teachers and citizens of note are Josiah Bacon, William P. Cleveland, H. H. Eastman, O. B. Gridley, P. B. Haven, E. H. Lamb, John Monroe, Amos Osborn, Sr., Wm. Osborn, Jr., Wm. Page, Sr., Reuben Tower, Sr., Charlemagne Tower, Horace D. Tower and Orrin Terry. This list of school teachers is quite notable in the line of abundant means, not to say much wealth. The writer hereof taught school in this town from December 1, 1828, to March 1, 1829, and received his pay in boarding round and $27 in money, that is to say, $9 a month and board. Although the educational results were very likely of no greater account than the pay, yet this curious experience of life it has always been pleasant to recall. This subject would be incomplete without mentioning, among other things, that when the district school library law of 1847 went into effect, the controlling member of the village board of trustees invested our new library money in text books for poor children; and how he was obliged by the Secretary of State to exchange them for general reading books, and could do so only by taking, at market prices, such old shelf books as Mr. Tracy, the book merchant of Utica, had on his upper shelves; and how, in another school district of the town, the ruling trustee was determined to use the library money for teachers' wages, saying that "no Legislature could be such fools as to tax the district to buy books that folks couldn't read."

Relics.

Quite a number of relics bearing on the race character of its prehistoric occupants, whether the Oneidas or their predecessors, have been found in Sangerfield. The attractions for hunting and fishing were probably as great as in the neighboring towns; and arrowheads made of our corniferous flint, and other implements, have quite often been discovered. An instrument similar to the archæological celt, or as it is beginning to be called, deerskinner, was found on the farm of Daniel Livermore. It was made of a hard, greenish-gray stone, with imbedded grains of what appears to be hornblende, and in material and shape is very like similar instruments in the State collection at Albany. A curious instrument, finely polished, about fifteen inches long, half the length prism-shaped, and the other half like a two-edged knife blade, thickened in the middle and tapering ovally to dull edges, made of the same kind of stone, was found in a garden near the hop extract works, Waterville. A heavy granite pestle or pounder, for the use of strong-armed persons in pounding,—perhaps for making ooktehaw or root bread,—was plowed up on the west side of the swamp. Such an instrument would most likely be used by permanent dwellers; but one can easily imagine that an Indian woman, fatigued and travel worn, or about to remove, had thrown it away or left it behind for more necessary burdens. Another implement, found near the brick and tile yard of P. B. Haven, was doubtless a hatchet. The upper half had been broken from the lower, or cutting part, at the eye, or hole, evenly bored for a handle. This is made of light-colored granite. But most of the relics found in the earlier years of the town were collected by the late Dr. S. Z. Haven, and removed by him to Chicago.

The Oneida Path

Was a sort of highroad, and as Indians always travel in single file, was scarcely more than twelve or fifteen inches wide, and deeply trodden. It was the only path used between the settlements at Oneida and their friends, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras on the Susquehanna. It passed entirely through Sangerfield, entering about two miles east of the north-west corner, and leaving it about a mile north of the south-east corner, crossed the Unadilla near Leonardsville, and thence pursued a pretty direct course to Otsego Lake. It must have been this path that General Washington

traversed when returning from his visit to the Oneidas in October, 1783. In his letter written to the Marquis de Chastellux, after his return, he says: "I proceeded up the Mohawk river to Fort Schuyler, formerly Fort Stanwix, crossed over to Wood creek, which empties into Oneida Lake, and affords the water communication with Lake Ontario. I then traversed the country to the head of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, viewed the Lake Otsego and the portage between that lake and Canajoharie."

As there was every reason why he should prefer a route known to be direct and feasible, there can be no doubt that he took this path. It is also according to the evidence of an Indian taken in Albany early in its settlement, in an enquiry before the Dutch justices, as to the location of the Susquehanna, "a day and a half journey" from Oneida to the kill, which falls into that river, and this kill being the Unadilla and the crossing near Leonardsville, the distance between that place and Oneida, on the line of the path, would be then as now, about thirty miles, and between Oneida and this town just a day's journey, or twenty miles. Washington's first day's travel would therefore end in Sangerfield; and as there was near this path on the land afterwards taken up by Nathaniel Ford, a spring of water and near by an Indian shanty, used by the Indians on like occasions, it is reasonably certain that the General and his party stayed over night at this place. This path had been a well-worn trail more than a hundred years before the settlement of this town; and although the Indians soon afterwards ceased to use it, parts of it were distinctly visible as late as the year 1849, when the late Aaron Stafford, who had known it as a boy, pointed out to the writer forty or fifty rods of it in the woods north of the Dead pond.

WATERVILLE.

The village of Waterville is on Sangerfield town lots Nos. 39 and 40, and on part of lots Nos. 153, 154, 156 and 158 of the Brothertown tract in Marshall, and one mile north of Sangerfield Center. It has a free northern exposure along the line of the Oriskany, is 607 feet above Clinton, 781 above Utica, 1,200 above the ocean, only 182 feet lower than Mt. Prospect State station in Kirkland, and, by careful leveling made in September, 1883, 691 feet below Tassel Hill State survey station, No. 29. Its latitude is approximately 42 degrees 55 minutes. It is on the drift due to its geological situation, its depths averaging thirty feet, and it rests entirely on the corniferous limestone. The water in the wells and

its many springs all have a flow from the south over the rock outcrop northerly, and is of uniform temperature from year to year, being quite steadily at 48° F. in August and 47° F. in February, which is a little warmer than is due to its annual mean temperature. The James Young well, on lot No. 62, is three degrees colder than the village water, and the Bangs well near the Tenny brook is through seventy feet of drift and the deepest in town. It is upon the abundance of these springs that its factory privileges rely for their power, the more copious of them rising about thirty rods south of the factory dam on the westerly branch of the Oriskany. A lesser power is made by the easterly branch; and it is this advantage that gave the village its first impulse in the improvement it has since steadily maintained. The great swamp, or as the Indians called it, "Skanawis," through which runs the Chenango river. containing originally nearly or quite 5,000 acres, was a mine of undeveloped wealth in its white pine (pinus strobus) and white cedar (Thuja occidentalis) timber, and this was ready for use as soon as the mills were ready to saw it. There were four or five smaller swamps in town ready to furnish the same kind of lumber, Mr. Norton's diary mentioning two, one on lot 38 and another on lot 27. There was also one on lot No. 39, another on lot No. 40, and another on lot No. 51, all very near this water power. The pine was all manufactured into lumber in the town, most of the mills being owned in the village. Many of those on the smaller streams running into the Chenango were owned by citizens outside. The late Horace D. Tower once told me that when a boy he could hear in a still, clear night the ringing of fourteen saw mills. Whatever there was of its growing wealth, aside from the rapid increase in the value of the land, can nearly all be traced to its lumber. Many farmers living in the adjoining towns bought a few acres in the Skanawis for its building and fencing timber; and one of my earliest recollections is, that in winter pine logs, cedar rails and posts were in great numbers carried every day from the swamps thro' the village. The activity thus made and its lumbering generally increased by its distilleries, gave the place a very lively and busy appearance for nearly half a century, and brought into it much travel and trade. It also had the advantage of two carding and cloth-dressing shops, quite necessary to the needs of the early settlers in using their wool for clothing. There were two in the Hollow, one owned by William Osborn, the other by Isaac Sheldon. The wool was carded and made into rolls, taken home to be spun

and woven into flannel, then returned to the same shop for fulling and dressing into cloth. Our older citizens will remember that this kind of cloth was all that the thriftiest families indulged in for their winter's wear; and red or brown pressed flannel for the women and butternut colored cloth for the men, were the common kinds worn both on week days and Sundays.

EARTHENWARE.

An industry peculiar to these early settlements, now confined to large towns, was pottery. There were two manufactories in the neighborhood, one at Waterville and one at the Center. The first was carried on by Jabez Hancock, a native of Wilbraham, Mass. on the farm now owned by William Osborn, and did a thriving business in making milk pans, and smaller domestic ware. This kind of milk pan continued to be used by the good housewives long after the introduction of tin, because it was supposed to be of purer material.

In the year 1827, while at school at Paris Hill, I boarded in the family of the late Judge McNeil, first town clerk of the town of Paris. The judge's wife was a pattern of thrift, neatness and good sense, and for those days had a large dairy. She was a strong advocate of these earthen pans, saying that she "would never set her milk in tin so long as she could get earthen; no one could make her believe the tin was not poisonous."

This vessel was about the size of our ordinary milk pans, considerably deeper and thicker, and when full of milk, required a strong arm to lift it from the shelf. It was glazed and easily cleansed and certainly carried the idea of wholesomeness. Its color was a dark, reddish brown, and of course would not easily show dirt, which perhaps was an element of its popularity, and it had to be carefully handled for fear of breaking. It would be curious to see how an expert in æsthetic pottery could adapt expression of fitness to need, better than this old-time utensil. They are rarely seen nowadays, but one occasionally survives as a repository of garden seed packages, red peppers, and the like, on upper pantry shelves.

The Center pottery was 20 or 30 rods west of the Warren Kellogg farm and was owned by Ephraim Leach. One of his daughters, Eliza, became the wife of Levi Sanderson, afterwards one of the first settlers and a wealthy citizen of Galesburg, Ill., a

town settled chiefly by Oneida county people. Besides Obadiah and Ephraim, there were on the assessment roll of 1807 Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Jonathan. Only one of the five Leaches, Obadiah, spent a long life in town and none of the name now remain.

The manufacture of brick in Waterville was begun soon after 1806 by Elias Haven, of Barre, Mass., and afterward continued in his family, from father to son, at the Center. The business has developed into extensive tile making as well as brick, by P. B. Haven & Son, and has become an important town industry.

DISTILLERIES.

The late Amos Osborn began the distilling business in the village in 1802. The inducements as to locality were the quantity, convenience and temperature of the spring water, the cheapness of good building material, nearness of mills for grinding grain, and the excellent quality of the neighboring farms. His still cost him in Albany at Spencer Stafford's store on the 14th day of August, 1802, $392, and he began work with nine bushels of grain per day, distilling from each, nine to ten quarts of highwines, never running over twelve bushels nor securing a greater yield until 1813, when finding himself able to go into a business more to his choice, he purchased three farms paying for the one always occupied by himself, $30 per acre, part in whisky at nine shillings a gallon, and, for another nine gallons of gin per acre. He then sold his distillery and went into farming. In the course of the next 50 years this distillery was succeeded by six others, besides two at Forge Hollow two miles north of this, and two at the Center, five of which were in full operation at one time, running 600 bushels of grain per day, and distilling from 12 to 15 quarts from each bushel. The firms in this business have been William Osborn, Sr., Palmer & Kempster, Park & Tower, Reuben Tower, Stanton Park, Hubbard & Walker, Reuben Tower & Sons, Hubbard, Terry & Co., (a firm composed of Marinus Hubbard, Edmund Terry, Charles Wilkinson, and Dewitt C. Tower,) Bacon & Tower and Grover Wilbur & Co.

The commercial revulsion of 1857 and the United States war tax drove them all out of existence. In 1828, Reuben Tower commenced distilling cider, purchasing large quantities from the farmers and paying four and five shillings per barrel. In 1840, Charlemagne and Julius Tower began to distill potatoes, contract-

ing in several instances for their delivery at ten cents per bushel. At first, quite a profitable business was expected to grow out of this enterprise, but it proved disastrous from the liability of the tubers to decay, large quantities having been lost from this cause. Amos Osborn, Reuben Tower's Sons, Grover, Wilbur & Co., and Bacon & Tower made not only pure rectified whisky, but brandy and gin. It used to be said that in the days of these distilleries the *mania a potu* about here was unknown, and that it was only after the imperfect rectifying by their successors that this delirium appeared. The alcohol and pure spirits made by Reuben Tower's Sons and Grover, Wilbur & Co. always commanded the highest price in market.

All these distilleries fatted large numbers of cattle and hogs, and it was often the case that their profits for a whole year were derived from only this branch of the business. The quality of the beef was excellent. It was very tender and high flavored and much in demand in the cities where sold. Their success also in the growth and improvement of the animal while feeding, was extraordinary. In one notable instance a steer calf, bought by Erastus Jeffers of his father-in-law, Samuel Clark, was owned and fatted by the firm of Tower & Jeffers, and in September of the year 1838, at the age of four years and six months, was taken to New York and sold. It weighed when placed on the boat at Deansville, 3,775 pounds. His measure alive from button to rump was nine feet; girth, 10 feet; and height, five feet nine inches. This animal was not only a very fat one, but was faultless in every particular. He was bought by a company of butchers at Bull's Head, New York city, for $1,250, and after being dressed, his hide was stuffed and kept at their headquarters as a curiosity. On every great public display or celebration by the citizens for many years afterwards, this animal was paraded as the "Washington ox." It is still preserved by the butchers' hide and melting association of that city. In Bagg's history of the Pioneers of Utica, mention is made of extraordinary animals exhibited at the Oneida county fair at Whitestown, in 1822. One was a hog that weighed nine hundred pounds. This was a porker raised and fattened at the distillery of Reuben Tower.

Leather and Boots and Shoes.

The first and most continuously prosperous industry in the town is that of tanning, which was begun in the south part of the town, in 1796, by John Williams, a son of Ezekiel Williams of New

Hartford. In 1801, he removed the business to Waterville, where he enlarged it on property bought of Benjamin White. He remained here increasing and improving the business with great profit, until 1821, when he formed a partnership with Chauncey Buell, to connect with it the manufacture of boots and shoes, and to make a market chiefly in the western country. In the year 1826, after accumulating a handsome property, Mr. Williams sold out his entire interest to Mr. Buell and Elihu Newberry, and they managed the concern together, selling at wholesale and retail. In 1832, Mr. Buell bought out Mr. Newberry's interests, and after continuing the business alone for a few years formed a partnership with Norval C. Bacon. About 1840, Mr. Buell became again proprietor of the whole, and carried it on until he associated with him his sons Edward and Samuel. They made a specialty of a boot and shoe for heavy work in lumbering and prairie farming, beginning in Delaware County, N. Y., and extending through the timbered and prairie states of the west. The firm was afterwards increased by Samuel W. Goodwin purchasing an interest in the concern, and this was prosperous during its term. For many years the manufacture has included all the finer quality of boots and shoes suited to nearly all markets, and the labor has been done by men and women.

In 1883, the Buells built a new tanning establishment greatly enlarging their business, and the entire plant, with the increased labor needed for all the work, has added much to the activity and population of the village.

Mr. Chauncey Buell, after a long life of industry and success in business, setting a noble example as citizen and Christian, died at Waterville, February 11th, 1885, aged 89 years.

Inventions.

Quite early in the century when the bark used in tanning was ground under heavy stone wheels revolving around an upright shaft, Edward Trask, taking hint from the little spice grinder in every kitchen, invented a conical cast-iron bark mill, and it was soon introduced into the tanneries everywhere in the country. Its manufacture in the village immediately followed; and although since changed and very much improved, successively by Richard Montgomery, Green & Montgomery and B. A. Beardsley, it has continued a business to the prcsent time. In March, 1832, Oliver

C. Harris, taking his idea from the Trask bark mill, invented a machine for grinding paint, which had before been done by moving around in a kettle of paint the half of an iron ball having a balancing handle. The Harris mill does the same work very rapidly in one operation. Its manufacture is still continued by J. A. Berrill & Sons, the machine being improved by their patent to prevent the paint from flying off when at high speed; it is now a very important industry in Waterville, employing many hands and distributing the machines all over the world.

In August, 1860, Lewis W. Harris, a brother of Oliver C., observing the cumbrous and slow way of pressing hops into bales by means of ropes and screws, invented a very simple and easily worked lever press, which went immediately into general use; and its manufacture has since been another business in the village. L. W. Harris also invented a double grinding coffee mill, the principle like the Montgomery bark mill. With this hand mill, not only is coffee ground, but corn easily made into meal.

Hops.

In 1821, Benjamin Wimble, an Englishman, planted the first hop yard in Sangerfield on land of Jotham Tower, in the west part of Waterville. The enterprise in this town was wholly due to the fact that, with trifling cost, the swamp could supply the poles and the distilleries the fertilizers. It was then believed that the business, all other things being favorable, could not profitably be carried on without abundantly enriching the soil. And these were the causes that in after years, placed the town so much in advance of all its neighbors in hop growing. Mr. Wimble's yard consisted of only four acres. The vines were planted six feet apart and four poles were set in each hill. The cultivation was excellent. The poles were lined across the whole field, and the curve at the top of each, turning outwardly for the double purpose of letting the sun to the hills and shading the space between, presented an attractive appearance and was a general curiosity at the time. Wimble did not succeed in the business. At first it was very promising, but he had borrowed the capital, and low prices following in two or three years it proved disastrous. His success, however, in making a large crop had been complete. The yield was very large and favorably remembered.

In 1834, Gurdon Avery, of Hamilton, Madison county, bought land near the village in Marshall, and again began the cultivation.

He had considerably increased his acreage, when Charles D. Palmer began another yard, and continued setting out until he had twenty acres. The business was so successful—such large yields—in one case 3,900 pounds on an acre, that it grew rapidly, until most of the farms around the village and the swamp had hop fields in cultivation. It was thought when the distilleries ceased running the business would no longer be profitable, but it remained remunerative, small yields being better than any other kind of business, and it was now undertaken with the view of manuring from the farm alone, and some of our richest hop growers have made their money without any other sources of fertilization. There is no enterprise among farmers depending so much for production as upon good cultivation, nor in a season of low prices is there any so dependent upon mere luck for profit. A very large yield of well cured hops is often worse than no yield, and a very large yield with the price greater than ever known before will be equally bad without judgment to realize it. Growers with every element of good management in ordinary farming are at such times often the prey of extreme indecision and are morally powerless to act in any direction. These instances are repeated year after year with no improvement. Sangerfield is full of such cases. I have known a hop grower with 12,000 pounds decline to sell until he could get a dollar a pound, then refuse a dollar and six cents, and finally, after the opportunity was lost, chase the price down till it reached 20 cents, then frantically catch it as better than nothing. Another with 10,000 pounds has refused to sell at 60 cents, preferring to wait until the "p'ise was on the p'int of turning," fancying that he had always done so and succeeded, and find himself, when the season had passed, with his hops on hand and no demand for them. One grower in town always sells when they are ready for market, "because he can not sleep until they are sold." Another, with five successive crops on hand, has never had the moral power to part with them at any price. Another, after being in the business three years, disgusted with the results, has sold out to a neighbor, and that neighbor has cleared enough from the same hop yard the first year to pay the whole cost of land, poles and tillage. The dealers in the town have, as a rule, been very fortunate, though mere temporary speculators often have not been. One instance in 1882 was an important exception, the speculator clearing $60,000. But another quite as notable was the loss of $30,000. From this small four acre field of Benjamin Wimble, in 1822, the business has in-

creased until the present time, when nearly every farm in town has its hop yard. This industry has given rise to another quite new and of marked character and success—the hop extract business—which as yet is confined to this village. The lupuline of the hop, which is its valuable product or principle, if left in the strobile and stored, in any way yet known, loses its strength, and in two or three years becomes nearly worthless. This process chemically extracts this element, reducing the weight to a twelfth of the pressed hops, and is preserved in cans pure for an indefinite time.

New experiences in hop growing are annually arising, and upon them depend extremes never before known or anticipated. This is the case the current year, when the entire crop of the State is quite destroyed by the hop aphis, or some disease that depends upon the presence of this insect or is its constant attendant. Two varieties of the hop, the "Palmer seedling" and "Humphrey" having a wide cultivation in this country, have been originated by Waterville cultivators, one by Charles D. Palmer and the other by Mr. Humphrey. The Palmer is an early, though not very productive, variety, and the Humphrey is a late but more vigorous and prolific one. Both are popular for special objects.

Nearness to Places of Geological Interest.

The vicinity of Waterville to localities of interest in geology and palæontology, is quite marked. A walk of twenty minutes from the village will take one to the coal seams of the Marcellus shale and its abundant associated fossils. Continuing up the little creek where these appear, one soon arrives at the plant beds of this period; 40 feet higher, and half an hour more, will bring one to two ravines heading under the south side of Tassel Hill, where the water falls over the hard rocks of the lower Hamilton filled with the curtain fucoid, with which is there associated the Leiorhynchus limitaris, supposed to mark the limit of the Marcellus.

Professor Hall, in a State report, says that "the Marcellus shale in Central New York rarely exceeds fifty feet in thickness," but from this point down to the coal seam, which is within ten feet of the cornifernous limestone, it is at least 350 feet normally measured.

An afternoon ramble to the Greenslit quarries on the railroad, which here begins to rise on the dip of the corniferous limestone to the highest summit level, 1,420 feet above tide, will furnish a good

study of many of its brachiopods, cephalopods and crustaceans; notably also many relics of the earliest American vertebrate fishes.

Four miles west, at Oriskany Falls, the entire New York series, except the Cauda Galli and Schoharie Grits, from the Marcellus down to the bottom of the Lower Helderberg, here a mere seam of the Tentaculite limestone, are to be seen at almost one view; and four miles south on the hill near the Cherry Valley turnpike, 400 feet higher, are hundreds of boulders of many tons each in weight of the corniferous limestone, Oriskany sandstone and Upper Pentamerus, which have been removed by the ice to this ridge from the village ledges. One more trip two miles north of Waterville, down the east branch of the Oriskany creek, reaches the Upper Onondaga salt group of Professor Hall, usually termed the waterlime, noted as a locality of the fossil crustacean, known as the Eurypterus, and where the earliest air-breathing scorpion yet found in America was discovered. This representative of ancient insect or spider life, until quite recently believed to have no representative earlier than those in the carboniferous rocks, which are ages more recent in the earth's history, is a fine specimen, and may be even older than either of the two found in Sweden and Scotland.

A railroad ride of half an hour will set a visitor down on the reddish gray ledges of the Medina sandstone at the entrance of Rogers Glen, ("Swift creek" of Vanuxem,) from where he may leisurely examine all the New York groups above to the Salina.

It is fair to say, however, that many neighborhoods in the south part of the county share in these advantages; and indeed, the whole county, from its extreme north-east corner, includes all the known rocks from where, on the third day of creation, the dry land of Scripture first appeared through nearly or quite half the American series of the earth's crust; thus furnishing a record of the Almighty's work in the beginning, of easy reference and examination to any person interested in physical research, or the "spiritual element of geological history."

UNIV. OF MICH.

Design For
Young Men's Christian
Association Building
Utica N.Y.

Laying of the Historical Stone

OF THE

UTICA YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

OCTOBER 8, 1888.

The Young Men's Christian Association of the City of Utica, when its noble building on the corner of Bleecker and Charlotte streets was approaching completion, formally invited the Oneida Historical Society to take charge of the laying of a "historical stone" in the main entrance. A special meeting of the Society was held September 17, 1888, and the invitation was urged by Messrs. W. R. Rowlands the President, and G. R. Shurtleff the Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., who expressed the desire of that Association that this Society should take in hand the whole conduct of the ceremony. President Roberts, while avowing the disposition of the Society to participate, deprecated the apparent assumption of credit and importance, which belonged solely to those who had labored with such zeal and fidelity in procuring the means for the erection of this important structure. At the conclusion of the discussion, the following resolutions, introduced by Dr. Bagg, were adopted, viz.:

Resolved, That this Society receives with gratification the invitation to take part in the laying of the Historical Stone of the Young Men's Christian Association Building, and that it accepts the same with pleasure.

Resolved, That the President and the Executive Committee be requested to confer with a committee from the Y. M. C. A. as to making arrangements for the proper observance of the occasion.

These two committees, as suggested, together, subsequently arranged the order of ceremonies. The meeting adjourned, to participate in the occasion.

Under these circumstances, it seems proper that an account of this proceeding should be incorporated in these Transactions.

At the appointed hour, 4 P. M., a large crowd assembled on the corner of Bleecker and Charlotte streets to witness the ceremonies attending the laying of the historical stone. A platform had been erected for those who were to take part in the exercises. Upon a desk, at its front, lay the Bible of the Park Baptist Church, which was used in the old Bleecker Street Baptist Church for many years.

After a selection by Koehl & Perkins' band, prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. I. S. Hartley, pastor of the Reformed Church, and a chapter from the Bible was read by Rev. W. D. Maxon, rector of Trinity Church. President Ellis H. Roberts, of the Oneida Historical Society, and chairman of the occasion, then spoke as follows:

Address of E. H. Roberts.

The incident which brings us together points backward and forward into history. You build a structure about which your hopes cluster, on the site of a demolished edifice of which the memories will always echo in our local annals. You are repeating here the experience to which the explorations and the monuments of the Old World bear testimony. Wherever cities have stood, successive homes and temples, even successive tiers of graves rise one upon the other to mark the progress of time. Civilization has its strata, like geology, its eozoic and its secondary and tertiary rocks. Under the Asiatic villages, under modern Rome and modern Athens, lie buried the ruins of their days of glory and of splendor.

The material structure which stood here has been renewed, but the historic walls which were pulled down did not carry with them the hallowed influences which went forth from this spot, the religious revivals which blessed it, the moral and social and benevolent activities which found voice here, the music and the eloquence which have not died and shall not die from our hearts. You have laid your foundations on these influences; these memories enter into your walls; you rise to a higher plane for all that has been done and achieved here.

The Oneida Historical Society takes part in these exercises to connect this fruitful and precious past with the future, which is in so large measure entrusted to the Young Men's Christian Association.

The duty and the privilege of speaking upon themes which open so broadly into the past and the future, have been assigned to fitting representatives of these two organizations, to whom, I am sure, it will be a pleasure to you to listen.

Edward Curran made the address for the Oneida Historical Society. He spoke as follows:

Address of Mr. Curran.

Members and Friends of the Utica Young Men's Christian Association:

As we come together to lay the historical-stone of your building, thoughts of other historical stones spring into our minds. The people who a hundred years ago owned all the country about us, had a sacred stone. It now rests on a mound in Forest Hill cemetery. That stone gave its name to that people, the Oneidas, the Children of the Stone. On that stone their warriors had their ears slit to prepare them for battle, and they placed on it the scalps of their enemies. Around it they gathered in council. In the war that gave our nation independence the Oneidas called that stone to witness their oath to fight on the side of our ancestors, faithful allies that they proved. The Oneidas worshipped the stone as the Great Spirit. It was the corner-stone of their religion; and dimly, if at all, did the poor Indians see beyond their sacred stone into the spirit world. But as for you, while beholding with joy the historical stone laid that may carry in its bosom very much of our history to a future generation, while beholding the corner-stone of your building laid and the walls of the fair structure rapidly rising before you, Isaiah and Paul have put clay on your eyes. And now with eyes of faith you behold a spiritual building, fairer and grander far than any earthly building, and every lover of God in heaven and on earth is built into it as a "lively stone;" and God has laid for it "a foundation, a precious corner-stone," "Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God through the spirit." May the laying of the foundation of a building of your own typify and prophesy the building of your lives, and the life of your Association as well, on that "tried stone," on that "sure foundation."

When Paul carried the gospel into Macedonia, he first abode at Philippi, and on the Sabbath day he went to a place "where prayer was wont to be made," and there began his work. We esteem you fortunate in building your home in a place "where prayer was wont to be made;" a place where for more than

sixty years the gospel has been preached and taught, and prayers and alms have ascended to God.* Especially hallowed to you, young men of the Association, should the spot be as the scene of the most fruitful labors of the Association in its earliest years; for here, under your auspices, the people of this city gathered for prayer and conference every morning in the spring of 1858, and a quiet but widespread revival of religion was the fruit. Here, too, at that time was given you by the young ladies of Utica, this beautiful copy of the Bible, the sole relic you now have of your early years; and here you promised to strive to repay the gift by doing your utmost for the brothers and friends of those fair givers.† When the country about here was a wilderness unbroken save by the corn fields of the Indians, and the first paths and roads were being opened through the woods, every stream must be forded. On an old map in the County Clerk's Office you will find the early road coming up the Mohawk Valley on the north side of the river, and turning down along the left bank of Bagg's creek to the river. From the mouth of Bagg's creek down the river towards Kip's Landing at the mouth of Sulphur Springs creek the water in the river was shallow, and the bottom was pebbly, and many a time in my boyhood have I raced with other small boys up and down those shallows. This reach of shallow water with a pebbly bottom was the best fording place of the Mohawk in this vicinity, and here the road crossed the stream. Along the southern bank of the river, which was the higher bank, old Fort Schuyler was built to command the ford. For a time the stream here may be said to have divided the White Man's country from the Indian's country; at the ford you passed from one into the other. This fording-place gave birth to Fort Schuyler. The two gave birth to a hamlet, from which sprang a village, which grew into our city of Utica. It was the fording-place that made Utica.

It may not be too fanciful a thought to suggest that you young men may learn a lesson from this bit of history. Many young men are growing up here, and many are coming to our city from the country. Each one is making the journey of life. Each one is in one of two kingdoms, either in the kingdom of God or in the kingdom of this world. If by your efforts and by the blessing of God you will make your Association a good fording-place to cross from the kingdom of this world into the kingdom of God, and if you will dwell so

* Note 1 at end of this address. † Note 2 at end of this address.

heartily in the kingdom of God that your love of it and enjoyment of it shall attract many of these young men to cross through the ford into the kingdom of your choice, then your fording-place may be to you what the old Fort Schuyler fording-place was to Utica, in its infancy.

The church societies which worshipped on this spot have retired from the business parts of the city. You, on the contrary, have come into the very midst of the business life of our city. Your doors will be wide open every day from early morning till late evening. I well understand that one object of your locating here is that you may get for your support good rent for the stores on the ground floor of your building. But I believe you have been drawn here also by other good motives. You wish to make your Christianity, not a treasure to be hidden, but a life to be lived among your fellows, not offensively but pleasantly, not obtrusively but winningly. Instead of getting away from the world, you want to be in the midst of it, there by God's blessing, to be light and help and cheer. You intend to illustrate your Christianity by your truthfulness, your fidelity, your courtesy, your cheerfulness in your every day business and social life. You seek to be diligent in business, you seek to make money, but you also seek to do unto others as you would that they should do to you. You seek to make money, but in no other way than by doing some useful service. You seek to use your money to attain the best ends by the best means. And if you do not make much money, you seek to be content with the talents and the lot God has given you. To strengthen you in carrying out these high aims you want your Association-home, with its help and companionship, near by. I venture to say in behalf of the business men of our city, we approve your aims, and we welcome you here to your permanent home. We wish that your Association may enter into our little world in this city as leaven, and leaven the whole lump ; for there is not one of us older ones who does not know in his heart how blessed a thing it is to be led even by a child into these good ways you seek ; and not one of us but knows that a better and happier life than he now leads is possible and desirable.

Just one hundred years ago, at Fort Stanwix, sixteen miles westward along this road that runs in front of your building, Governor George Clinton gathered the Six Nations, to make a treaty about their lands, and to pay them money. After the business was done Governor Clinton placed on the flag-staff at the foot of Dominick

street, near the Mohawk and the fort, a bag of gold to be a prize to the swiftest runner. The race course ran straight to the west, along what is now Dominick street, to the spot where the United States Arsenal was built; there it turned a stake and returned to the flag-staff. Each of the six nations chose a runner. The Oneidas chose for their champion Little Paul Powlis, a boy of sixteen, the youngest son of Paul Powlis, Chief of the Oneidas.

The runners formed in line in the order in which they inhabited the "Long House," as they called their beautiful country stretching from the Hudson to Lake Erie. First stood the Mohawk, famous for his great size and his swiftness, next him and hardly reaching his shoulder stood Little Paul, next the Onondaga and the others, all men mature and tried. "Younger Brother" the other tribes called the Oneidas, and now they called little Paul "Younger Brother," and laughed at him. At the tap of the drum the runners were off. Out to the turning stake they ran like deer, keeping almost abreast. The last to turn the stake, Little Paul now drew up and passed one after another, till only the big Mohawk led him. A moment more at the quarter post Little Paul with a whoop of triumph flew past the big Mohawk too, and in another minute he had reached the flag-staff and won the race. Young men, may you be like that younger brother.

You will tell me your aim is to develop something higher than your physical nature; to gain something better than swiftness of foot, and wind, and pluck. I grant it, and I approve of it; and yet,—I wish every member of your Association might also learn to run like Little Paul Powlis. It would bring you more virtues than you now dream of. Little Paul Powlis became Chief of the Oneidas.

Every home is something more to its occupants than the building itself. So many associations of joy and sorrow cluster around it that it seems to have a soul of its own. A big building such as yours will be, where many persons make a home, has a different soul for each one of those persons; because each one creates the soul which the home has for him.

Young men, what kind of a soul will you create for this new home you are building? Do you remember Cole's picture of a youth on the voyage of life? The youth is gliding down a narrow stream in his boat, holding the rudder, while his eyes are fixed in hope and joy on the far off castle in the air his fancy has built as the home he will seek. I bid you hang a copy of

that picture on your walls. I bid you catch the inspiration of the artist. I bid each one of you to imagine a soul for your new home, the noblest, the sweetest, the strongest soul you can imagine; and then with joy and hope and heavenly aspiration, go and make it the true soul to you of your Association home.

The members of the Oneida Historical Society are proud of the history made on this spot in the old church you have pulled down. We will hope in the future to brighten many a page of our records with the stories of the arms forged and the men trained in your new building. But we have a wish far above this. There is another history, written not by the hand of man, a history whose glory is transcendent and eternal, and we wish with all our hearts, and as our crowning wish, that this building and your Association may be the means of filling many a page of that history,—many a page of "the Lamb's book of life."

NOTE 1. The early history of the church building, which was taken down to clear a site for the Young Men's Christian Association building, was most happily related by Mr. Thomas W. Seward to the Oneida Historical Society in May, 1887. That building was well styled by him as "historically the most famous in our city. For two decades after it was built, it was the scene, time after time, of great religious awakening, of meetings held to promote the cause of humanity, the reformation of society and of civil government. It was the favorite place for conventions of every kind."

It was built in 1825–6 on the outskirts of the village by the Second Presbyterian Church, and was used by that church until 1840, when the society disbanded. It was the main scene of a revival in 1838, under the preaching of Elder Jacob Knapp, when eight hundred persons were converted.

The building was used in 1841–2 by a short-lived Congregational Society.

In September, 1843, Rev. J. H. McIlvaine began preaching in it with a view of organizing a Presbyterian Church; and in July, 1844, Westminster Presbyterian Society was organized, and it occupied the building a year longer.

In 1845, the Bleecker Street Baptist Society rented it. In 1847 they bought it, and they occupied it forty-three years, until the spring of 1888, under one pastor, a most useful and active society, and an especially favorite home for young people.

About 1830, a town clock was placed in the steeple, and for the next twenty years the townspeople took their time from the clock, and for some years the strokes of the clock hour by hour were echoed at night by the watchman, "Two o'clock, and all's well."

NOTE 2. The Utica Young Men's Christian Association was organized February 10, 1858, in the lecture room of Westminster Church. The officers and committees for the first year were as follows:

PRESIDENT—Edward Curran.

VICE-PRESIDENT—Edward R. Bates.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—Robert S. Williams.

TREASURER—Edwin L. Swartwout.

RECORDING SECRETARY—G. Clarence Churchill.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS—E. R. Bates, President ex-Officio; John C. Hoyt, of Broad Street Baptist Church; G. W. M. Lewis, of Bleecker Street Baptist Church; Theo. S. Sayre, of First Presbyterian Church; G. C. Churchill, of Reformed Dutch Church; C. C. Langford, of Westminster Church; Henry Beckwith, of Corn Hill Methodist Church; William Gries, of Lutheran Church; Williamson Spruce, of Trinity Church; George F. Bugbee, of Grace Church.

The Chairman then introduced Robert Weidensall, Secretary of the International Committee and the oldest Secretary in the Association. He is a graduate from Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, and one of the best known laymen in the Lutheran Church. He said:

It affords me unusual satisfaction to see so large a crowd gathered for the best object in the world. There is no building that can be put up in a town that will command the respect that a Young Men's Christian Association hall will command. Hotels, court houses and town halls used to be the most important buildings, but no town is now complete without a Young Men's Christian Association building. It commands the respect of business and professional men and all who visit the place. I am going West to attend the Iowa State Convention, and will be glad to take with me your greetings and the inspiration you give to the work. You are making records to-day, and we will learn great and wonderful things from you who live in this old town.

Russell H. Wicks then spoke for the Y. M. C. A. as follows:

Mr. Wicks' Address.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

Some one has said, "The most laudable ambition is to be wise, and the greatest wisdom is to be good." We cannot all be rich or famous; only now and then one climbs to the top of earthly fortune, but goodness is within the reach of the humblest mortal on earth. It is also equally true that the happinness and contentment of the individual is precisely measured by what that life of his has accomplished. Diogenes, upon being asked who were the noblest men in the world, replied: "Those who despise riches, glory, pleasures, and, lastly, life; and who overcome poverty, infamy, pain and death, bearing them with an undaunted mind." We have learned by experience that character is refined and made pure, not by prosperity, but by adversity. It is not the furnace alone that refines the iron, but every blow of the hammer. This fact is pregnant with meaning when we realize that character is the essence of life, and it alone survives the ravages and conflicts of the years, and finally enters upon the higher life beyond. We often marvel at the little, comparatively, that history or tradition preserves of the experiences of the human family. Generations come and go, and only here and there a deed rises above the average level of human endeavor, upon which the radiant light of another generation is permitted to fall. We frequently hear people alluding to their ancestors, not precisely in the way of the young fellow who boasted to a farmer of his ancient family, laying great stress upon his having been descended from an illustrious man who had lived several generations ago. "So much the worse for you," replied the farmer, "for we find the older the seed the poorer the crop." But of the most illustrious of them all only a fragment of their individual history is saved. The same speechless oblivion that shuts them away from our mortal vision will soon insist upon our retirement, and that of us which will live as the joyful and priceless heritage of our posterity will not be a princely estate, or a titled name, but the imperial virtue of an unselfish love for our fellow men. All along the pathway of the centuries, every known system of government has tried its own idea of national supremacy, and whenever or wherever it has sought to perpetuate its peculiar system regardless of the moral character of its individual subjects, that government, however great in material interests, has gone down.

Our nineteenth century civilization we believe is transcendently higher, but it will endure only as it falls into line and harmony with the divine idea "that righteousness exalts and sin debases a people," that insists upon personal purity and integrity, and seeks by high and holy methods to give mankind a truer appreciation of life's fair gifts and centers a character in the eternal truth. To-day in our favored land we are face to face with this question of national duration. Therefore we say: "All hail to every means that will improve and elevate our people." What the world needs, what this country needs, what this State needs, what this city of Utica needs to-day, more than all else, is not so much manufactories, not greater industries, not more miles of railroad, but scattered all through its social, industrial and political activities, a larger number of aggressive, fearless, consecrated men, who will be as loyal and enthusiastic for Christ and His teachings as they now are in their political affiliations. It is not so much what we think or say. It is our daily living that reveals the natural portrait of our inner selves. By this picture we are known. Let it once be fully understood that a man is sincere, and he has the confidence and respect of the community.

The aim and steadfast purpose of the Young Men's Christian Association is to encourage young men in this broad and comprehensive view of life; it seeks to build up the whole man, to let the light in upon all sides of his nature. In its eagerness to win and improve the soul, it does not forget to train and adorn the body and mind, the beautiful temple in which it dwells. In a word, it tries to get hold of the young men before they are lost. It recognizes no caste, no class distinction; moral character alone is the passport to its privileges and advantages, while it aims to lift up and save all for whom the Saviour died. A little girl, on being asked to what church her mother belonged, said the "Lutheran." "And your father?" said the gentleman. "He is nothing," said she, and then added: "And not much of that." The Association is not the church, yet it is a part of the church universal; therefore it is non-sectarian, and it is not too much to say that it is by the multiplication of such organizations as this that the church is to reach the outlying millions with her sacred ministrations. Two persons were once disputing so loudly on the subject of religion that they awoke a big dog which had been sleeping on the hearth before them, and he forthwith barked most furiously. An old divine

present, who had been quietly sipping his tea while the disputants were talking, gave the dog a kick, and exclaimed: "Hold your tongue, you silly brute; you know no more about it than they do." The Association avoids all this kind of disputation and controversy, and attempts only to teach the plain, simple gospel of the new kingdom.

There has been some uneasiness and not a little scolding at the slow progress made by our Association. It has, however, simply obeyed the universal law of all substantial growth, and that is always provokingly and necessarily slow. Institutions, like plants, are never born; they must struggle up into the light if they are to be trusted. It is told that when the old flint-lock guns were in use a man was out hunting and snapped at a squirrel. The flint struck fire, but the piece not going off, he took it from his shoulder, looked down into the barrel, and saw the charge just starting, when, bringing it to his shoulder again, it went off and killed the squirrel. So, if the Association gun has hung fire a little it is now on its feet; it has won its place, and best of all, it is anchored to experience. We have only words of highest praise for the earnest, patient men who have withstood the merciless worryings and discouragements of all these years; who, against alarming odds, have brought our organization up out of the slough of despond and placed it on a hill in full view, where all may see and admire.

This building, whose foundation rests upon the rock of ages, is the blessed harvest of long, long years of toil and anxiety, and when completed will change the whole character of our Association work. It will no longer be crippled and dependent, but it will take its rightful place among the most worthy institutions of our beautiful city. Its appeal to the youth of Utica and vicinity is enhanced a thousand fold by reason of its independence and magnificence. No niggard hand is here in the selection of this valuable location, no selfish motive has uplifted these walls. It is the splendid gift of a generous and thoughtful people. It says in no uncertain voice to our young men, "No effort too great, no gift too costly to win your life for truth." Not long ago, very early in the morning, I was on my way to our sister city of Rome. Passing Oriskany, there in stately pride stood the historic monument with its silent finger pointing away into the heavens. The breath of the June meadows, the fragrance of the wooded hills was about it, the joyful birds sang to it, the morning sun shone resplendent from its

face, while the peace of God rested in hallowed benediction over the quiet scene. All this was singularly interesting and impressive in itself, but its true significance was behind the pictorial and underneath the spectacular, for heroes had been made on that ground, patriots had died there, and that monument punctuates a long sentence in our national history. This imposing edifice, whose corner stone we lay to-day, with its architectural beauty, its practical completeness and adaptation to Christian work, is an educating and inspiring force in itself, but its deeper significance lies in the clear fact that it stands as the best and warmest expression of an enlightened public sentiment.

Jesus once said, and who could say anything as well as he, "Without me ye can do nothing." This autumnal day, this surrounding silence, is eloquent with unuttered truth; other intelligences than our own are here assisting in these impressive ceremonies, though we see them not. We "believe in the communion of saints." Earth begins nor ends no good work that does not reach unto heaven. And while our enthusiastic hearts are overflowing with joyful and gratified emotions, we may believe it is but a feeble throb compared with that glorious burst of praise which thrills all heaven to-day:

"Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory."

At the conclusion of Mr. Wicks' address, State Secretary George Hall spoke briefly as follows:

I consider myself happy in bringing to you to-day a greeting on behalf of the State Committee, representing 151 Associations in New York State. This is the twenty-third building, the corner stone of which has been laid, devoted to the welfare of young men. Five are in process of erection. In twelve years past, from five buildings valued at $675,000, we have increased to twenty-two buildings, valued at over $2,000,000. We congratulate you on securing this building, where social, physical and intellectual culture shall be linked to form the perfect man.

The copper box was then placed in the receptacle made for it, and the historical stone, which is the upper step of the main entrance, inscribed "1888," was rolled into its position over it by John B. Wells, President of the Board of Trustees of the Association. The box contained the following articles:

Utica City Charter, catalogue of last State Fair held in Utica, County and City papers, 45th annual report of the New York

State Lunatic Asylum, Journal of the 20th annual Convention of the Diosese of Central New York; sketch of Horatio Seymour, by Rev. I. S. Hartley, D. D.; semi-centennial of the Dutch Reformed Church, oration at the dedication of the Fort Schuyler Monument, by Rev. Dr. Hartley; proceedings of the last Board of Supervisors; constitution and by-laws of the Oneida Historical Society, transactions of the Oneida Historical Society, 1881 to 1886, semi-centennial of the city of Utica and first annual supper of the Half Century Club; the Paris memorial, by Hon. C. W. Hutchinson; the Wagner memorial, by Hon. C. W. Hutchinson; first annual report of the Board of Police and Fire Commissioners; historical fallacies regarding colonial New York, by Douglass Campbell; the Conkling Memorial in Omaha, the Seymour Memorial, annual report of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, annual report of St. Luke's Home and Hospital, annual report of the Utica Orphan Asylum, subscribers to the Central New York Telephone and Telegraph Company, Utica Public Schools' report, engrossed list of city officers, Grace Church Jubilee Year Book, amendments to charter of the city of Utica, photograph of the old Bleecker Street Baptist Church, by L. B. Williams; history of the Bleecker Street Church, Utica, by T. W. Seward; annual reports from the Home of the Homeless, Faxton Hospital, House of the Good Shepherd, Women's Christian Association; photograph of the new building, printed matter in reference to the new building, reports of the Women's Class and Reading Room, Utica City Directory, 1888; addresses of R. H. Wicks and Edward Curran, constitution of the Young Men's Christian Association, 1858; a brief sketch of the Association, subscribers to current expenses of the Young Men's Christian Association, annual report of the Association, copy of the act of incorporation, samples of printed matter used by the Association, officers and directors for 1888, copy of the Treasurer's book, 1878–85; copy of the International Commissioners' report, bound volume of *Association Work*, *American Magazine of History*, for August, 1888, with an article on Roscoe Conkling, by Rev. Dr. Hartley, and papers containing accounts of his death and obsequies; the New Hartford centennial, fiftieth anniversary of the Bleecker Street Baptist Sunday School, annual report of Olivet Church, and other valuable historical documents.

Rev. Dr. D. G. Corey, pastor of the Park Baptist Church, said that for more than 45 years he had been pastor of the church

which occupied the building torn down to give place to the structure now being erected. He had preached 45 sermons to young men on the first Sundays in those years, and he now rejoiced that these same young men were to have a building for their Association work. He then pronounced the benediction and the ceremonies were over.

The Y. M. C. A. building was erected under the charge of a Committee consisting of W. R. Rowlands, Chairman; J. H. Williams, Hon. Theo. S. Sayre, D. C. Hurd, H. E. Dingley, E. L. Wells and G. K. Shurtleff.

The cost was for the lot $33,000, building $57,000, furnishing $10,000, making a total of $100,000. The membership in 1892, is 800.

John F. Seymour

UNIV. OF MICH.

Memorial of John F. Seymour.

ADOPTED BY THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 24, 1890.

Death has again struck from the limited list of our interested and active members, one of the earliest, most prominent and efficient.

John F. Seymour, who died on the 22d of February, 1890, was one of the founders of this Society, and drew its Constitution. He made the centennial celebration of the battle of Oriskany a success, and secured its imposing monument by his indefatigable energy and perseverance. May his name be as enduring as the story of that conflict and the structure which commemorates it. For what he was to us and our undertakings, was but a sample of the manifold work of his beneficent life.

From boyhood, Utica was his home. Never a better man lived in it. He goes to the grave beloved and lamented by its whole community. Although this is apparent, it is proper to place on record a memorial of the beautiful life which we have witnessed, now passed away.

The prëeminent trait of his character was benevolence. The rule of his life was kindness and pity for all and relief to the suffering. He was as sensitive to the needs and pains of others as if they were his own. As soon as he was aware of distress, he sprang to its relief. His susceptibility and promptness of action were so nearly simultaneous that it seemed as if he had the sufferer's nerves. He was indeed a living illustration of the good Samaritan.

His uniform gentleness and kindness were as well known as his person. Wherever he went, smiles greeted his genial countenance as flowers open to the sun. His charity covered the sins of others. He spoke ill of no one. If he was conscious of aught against any, a wise reticence restrained his speech.

Energy and activity were also prominent traits in his character. But for these, his extraordinary sympathy for suffering would have yielded no fruit but his painful emotions. He shrank from no task. He looked for no one to take the lead in an unpleasant duty. He saw no lions in the path.

To repeat here his various positions, acts and achievements, which sustain these views of his life and character, is unnecessary. Whether it is the church, the Sunday school, the temperance cause, the orphan asylum, the poor Indian, the prison, the jail, the hospital or the battle-field, it is ever the same story, wondrous activity in benevolent work, notwithstanding the multiplicity of other calls on his time and attention. When to these are added the innumerable visits of a private nature, for sympathy to the afflicted and help to the suffering, one is amazed to find how much one man could accomplish who was an earnest worker. For it should be said that he rarely spoke of his own work, and though much of it could be concealed, its full extent is a revelation to many of his friends.

In the dire sickness and carnage which he was compelled to witness in the war and his unceasing efforts to relieve them, the humane life of John F. Seymour culminated. The agony which one of his peculiar sensitiveness to suffering must have endured, need not be depicted. He broke down under it at last. He returned home broken in health, and never completely recovered.

It has been a rare privilege and benefit to this community to witness the good work and good example of this most excellent man. May the esteem and affection felt for him, and the sorrow with which his death is universally regarded here, cause such instances to be more frequent hereafter.

OBITUARY NOTICE.

The following extracts from the obituary notices of the Utica daily papers of February 24, 1890, furnish the leading particulars of Mr. Seymour's life :

John Forman Seymour.

If this man whose death we record had an enemy that enemy must have a strange moral and mental organization ; for John F. Seymour in life and character exhibited the graces and virtues of a Christian gentleman ; friendly to all with whom he was brought into contact ; always thoughtful of the poor and suffering ; buoyant with the youthful spirit and a natural teacher and leader of children ; ready to help in any public or charitable enterprise, and carrying the sunshine of a noble nature into all the relations of everyday life.

Henry Seymour, the father of the deceased, was a son of Moses Seymour, of Litchfield, Conn., who commanded a troop of horse during the revolutionary war, and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. As State Senator for five years, and a member in 1819 of the Council of Appointment which filled nearly every civil, military and judicial office in the commonwealth, Henry Seymour was a prominent factor in the politics of his generation. As Canal Commissioner from 1819 to 1832 he had charge of the construction of the Erie canal from Utica to Albany, and personally superintended and paid for the work. That his business prominence was not simply local, is proved by the fact that he was the first president of the Farmers' Loan and Trust company of New York, still a prosperous institution.

The mother of the subject of this sketch was Mary Ledyard Forman, daughter of Jonathan Forman, who was a lieutenant colonel in the revolutionary war, served under General Sullivan and General LaFayette, and was present in all the battles in which Washington commanded. Mrs. Seymour's mother was a daughter of Youngs Ledyard, of Groton, Conn., and a niece of Colonel William Ledyard, the hero of Fort Griswold. Such parents impressed themselves effectually on their children, and were greatly honored by them.

Until John F. Seymour was about six years old, his father's family resided at Pompey Hill, Onondaga county, N. Y., where this son was born, September 21, 1814. About 1820 the family removed to Utica, and since that time it has been through its members identified with the progress and development of our community. John as a child attended school for awhile near the homestead on Whitesboro street, but in due season was transferred to the Utica Academy, then to the Utica High School, of which Charles Bartlett was principal, and whose teachers and pupils gave it a reputation which does not fade. Mr. Seymour delighted in the experiences at this school, and especially in the long geological excursions under the lead of Mr. Edgerton, who held the love and admiration of his scholars in an eminent degree.

He entered Yale College in the sophomore year, and graduated in 1835. Then he entered the law school at Litchfield, Conn., and finished his legal studies in the office of Kirkland & Bacon, in Utica. In 1839 he was admitted to the bar, and the same year formed a law partnership with his brother, Horatio Seymour,

which continued quite a number of years. His subsequent partners were successively William C. Johnson, J. Thomas Spriggs, and from 1867 to 1888, George M. Weaver, the firm being Seymour & Weaver. As a lawyer he took high rank, not so much in the trial of cases as in arguing them before the General Term and Court of Appeals, where he was quite successful when pitted against noted attorneys.

In 1853–54, Mr. Seymour was a director in the New York Central Railroad, and he was very active and efficient in ferreting out and punishing those who had perpetrated gigantic wood frauds on the company.

In 1853 Mr. Seymour, with Erastus Corning, John V. L. Pruyn, James F. Joy, Joseph Fairbanks, Benjamin Tibbitts and John M. Forbes, became incorporators of the Sault Ste. Marie Ship Canal Company. The plan of uniting the lakes with a ship canal was that of Charles T. Harvey, who designed the system of elevated railroads now in use in New York city. The work consisted of two combined locks, 350 feet long and 70 feet wide, with a depth of 12 feet of water, and a canal a mile long and 100 feet wide. The cost was a million of dollars. At that time they were the largest locks in this country. The contractors were required to complete the locks in a comparatively short time, and to do this the laborers were kept at work when the thermometer was 40 degrees below zero. Mr. Seymour was one of the directors of the company present who shared in the hardships. The work was completed within the required time, and formed the first connection between Lake Superior and the lower lakes. This opened up the vast copper and iron regions of Michigan, which have since contributed so much to the material wealth of this country. The locks first built were used until about two years ago, a monument to faithful construction. They are now being replaced by a lock 1,000 feet long and 100 feet wide.

In 1855, Horatio Seymour became interested with Hiram Barney, Erastus Corning, William Allen Butler, John V. L. Pruyn, and others, in the Fox and Wisconsin Improvement Company, an enterprise for the purpose of forming a navigable channel between the great lakes and the Mississippi river. Owing to the ill health of his brother, John F. Seymour entered the company and became its president. The company constructed locks and dams on the Fox river, between Green Bay and Lake Winnebago, and from

Lake Winnebago to Portage. The war coming on prevented the carrying out of this and other public improvements. It was afterward purchased by the United States government.

No feature in the character of John F. Seymour was more marked than his intense devotion and admiration for his brother Horatio, and his own personal effacement for the honor of that brother. Before Horatio Seymour had become Governor, or the candidate of his party for the Presidency, John F. Seymour averred that he "had no politics other than the support of Horatio." For himself the younger brother had no ambition, and would tolerate no comparison with the senior. Thus he did not receive the credit for the capacity and power, the culture and the eloquence which he in truth possessed, but he was content with the splendor of the fraternal glories to which he contributed. For he was the counselor and helper of Horatio Seymour, who relied always on his prudence and sagacity, his energy and efficiency.

When Horatio Seymour was chosen Governor in 1862, he designated his brother as his private secretary, and entrusted him with the delicate mission of assuring President Lincoln of the support of New York in maintaining the Union. The history of this mission Mr. Seymour never confided even to his intimate friends. In the labors of State agent for the care of sick and wounded soldiers, to which the Governor called him, Mr. Seymour found a congenial sphere, and rendered admirable service. Besides the central home in New York city, for soldiers on their way, agencies were established at Washington, Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Belle Plain, Baltimore, Norfolk, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Louisville, Nashville, Buffalo, and points in the south-west. In addition, corps of surgeons and agents were sent to every battle-field, and the wounded soldiers were cared for as soon as possible. Mr. Seymour went personally to the battle-fields of Fredericksburg, Antietam and Gettysburg, and others, and his health was seriously affected by the exposure at the last named.

Only second in extent and not inferior in importance to the oversight of military movements, this vast work enlisted the heart as well as the body and the mind of Mr. Seymour. It was necessary to raise money in advance of legislation, and he raised it; confidence in the aims of the State authorities was required, and he commanded it; organization at stations widely separated was

essential, and he brought it about; benevolence and charity must be adjusted to army necessities, and he effected the adjustment. He went everywhere; no task was too hard or too repulsive for him; his influence was inspiring and his genial nature lighted up hospital and gave cheer to groups of wounded on steamboats and in ambulance. As State agent, Mr. Seymour rendered inestimable service to the soldiers of the commonwealth, and gave the fullest effect to the liberal provisions made for their relief and comfort.

Mr. Seymour was never active as a politician, in the common sense, although he made speeches for his party, and once, in 1862, ran as a forlorn hope as Senator in this district. In 1861, he was a School Commissioner, and when the Board of Commissioners of Charities was formed in Utica, in 1873, he was for four years a member and chairman of the board. As a private citizen, he was in the habit of making weekly visits to the hospitals, and as a commissioner he had an expert's knowledge, which he carried into practice, contributing greatly to improvements in the City Hospital, and to the system of practical support for the local poor.

In correcting abuses in county jails, and in the passage of an act for the separate confinement of criminals of different grades, Mr. Seymour took effective part. In 1881, he was appointed by Governor Cornell a member of the Tax Commission, to which the State is indebted for the report leading to the enactment of the corporation and inheritance tax. His interest in the Indians was recognized by Governor Cleveland in the appointment, with Chancellor C. N. Sims and E. B. Judson, on a commission to inquire into the condition of affairs on the Onondaga reservation.

Mr. Seymour took a deep interest in the history of the county and the country and was one of the leading spirits in the Oneida Historical Society, and its vice president for years. He had, however, done much valuable historical work long before that society was organized. In 1875 or '76 he delivered a valuable address at Herkimer on the history of the Palatines, and on July 4, 1876, he delivered the centennial address at Trenton, sketching the history of that town, and this he supplemented with a series of eight letters and historical sketches of great value. His brother, Governor Seymour, was the prime mover in the erection of the monument to Baron Steuben, but Mr. Seymour shared in the work as he did in all the work of his brother. The erection of the Oriskany monu-

ment in 1877 was, however, a work in which John F. Seymour took a leading part, and he not only secured the passage of the law giving the stone of the Utica weigh lock towards the monument, but he actually superintended its erection. Years afterward he escorted the descendants of Baron Steuben, who were officers of the German army in this country on a visit, to the grave of their distinguished ancestor. In the erection of the monument at Whitestown and the celebration of the centennial of that village, Mr. Seymour did equally valuable service. For many years he was a director in the Forest Hill Cemetery Association. He was also vice president of the Yale Alumni Association of Central New York.

He was brought up in the First Presbyterian Church, where he was first a Sunday school scholar, then a teacher, and then for years superintendent. Then he became a member of the old Dutch Reformed Church on Broad street, was teacher of a class and then Superintendent for years. After that he taught a class in th the Sunday school held in the Union meeting house, Deerfield, and still later was superintendent of the Sunday school in the Utica Orphan Asylum. Since 1878 he had been a member of St. Luke's Episcopal Church and had a class in the Sunday school for some years. He was one of the most liberal and benevolent friends St. Luke's ever had, a member of the vestry and for three years Senior Warden. He was one of the trustees of St. Luke's Hospital, and until within a year president of the board. In front of the hospital he erected a marble fountain as a memorial to his wife, Helen Ledyard Seymour. To the patients in the hospital he brought regularly contributions of fruit and other delicacies, and he visited the sick constantly.

To the young Mr. Seymour was a welcome friend, a sort of elder brother whom every child knew and loved. He had the happy faculty of addressing children in a way which interested them deeply and won their confidence at once. His anecdotes were living word pictures, and invariably each anecdote pointed a moral and taught a useful lesson. The young men were taught not only by precept, but by the example of a pure life and a disposition that was kindness itself. The influence which he thus exerted on hundreds and even thousands of young lives was beneficial and lasting.

As a young man Mr. Seymour was a type of physical grace. He was through life apt and masterful in athletic games and amusements.

In whatever social circle he moved he was an ornament. On the platform few equalled him in attractiveness.

Mr. Seymour was twice married: first to Frances Antill Tappan, daughter of Arthur Tappan, of New York city, and children surviving are Hon. Horatio Seymour, of Marquette, Mich., and Mrs. Mary, wife of Dr. W. E. Ford, of Utica. His second marriage occurred in 1865 to Helen, daughter of Jonathan D. Ledyard, of Cazenovia, and she died June 5, 1880.

Other citizens of Utica have held higher stations, and possessed more self-assertion and arrogated broader claims to consideration. Not one has illustrated more of the "sweetness and light" of life, has served more faithfully the blessed cause of charity, nor has any other left among all who knew him more tender memories, or perpetuated in more hearts with true admiration and genuine and enduring affection.

ACTION OF THE ONEIDA COUNTY BAR.

The meeting of the members of the Oneida County Bar at the Court House, on John street, Utica, Tuesday, February 25, at 11 A. M., for the purpose of action on the death of Hon. John F. Seymour, was well attended.

The meeting was called to order by P. C. J. DeAngelis, who named Arthur M. Beardsley for chairman. In accepting the position, Mr. Beardsley said:

Gentlemen, I thank you for this honor. In assembling on this occasion to pay proper respect to the memory of Mr. Seymour, we perform a duty owing to him and to ourselves. During his long life he displayed honor and ability. He commanded the respect of those who lived along with him and those who enjoyed the pleasure of his acquaintance. He was devoted to an honorable profession—the law—one than which there is none higher when it is honorably practiced. Mr. Seymour I have known from my youth up in the pursuit of that profession. During a period of half a century I never heard a man assail his integrity or honor. Mr. Seymour as a lawyer was painstaking, thorough and able. He gave every case the most careful scrutiny. There was no bound to his industrious investigation. In patent cases he stood as high as any man at the bar. I was often surprised at the ardor he displayed. In his appeals he had not only weight of thought, but

grace of oratory, humor and wit. In his public efforts he was exceedingly happy. I recollect listening to him time and again, and while I will not say he surpassed his distinguished brother, he come so close to the line that it would be difficult to decide which bore off the palm. I never found him to bend from the standard of right or swerve from honor. He was pure in heart, upright in conduct, and manly in all the affairs of life. He believed that to keep the mind, the heart and conscience right, it was necessary to keep a sound body. He gave attention to the preservation of that healthful vigor that leaves men free from the freaks and fancies of imagination. He believed that this course tended to virtue, and his example in this respect, as in others, is worthy to be followed, not only by the young, but by those who are passing along to the end which we must all meet.

Charles A. Talcott named Richard W. Darling as secretary, and he was chosen.

The following resolutions, prepared by Alexander Seward at the request of fellow members of the bar, were presented and adopted:

The Members of the bar of Oneida county, assembled to take appropriate action on the departure from this life of John F. Seymour, a member of that bar for over fifty years, and a distinguished, useful and beloved citizen of this county, do resolve:

First—That all unite in sincerest sorrow at the great loss which we have sustained by the death of one who was, during his long legal career, an ornament and an honor to our profession, by his ability, his learning, his fidelity, and his eminent personal character.

Second—That we especially lament the severing of those ties of friendship with which he bound us all to him by his courtesy, his kindness, and his sympathy.

Third—That as a lawyer Mr. Seymour was distinguished for his keen sense of justice, for his untiring zeal in the preparation of his cases, for his fairness and courtesy on the trial, for his power of getting into complete sympathy with the jury, for the clearness and conciseness with which he stated his points on appeal, and for his hopefulness and confidence in the ultimate triumph of the right. These qualities, together with his careful discrimination in the selection of his cases, made him more than ordinarily successful in legal contests.

Fourth—That the life of John F. Seymour was, in our opinion, a model one in its elevated standard, in useful activity, in unselfish devotion to others, in untiring solicitude and constant labor in behalf of the welfare and happiness of his fellow beings.

Fifth—That we shall ever cherish with the profoundest esteem and affection the memory of the virtues and graces of our departed associate, and that we

tender to his family and relatives our sincere sympathy in their great affliction.

Sixth—That a copy of these resolutions be presented by the secretary of this meeting to the several courts in which the deceased practiced, with a respectful request that the same be entered on their records.

District Attorney Thomas S. Jones—The resoultions, I think, express the sentiments of every member of this bar who had possessed acquaintance and enjoyed the friendship of the deceased. His character was one of perfect guilelessness, charity and kindly treatment of those with whom he came in contact. He was especially kind to those who were less experienced, and in a variety of ways encouraged and aided them to become better citizens, better lawyers, and to obtain better positions in the community.

George S. Klock—It is a splendid tribute to the memory of Mr. Seymour that sorrow at his death is not confined to any class. He was held in the highest esteem by all classes. His qualities of head and heart endeared him to every one, and I wish to be recorded as one who mourns his death.

Judge Coxe—I have almost come to look upon this room as a place of mourning, as I come here so seldom but to pay my tribute of respect to a departed brother. Twenty years ago, when I was a law student in the office of Roscoe Conkling, the reputation of Mr. Seymour as a lawyer was at its height. From 1865 to 1876 was the period of his most active practice. When Mr. Conkling was representing this district in Congress, his duties were of such an engrossing character that it was impossible for him to attend the Oneida Circuits, in the winter months especially. A large number of his cases devolved upon Mr. Seymour, and I came to know him as a friend and as a lawyer. I can corroborate all that has been said regarding his thorough preparation of cases. He did what some able practitioners often neglect. He talked to his witnesses and reduced to writing the important facts. He was thus guarded at every point. He was not what is called an aggressive lawyer. He did not say harsh and unpleasant things in court. He did not browbeat or insult witnesses. He never intentionally wounded the feelings of any man. He spoke with a musical voice and appropriate gesture that won favor. He secured many verdicts where with an aggressive man the result would have been different. But the trial court with its turmoil was not altogether congenial to his nature. After 1876 he did not often appear in trials. He argued frequently in the General Term and

the Court of Appeals. Mr. Seymour was a sincere and ardent patriot. In his capacity as State Agent he aided as much as any other one man in alleviating the sufferings of the Union men in the late war. If he had done no other service this alone would entitle him to the everlasting gratitude of his fellow citizens. As a citizen and philanthropist he had few equals in our community. His was a blameless life. Few men have lived so pure a life. I doubt if he ever did an act that he would hesitate to have paraded in the light of day. He was without reproach. He has passed now beyond the portals which wait for all mortals, and we might write on his tomb the truthful inscription, "He loved his fellow men."

C. D. Adams—We are met to pay the last sad tribute of respect to John F. Seymour, who has passed away, full of years and full of honors, and deep in our regard. As one who loved his fellow men, his name leads all the rest. There is not one left to us of nicer honor, kinder heart, sweeter temper or better conscience. His life was full of activities, directed to the good of others without ostentation. Children, the old, the humble and his equals; all were participants of his kindness and goodness. The public prints of this city have traced his long career step by step, and noted his good deeds at almost every turn. Like sweet flowers along his path, his kindness and beautiful spirit charm and delight us now, as they gave joy and hope and comfort to those they touched.

"How far that little candle throws his beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world."

Mr. Seymour was a man of culture in his profession. There was always a charm in his conversation and addresses everywhere. He made few mistakes in judgment. His taste and sense of proprieties were almost faultless. Of a distinguished family, he was without pride of station. His easy dignity and conscious manhood attracted everybody to the gentleman, who was loved and honored without fear of repulse. And while in public affairs and social life, benevolent enterprises and the business of the world, he was always diligent and effective; in his profession he had a long, honorable and successful career, not without points of brilliancy. His legal education was begun and prosecuted for a time in the celebrated law school in Litchfield, Conn., that quaint old town on the high hill, where the pure air made clear heads, and good sound law descended from it upon the whole land. He

was associated with able and noted lawyers as his partners in practice, and met others in legal contests of equal standing. He had his share of victories. Had he devoted his life to his profession alone, he would have occupied a permanent standing at the front. He has honored his profession as well as his city by his public services and his public spirit. His good name is the property of the Oneida bar as well of Oneida county. While we commit his body to the keeping of the kind mother, let us keep his spirit and the example of his life in our hearts and memory, and repeat them in our actions.

George M. Weaver—My acquaintance with Mr. Seymour has been so long and intimate, and my affection for him so deep and tender, that I find it difficult to speak of him with entire self-control. Of our personal relations and friendship, I can not trust myself to speak at all. I first knew him as the Sunday school superintendent of the Reformed Dutch Church. His bright, handsome, earnest face and kindly sympathy stamped his image upon my young imagination as the personification of that highest product of our best civilization, the Christian gentleman. This ideal of the cultured Christian hero he has never disappointed. When in after years I became his partner, constant association and closest intimacy served but to deepen and confirm that estimate of his character. As a lawyer Mr. Seymour was better known to you, Mr. Chairman, and to the older members of the profession, than to those who have come to the bar in recent years. He never aimed at a large practice. His sense of the responsibility resting on the lawyer's shoulders was too keen to permit his undertaking any great number of causes at the same time. He never cared to make money. His whole effort was to do well and thoroughly whatever he undertook. How well he succeeded is shown by that line of cases commencing with the Klumback case, the Bradley case, and others against the New York Central Railroad Company, which settled in this State the obligation of the employer to furnish to his employes proper machinery and competent co-laborers. These and many other cases, tried mainly by Mr. Conkling, were prepared wholly by Mr. Seymour and argued by him on appeal at General Term and the Court of Appeals. From 1865 to 1870 he prepared, I think, almost all of Mr. Conkling's cases for trial; and into these preparations, as into his own cases, he carried that untiring zeal and conscientious, unremitting labor which rendered him

rarely unsuccessful. Though not inclined to jury trials, he was a natural orator, and his strong sympathies, persuasive voice, earnestness and profound conviction of the justness of his case, together with his personal attractiveness, and the confidence of his hearers in his fairness and integrity, gave him great power with a jury whenever he chose to exercise it. Perhaps his leading characteristic as a lawyer, as it was the dominant force of his life, was his conscientiousness—the ever present sense of duty to his client, which prompted him to overlook nothing that might conduce to success. This keen sense of right and wrong made him exceedingly careful in the examination of a case before accepting a retainer. He required to be satisfied that the case was meritorious; but when so satisfied, he never weighed his client's purse or seemed to think of pay or recompense. He was almost a Chevalier Bayard in his readiness to take up the case of the unfortunate. If, however, he subsequently found that he was mistaken or had been deceived by his client, his interest in the case ceased at once. He always lost sight of the man in the cause. His blows were struck, not for his client, but for justice and right as he saw them.

But the work which Mr. Seymour most enjoyed was outside of his profession. The daily papers have well described his activities for the public good. It is difficult to mention any movement of a public or charitable nature in which he has not borne a prominent part. Our public schools, board of charities, city hospital, jail reforms, female seminary, St. Luke's hospital, historical society and Forest Hill cemetery, all bear witness to his indefatigable efforts for the good of our people. The shafts at Oriskany and Remsen are monuments no less to his persistent care and labor than to the men and events they commemorate. And his labors as one of the State Tax Commissioners appointed by Governor Cornell, as one of the commissioners appointed by Governor Cleveland to investigate the condition of the Indians of the State, and as State Agent in charge of the sick and wounded soldiers, during the war, bear tribute to the breadth of his active charities, and to their recognition outside our own county by leading men in the State. A marked feature of Mr. Seymour's character was his broad charity, not mere almsgiving or a general natural amiableness, but an active, constant, positive recognition of the common brotherhood of all mankind. Shrinking personally from all vice with utter loathing and abhorence, yet no man was so degraded, so vicious,

or had sunk so low but he saw in him the traces of a common fatherhood, the possibilities of reform, and his hand was ever outstretched to help. The encouragement and aid he gave to such men will never be known; but they account to some extent for the universal sense of personal bereavement which we see on every side to-day. No man in private life has ever gone to his reward in this city so revered, honored and beloved by "all sorts and conditions of men" as John F. Seymour.

John G. Gibson—In the midst of sorrow caused by the death of a friend, the mind reverts with pleasure to the contemplation of a pure and noble character. Such was the character of John F. Seymour. It was my fortune to be somewhat intimately associated with him in several matters during the last years of his life, and it was then that I was impressed with a deep sense of admiration for his many fine qualities. His was not a strong character in the sense in which that term is often used. He did not possess those stern and aggressive qualities with which self-made men, so-called, fight their way from obscurity to prominence in this world; but in arraying himself on the side of right and taking a firm stand against that which he believed to be wrong, he was as strong and as true as steel. The prominent traits of his character were kindness, gentleness, simplicity and purity. His works of charity were numerous, and more than commensurate with his means, and his great desire was to avoid publicity and all unnecessary notice in bestowing his gifts. Many a public and private charity exists and flourishes to-day in great part thro' his aid and bounty. As a lawyer, his quiet tastes did not lead him to the active controversies of the court room in later life, but in his office he was a thorough investigator and a cautious and safe adviser. He was courteous in all his relations with his associates, and his kindly familiarity with the young never detracted from his unconscious dignity. In life he was an example of all that we desire to see in the character of a friend, and death but brightens the light which illuminates his virtues. May his memory long remain with his friends and associates to cheer and urge them to the imitation of all his good qualities.

S. M. Lindsley—On this occasion we can think of no defects. So perfect was Mr. Seymour's life that no words can too highly sound his praises. For more than 20 years I enjoyed his acquaintance and never have heard a syllable against the purity of his

motives. He was most kindly and charitable in every sense. His bravery should not be overlooked. Lawyers are not apt to be brave with their clients. They are not apt to tell men who are anxious to fight that they have no case. Mr. Seymour was brave enough to do that. The great name of Seymour he never invoked on any occasion. He seemed to know only his duty. His example is one we would all do well to emulate. His memory will long be revered.

On motion of Mr. Gibson, the members of the Bar resolved to attend the funeral in a body.

The Chair appointed J. G. Gibson, Smith M. Lindsley and P. C. J. DeAngelis a Committee to prepare copies of the resolutions adopted, and present them to the Courts in which Mr. Seymour had practiced. The meeting then adjourned.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

UTICA, N. Y.,

WITH THE

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION AND LISTS OF MEMBERS AND REPORT OF TREASURER, 1892.

FOUNDED 1876; INCORPORATED 1878.

Articles of Incorporation.

We, the undersigned citizens of the United States, residing in the county of Oneida and State of New York, and being aslo citizens of the State of New York, of the age of twenty-one years and over, do hereby associate ourselves and form a corporation, pursuant to the provisions of the statutes of the State of New York, and particularly under Chapter 267 of the Laws of 1875, as amended by Chapter 53 of the Laws of 1876.

The name by which such corporation shall be known in law is "The Oneida Historical Society at Utica." Said corporation is formed for historical and literary purposes, and the particular objects and business thereof shall be the discovery, collection, preservation and publication of the history, historical records and data of and relating to the territory or districts of country formerly occupied or claimed by the Oneida and Mohawk tribes or nations of Indians; the collection and preservation of books, pamphlets, maps, genealogies, portraits, paintings, relics, manuscripts, letters, journals, surveys, field-books and any and all other articles and materials which may establish or illustrate such history, or the growth and progress of population, wealth, education, agriculture, arts, science, manufactures, trade and commerce in said territory or districts.

The principal office and place of business of said society shall be in the City of Utica, in the County of Oneida.

The said corporation shall be managed by its President, three Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, and five members of said society, who shall constitute its Board of Managers. The names of said Managers for the first year of the existence of said corporation are Horatio Seymour, President; Charles W. Hutchinson, Alexander Seward and Edward Huntington, Vice Presidents; S. N. Dexter North, Recording Secretary; Morven M. Jones, Corresponding Secretary; Robert S. Williams, Treasurer; and William J. Bacon, John F. Seymour, Daniel Batchelor, Richard U. Sherman, and Simon G. Visscher, said Managers, and Roscoe Conkling, Pomroy Jones, Luther Guiteau, Philo White, Daniel B. Goodwin, Charlemagne Tower,

John Stryker, Ward Hunt, Ellis H. Roberts, DeWitt C. Grove, Francis Kernan, John H. Edmonds, Michael Moore, Alexander S. Johnson, Edward North, Othniel S. Williams, William D. Walcott, Daniel E. Wager, John P. Gray, John G. Crocker, and Theodore S. Faxton, constitute a Board of Councillors of said Society—the foregoing being all the officers of said society for the first year.

[SIGNED] Horatio Seymour, Deerfield, N. Y.; Alexander Seward, Utica, N. Y.; Charles W. Hutchinson, Utica, N. Y.; Pomroy Jones, Lairdsville, N. Y.; Robert S. Williams, Utica, N. Y.; Ellis H. Roberts, Utica, N. Y.; M. M. Bagg, Utica, N. Y.; John F. Seymour, Utica, N. Y.; E. D. Buckingham, Utica, N. Y.; S. N. Dexter North, Utica, N. Y.; Andrew McMillan, Utica, N. Y.; Harold Frederic, Utica, N. Y.; M. M. Jones, Utica, N. Y.; James Benton, Utica, N. Y.; Francis Kernan, Utica, N. Y.; Samuel G. Wolcott, Utica, N. Y.; Joseph E. West, Utica, N. Y.; S. G. Visscher, Rome, N. Y.; Richard U. Sherman, New Hartford, N. Y.; J. L. Earll, Utica, N. Y.; Edgar O. Wagner, Utica, N. Y.; P. G. Webster, Fort Plain, N. Y.; W. H. Christian, Utica, N. Y.; George Graham, Oriskany, N. Y.; Matt. D. Bagg, Utica, N. Y.; William J. Bacon, Utica, N. Y.; DeWitt C. Grove, Utica, N. Y.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
ONEIDA COUNTY, CITY OF UTICA, } *ss.*

On the 18th day of September, 1878, personally appeared before me, Charles W. Hutchinson, Alexander Seward, Robert S. Williams, and on the 30th day of September, 1878, personally appeared before me, Moses M. Bagg, John F. Seymour, E. D. Buckingham, Andrew McMillan, Harold Frederic, and on the 7th day of October, 1878, personally appeared before me, James Benton, Joseph E. West, S. G. Visscher, Richard U. Sherman, Peter G. Webster, S. G. Wolcott, Francis Kernan, and on the 18th day of October, 1878, personally appeared before me, Horatio Seymour, Pomroy Jones, William H. Christian, George Graham, M. D. Bagg, William J. Bacon and D. C. Grove, all of whom are to me well known and whom I know to be the persons who executed the above written articles of association, and they severally acknowledged that they had subscribed their names to said articles of association.

M. M. JONES,
Justice of the Peace, Utica, N. Y.

ONEIDA COUNTY, } ss.
CITY OF UTICA, }

On the 26th day of October, 1878, before me personally came Ellis H. Roberts, S. N. Dexter North and Morven M. Jones, who are to me well known, and whom I know to be three of the persons who executed the above written articles of association, and they severally acknowledged that they had subscribed their names to said articles of association.

GEORGE L. ROBERTS,
Notary Public, Oneida County.

STATE OF NEW YORK, } ss.
ONEIDA COUNTY, }

I, TALIESIN EVANS, Clerk of said county, hereby certify that Morven M. Jones, who subscribed the within certificate of acknowledgment as a Justice of the Peace, and George L. Roberts, who subscribed the within certificate of acknowledgment as a Notary Public, were during the months of September and October, respectively, a Justice of the Peace and Notary Public, of Oneida County, duly sworn and residing in the City of Utica, and were duly authorized to take such acknowledgments, and that their signatures are genuine.

In Testimony Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and
[L. S.] affixed the seal of said county, at Utica, November 14, 1878.

TALIESIN EVANS, *Clerk.*

STATE OF NEW YORK, } ss.
ONEIDA COUNTY, }

I hereby consent to and approve of the foregoing certificate, and of the objects therein expressed, and of the Society therein named.

M. H. MERWIN,
Justice Supreme Court.

Utica, N. Y., November 6, 1878.

STATE OF NEW YORK, } ss.
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE, }

I have compared the preceding with the original certificate of incorporation of the Oneida Historical Society at Utica, with

acknowledgments thereto annexed, filed in this office on the 16th day of November, 1878, and do hereby certify the same to be a correct transcript therefrom, and the whole of said original.

Witness my hand and the seal of the office of the Secretary of State, at the City of Albany, this nineteenth
[L. S.] day of November, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight.

GEORGE MOSS,
Deputy Secretary of State.

Certificate of incorporation &c., also filed in Oneida County Clerk's Office, on November 21, 1879.

Constitution,

AS AMENDED TO DATE.

ARTICLE I.

This society shall be called THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AT UTICA.

ARTICLE II.

The objects of the society shall be the discovery, collection, preservation and publication of the history, historical records and data of and relating to that portion of the State of New York formerly known as Tryon county, and originally occupied or claimed by the Oneida and Mohawk tribes of the Iroquois; the eollection and preservation of books, newspapers, pamphlets, maps, geneaologies, portraits, paintings, relics, manuscripts, letters, journals, surveys, field-books, and any and all other materials which may establish or illustrate such history, or the growth and progress of population, wealth, education, agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce in central New York.

ARTICLE III.

The society shall consist of resident, corresponding, honorary and life members.* The names of all candidates shall be referred to the committee on membership, and action shall not be taken until a subsequent meeting, when, upon a report from that committee, a majority of votes shall be required for election.

ARTICLE IV.

Resident members shall pay an admission fee of two dollars, which shall be full payment for the first year, ending the second Tuesday in January following, and thereafter an annual fee of two dollars. Any member in arrears for annual dues on the second Tuesday in January in each year, and who shall have received notice thereof from the Treasurer as early as the preceding first day of October, shall no longer be considered a member of the society.

*It will be noticed that the former limitation of resident members to Oneida County has been removed.

ARTICLE V.

The officers of the society shall consist of a President, three Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Librarian, and a Treasurer, who shall be elected annually, on the second Tuesday in January, by a majority of ballots; and who, (except the Librarian,) together with an Executive Committee of five, to be elected annually in the same manner from among the number of the Board of Councilors, shall constitute the Board of Managers of the society, exercising the duties and discharging the responsibilities which belong to boards of trustees in general. Five members of the Board of Managers, if the number include the President or one of the Vice Presidents, shall constitute a quorum at any regularly called meeting.

ARTICLE VI.

There shall be a Board of twenty-six Councilors, who shall hold office for life or so long as they shall continue to be members. An Executive Committee of five shall be elected annually from among the number of the Councilors. All vacancies in the Board of Councilors shall be filled at the next succeeding annual meeting of the society, by a majority of ballots, on the nomination of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII.

None but resident or life members shall be eligible to office, or qualified to vote.

ARTICLE VIII.

The payment of twenty-five dollars at one time shall constitute a life member, exempt from the payment of annual dues.

ARTICLE IX.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the society, regulate its proceedings, and have a casting vote. He shall be chairman of the Board of Managers. Either of the Vice Presidents may discharge the duties of the President in his absence.

ARTICLE X.

The Recording Secretary shall have the custody of the constitution, by-laws and records of the society. He shall give due notice of all regular and special meetings, and keep a record of the pro-

ceedings of the same. At least two days' notice shall be given of all special meetings. He shall be Secretary of the Board of Managers, and keep a record of its proceedings.

ARTICLE XI.

The Corresponding Secretary shall have the custody of all letters and communications on the business of the society, and shall submit to the society all communications received by him as such secretary. He shall, under the direction of the society, prepare all communications to be addressed to others in the name of the society, and keep true copies of such as may be important.

ARTICLE XII.

The Librarian, under the direction of the Board of Managers, shall have the custody of the library and cabinet, including all manuscripts, documents, coins, relics, pictures and maps, and shall prepare and continue a catalogue of the same. He shall arrange the collections of the society in a manner suitable for convenient reference and inspection. He shall keep a record of all donations to the society, and make a report of the same at each regular meeting and shall prepare and read at each annual meeting a statement of the growth and condition of the library and collections of the society.

ARTICLE XIII.

The Treasurer shall receive and keep all securities and moneys due and payable or belonging to the society. He shall keep the funds of the society on deposit to his credit as such treasurer, in some institution to be approved by the Board of Managers, and shall pay such sums as the society shall direct, upon the written order or warrant of the President, or in case of his absence or disability, one of the Vice Presidents, or the warrant of the chairman of a standing committe directed by the society to incur a particular expense. He shall keep a true account of his receipts and disbursements, and render a statement thereof at the annual meeting of the society, or whenever called upon to do so by the society or the Board of Managers. He may also be required to give such bonds as the Board of Managers may direct.

ARTICLE XIV.

It shall be the duty of the Board of Managers to discharge towards the society the duties which ordinarily belong to boards of

trustees of corporations, subject only to the restrictions of this constitution. It shall exercise a general supervision over the funds and affairs of the society, and at any time may restrain any appropriation of money ordered by the society, which in its judgment is not warranted, or is forbidden by article eighteen of this constitution. It shall make annually, on the second Tuesday in January, a detailed report to the society of its transactions for the preceding year with such recommendations for the development of the society as seem to it best. *

ARTICLE XV.

All officers shall continue in office until their successors are elected. Any vacancies in office, except in the number of the councilors, may be filled for the unexpired term at any regular meeting of the society.

ARTICLE XVI.

Regular meetings of the society shall be held monthly, on the second Tuesday of each month. The President, or either of the Vice Presidents, may direct the call of a special meeting at any time.

ARTICLE XVII.

Seven members who shall attend any regularly called meeting of the society shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE XVIII.

No debt shall be incurred in the name of the society, for any purpose whatever, beyond the amount of its unappropriated funds in the hands of the Treasurer at the time any expenditure may be authorized. Nor shall any officer incur any obligations in the name of the society without authority previously conferred by a vote of the society, or by the written order of the Finance Committee.

ARTICLE XIX.

This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at a regular meeting of the society, provided notice of the proposed amendment is given at the previous regular meeting, and notice thereof published in at least one of the daily papers of Utica.

* As to number and change of same, liabilities and duties of Managers, see Sections 4, 8 and 9 of Chapter 267, Laws 1875, as amended by Chapter 98, Laws 1880, or 3 R. S. (8th ed.) 2026–7.

By-Laws,

AS AMENDED TO DATE.

1. The regular meetings of this Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society, in the City Library Building, at four o'clock P. M., unless a different hour shall be designated by the previous meeting.

2. Special meetings may be called at such time and place as the President or either of the Vice-Presidents may designate. The Recording Secretary shall give notice through the press or otherwise, of both regular and special meetings of the Society.

3. Any meeting may be adjourned to such time as a majority of the members present shall determine.

4. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Tuesday of January in each year. The election of officers shall then take place, and the annual reports of the officers of the previous year shall be received, and if approved, adopted. At each annual meeting there shall be an address delivered before the Society, by some person to be appointed by the Society, on the recommendation of the Committee on Addresses.

5. At the next regular meeting after the annual election of officers, or as soon thereafter as may be convenient, the President shall appoint from among the active members of the Society, the following standing committees, viz.:

To consist of three members each—

1. A Committee on Finance.
2. A Committee on Library and Exchanges.
3. A Committee on Donations and Collections.
4. A Committee on Property and Fixtures.
5. A Committee on Addresses.
6. A Committee on Publications of the Society.
7. A Committee on Natural History and Specimens.
8. A Committee on Biography, Necrology and Historical Material.
9. A Committee on Statistics.
10. A Committee on Membership.
11. A Committee on Monuments, (of five members.)

[Special committees have been appointed, under resolutions, and yet exist, viz.:

A Committee on Early Utica Publications.

A Committee on a Permanent Building for the Society.

A Committee to Procure an Appropriation for Preserving and Designating the Grave of General Nicholas Herkimer in Danube, Herkimer county.]

6. The President shall be *ex-officio* chairman of the Committee on Finance. It shall be the duty of such committee to supervise the books, accounts and reports of the treasurer, and the financial receipts and expenditures of the Society; it shall also be its duty to consider and recommend all suitable measures to increase the revenues of the Society, and promote economy in its expenditures. It shall examine and report upon all accounts and claims against the Society, and upon all propositions for the appropriation and expenditure of its funds, when such propositions have not been made or reported upon by some other standing committee of the Society. It shall also recommend to the Society a proper investment of its funds.

7. The Committee on Library and Exchanges shall have the general charge and supervision of the library, and of all propositions in regard to its use, increase and management; or in regard to the procurement, exchange, or other disposition of books, periodicals and pamphlets, or their binding and preservation. It shall supervise the cataloguing of the collections of the Society, and shall take such steps, from time to time, as may be necessary to secure a proper accountability for said collections and library.

8. The Committee on Donations and Collections shall have supervision of the discovery, solicitation and transportation of donations for the collections of the Society; it shall make such recommendations to the Society in regard to the procuring of historical materials, by purchase or otherwise, as shall seem to it desirable.

9. The Committee on Property and Fixtures shall have the charge and supervision of the rooms of the Society and its property, otherwise than its catalogued collections; shall keep the same in repair, and shall recommend such additions, from time to time, as the growth of the Society shall render necessary.

10. The Committee on Addresses shall arrange for the delivery of papers and addresses on historical topics and investigation connected with the objects of the Society, to be read at the regular meetings, and shall recommend an orator to address the Society at its annual meetings.

11. The Committee on Publications shall have the charge and supervision of all the publications of the society, in order that the same may be properly and correctly printed whenever directed by the society. It shall also recommend for publication by the society, such material as it may deem desirable.

12. The Committee on Geological and Natural History Specimens shall have the whole charge and supervision of these departments of the society's collections, their procurement, arrangement and cataloguing, and shall make such recommendations to the society regarding these departments, as the needs of the cabinet may require.

13. The Committee on Biography, Necrology and Historical Material shall have charge of the procuring of details and data respecting the history of central New York, and the individuals prominent in that history; and it shall be the duty of its members to prepare and arrange these data in a manner suitable for preservation and reference.

14. The Committee on Statistics shall have the charge and supervision of the collection and arrangement of statistics of the manufactures, trade, commerce, agriculture and business of Utica and central New York, and place them in proper shape for preservation and reference.

15. The Committee on Membership shall enquire into the qualifications of candidates proposed for members, and promptly report thereon to the society; and it shall be its duty to labor to increase the membership, by inducing all proper persons to become members.

16. All reports of the standing committees shall be made to the society in writing, and placed upon file; but the committees may report by resolution if they shall deem it expedient.

17. All books, manuscripts and other articles belonging to the society shall be plainly marked with the name of the society, and with the name of the donor. They shall be numbered and entered correspondingly in the catalogue.

18. No books, maps, charts, manuscripts, or copies thereof, nor any other article belonging to the library or cabinet of the society, shall be taken from its rooms without the written permission of the librarian, who shall take and file a receipt for the same.

19. No books or other articles placed on deposit with the society shall be removed from the library except on the written consent of the owner.

20. The printed books in the library of the society shall be accessible to all members, whether resident, life, honorary or corresponding, and its manuscript collections, at the discretion of the librarian. To visitors who are not members, access to the manuscript collections of the society can be had only by the consent of the librarian, or a member of the committee on the library.

21. Any member of this society may be expelled by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of all the members present at a regular meeting, but no such vote shall be taken unless notice of the motion to expel shall have been given at a meeting held at least four weeks previous thereto.

22. Any of these by-laws may be suspended in case of a temporary emergency, by the unanimous vote of a meeting, duly organized. They may be amended from time to time, by a majority vote of the members present at a regular meeting, provided notice of the proposed amendment has been given at the previous regular meeting.

23. At the regular meetings of the society, the following shall be the order of business :

1. Reading of the minutes of the previous meeting.
2. Acknowledgement of donations to the society.
3. Reports and communications from the officers of the society.
4. Reports from the standing committees.
5. Reports from special committees.
6. Election of members.
7. Miscellaneous business.
8. Reading of papers and delivery of addresses.

Members of the Society.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

By Article 4 of the Constitution, Resident Membership expires if the Annual Dues, $2.00, are unpaid on the Second Tuesday of January in each year. By Article 8, $25 00, paid at one time, makes a Life Member, who is exempt from annual dues.

Abbott, Henry G., Utica.
Adams, George W., Utica.
Agne, Jacob, Jr., Utica.
Albro, Addis, Utica.
Armstrong, Jonas W., Rome.
Bagg, Egbert, Utica.
Bailey, E. Prentiss, Utica.
Baker, Smith, Utica.
Baker, Thomas F., Utica.
Ballou, Daniel, Utica.
Bannister, Thos. L., New Hartford.
Barber, A. Dutton, Utica.
Barrows, Samuel J., Utica.
Batchelor, Daniel, Utica.
Beach, Bloomfield J., Rome.
Beardsley, Arthur M., Utica.
Beare, Henry C., Utica.
Beckwith, Henry, Utica.
Benham, Thomas L., Utica.
Benton, James, Utica.
Bidwell, Hudson, Utica.
Bierdeman, Gustavus A., Utica.
Bigelow, Dana W., Utica.
Bigelow, Horace P., Waterville.
Bissell, John G., Rome.
Blumer, G. Alder, Utica.
Borst, Charles A., Baltimore.
Bradish, Theodore H., Utica.
Bradford, George L., Utica.
Brandegee, John E., Utica.
Brower, Abram G., Utica.
Brown, John G., Utica.
Bulger, Patrick F., Utica.
Butler, Morgan, New Hartford.
*Butterfield, Theodore F., Utica, (Feb. 22, 1891.)
Canfield, Mortimer T., Utica.
*Cantwell, Edward, Utica, (April 11, 1891.)
Capron, John S., Utica.
Carter, George C., Utica.
Chamberlayne, John K., Utica.
Child, Elias, Utica.
Childs, J. Morris, Utica.
Childs, Lucius C., Utica.
Churchill, G. Clarence, Utica.
Clark, Frank H., Utica.
Clark, George A., Utica.
Coggeshall, Henry J., Waterville.
Comstock, Edward, Rome.
Cookinham, Henry J., Utica.
Constable, James, Jr., Utica.
Cooper, G. Edward, Utica.
Cooper, Henry H., Utica.
Coventry, George, Utica.
*Corey, Rev. Dr. Daniel G., Utica, (Feb. 20, 1890.)
Crumb, Everett F., Utica.
Curran, Edward, Utica.
Curran, George L., Utica.
Dana, James W., Utica.
*Darling, President Henry, Clinton, (April 20, 1891.)
Davies, Peter, Utica.
DeAngelis, Pascal C. J., Utica.
Deecke, Theodore, Utica.
Dering, Sylvester, Utica.
Devereux, Nicholas E., Utica.
Dimon, George D., Utica.
Dodge, Melvin G., Clinton.
Doolittle, Julius T. A., Utica.
Dorrance, Daniel G., Oneida Castle

* Died since last catalogue published, 1889.

Doux, Jules, Utica.
Dunham, Moses E., Whitesboro.
Dunmore, Watson T., Utica.
Earll, John L., Utica.
*Eaton, James, Utica, (Nov. 18, 1890.)
Fake, A. James, Clinton.
Fincke, Frederick G., Utica.
Fish, Winslow P., Utica.
Ford, Willis E., Utica.
Foster, David, Utica.
Frank, George D., Utica.
Gardner, Abner B., Utica.
Geerer, Charles F., Utica.
Gibson, John G., Utica.
Glass, James H., Utica.
Glenn, Hugh, Utica.
Goodale, John A., Utica.
Goodier, Jonathan, Utica.
Goodwin, Alexander T., Utica.
*Gray, Israel J., Utica, (April 21, 1891.)
Griffiths, Thomas J., Utica.
Guillaume, Clement T., Utica.
Heath, William R., Utica.
Haberer, Joseph V., Utica.
*Hackett, Cordon, Utica, (Dec. 31, 1891.)
Hieber, John C., Utica.
Holbrook, Henry J., Utica.
Hopkins, Abel G., Clinton.
Hopper, Thomas, Utica.
Hopson, Henry, Utica.
Horton, George C., Utica.
Hoyt, John C., Utica.
Hunt, James G., Utica.
Hunt, Ward, Utica.
Hurd, DeWitt C., Utica.
Hurlburt, Edward, Utica.
Hurlburt, Frazier W., Chicago, Ill.
Hurlburt, Henry, Utica.
Hutchinson, James M., Utica.
*Jackson, William B., Utica (Dec. 28, 1890.)
Judson, Henry R., Utica.
Kernan, Francis, Utica.
Kernan, William, Utica.
Kernan, Nicholas E., Utica.
Kimball, C. Cotton, Utica.
Kinney, Thomas E., Utica.
Lewis, Benjamin F., Utica.
Locke, Francis C., Utica.
Lombard, Louis, Utica.
Lux, Arthur, Utica.
Lynch, J. De Peyster, Utica.
McClure, Warren O., Utica.
McDonald, John J., Utica.
McGucken, Daniel, Utica.
McIntosh, Ichabod C., Utica.
McMillan, Andrew, Utica.
McQuade, Thomas R., Utica.
Marsh, Eli, Whitesboro.
Maynard, Isaac N., Utica.
Maxfield, Rouse B., Utica.
*Marlove, John G., Utica (Aug. 21, 1891)
Martin, Henry, Utica.
Merwin, Milton H., Utica.
Miller, Addison C., Utica.
Millar, Henry W., Utica.
Mooney, Thomas N., Utica.
Moore, Horatio S., Utica.
Mullany, J. F., Syracuse.
Munson, Edmund L., Utica.
North, Edward, Clinton.
*North, Walter C., Utica (Sept. 6, 1891.)
*Oatley, Francis M., Utica (July 8, 1891.)
Olmsted, Charles T., Utica.
Osborn, William, Waterville.
Owen, John, Utica.
Owen, Philip, Utica.
Palmer, Henry C., Utica.
Parker, Matthew M., Utica.
Parker, Timothy, Utica.
Peckham, Merritt, Utica.
Perkins, David W., Utica.
Pixley, Henry D., Utica.
Powell, Edward P., Clinton.
Prescott, Cyrus D., Rome.
Proctor, Thomas R., Utica.
Putnam, Frederick W., Waterville.
Ray, Franklin T., Utica.
Risley, Edwin H., Utica.
Roberts, Ellis H., Utica.

*Roberts, Jas., Utica (July 4, 1889.)
Roberts, John C., Utica.
Roberts, John E., San Diego, Cal.
Rockwell, James, Utica.
Rogers, Publius V., Utica.
Rogers, Charles B., Utica.
Root, Oren, Clinton.
Roth, Theophilus B., Utica.
Rowley, Warren C., Utica.
*Russell, M. D., William, Utica (June 27, 1890.)
Russell, Charles P., Utica.
Sawyer, George C., Utica.
Sayre, Theodore S., Utica.
Sayre, Charles H., Utica.
Schiller, Charles H., Utica.
Schreiber, John C., Utica.
Scranton, William C., Utica.
*Seymour, John F., Utica (Feb. 22. 1890.)
Seymour, George, Utica.
Shaver, Charles C., Utica.
Sheehan, John H., Utica.
Sherman, Richard U., New Hartford.
Shepard, W. P., Utica.
Sherwood, Joseph B., Utica.
Smith, William T., Utica.
Smyth, Charles H., Jr., Clinton.
Spencer, Thomas W., Utica.
Stewart, Victor B., Utica.
Storrs, William M., Utica.
Symonds, Charles S., Utica.
Sutton, Richard E., Rome.
Swan, Joseph R., Utica.
Tallman, Edward A., Utica.
Terry, Israel N., New Hartford.
Thomas, Hugh E., Utica.
Thorn, John, Utica.
Ulrich, Joseph, Maynard.
Van Embergh, Thomas, Utica.
Vose, Riley A., Utica.
Wager, Daniel E., Rome,
*Walcott, William D., New York Mills (April 1, 1890.)
Walcott, W. Stuart, New York Mills.
Warnick, Leslie A., Utica.
Watson, James T., Clinton.
Watson, William H., Utica.
Weaver, Abram B., Deerfield.
Weaver, George M., Utica.
Webster, William P., Utica.
Wetmore, Ezra F., New York Mills.
*Wells, John B., Utica (Nov. 27, 1891.)
Wells, Edward L., Utica.
Wells, Edward H., Utica.
Wheeler, Russel, Utica.
White, William M., Utica.
White, N. Curtis, Utica.
White, Hugh, Utica.
White, W. Pierrepont, Utica.
Wiley, George H., Utica.
Williams, James H., Utica.
Williams, Rees G., Utica.
Winston, Dwight D., Utica.
Whitten, Daniel C., Utica.
Wood, Henry J., Utica.
Woodward, George E., Utica.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Armour, Philip D., Chicago, Ill.
Armour, H. O., New York.
Bachman, Robert L., Utica.
Bagg, Moses M., Utica.
Crouse, Daniel N., Utica.
Darling, Charles W., Utica.
*Dwight, Rev. Dr. Benjamin W., Clinton (Sept. 18, 1889.)
Everts, Daniel T., Utica.
Gibson, William T., Utica.
Guiteau, Frederick W., Irvington.
Hartley, Isaac S., Great Barrington, Mass.
Handy, Truman P., Cleveland, O.
Hutchinson, Charles W., Utica.
Jenkins, Thomas C., Pittsburgh, Pa.
McIntyre, Donald, Utica.
Osborn, Amos O., Waterville.
Sanger, William Cary, New York.
Seward, Alexander, Utica.

Shurtleff, George K., Denver, Col.
Thomson, Milton H., Utica.
*Tower, Charlemagne, Waterville (July 24, 1889.)
*Walker, George, Utica (Nov. 22. 1890.)
Williams, Robert S., Utica.
Wright, Ebenezer K., New York.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Parkman, Francis, Boston, Mass.
*Spinner, Francis E., Mohawk, N. Y. (Dec. 31st, 1890.)
Seymour, Horatio, Marquette, Mich.
Trumbull, J. Hammond, Hartford, Conn.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

[If residence is in this state, state is omitted.]

Armstrong, Dr. Geo. S., Buffalo.
Adams, F. G., Topeka, Kansas.
Adams, Herbert B., Baltimore, Md.
Andrews, W. J., Chapel Hill, N. C.
Angel, Myron, San Luis, Obispo, Cal.
Babcock, B. Pratt, Cayuga, Ill.
Babcock, H. G., Little Falls.
Bagg, Charles I., Deer Lodge.
Bailey, W. T., Richfield Springs.
Barnes, Charles C., Canajoharie.
Barnum, George C., Buffalo.
Barton, Edward P., Freeport, Ill.
Barton, E. M., Worcester, Mass.
Baxter, James P., Portland, Me.
Beauchamp, W. M., Baldwinsville.
Beebe, A. M., Hamilton.
Belden, B. L., Jersey City, N. J.
Bennett, Alfred, Hannibal, Mo.
Bigelow, Horace, R., St. Paul, Minn.
Brock, R. A., Richmond, Va.
Bryant, William C., Buffalo.
Burt, Bradley B., Oswego.
Burton, Mont. I., Tuscaloosa, Ala.
Brigham, Albert P., Hamilton.
Brown, S. Reed, St. Johnsville.
Bradlee, Caleb D., Boston, Mass.
Benjamin, Walter R., New York.
Bice, Hiram T., Collinsville, Ill.
Camp, Walter B., Sackett's Harbor.
Campbell, Douglass, New York.
Carter, Herman G. New York.
Caton, John Dean, Chicago, Ill.
Clyde, Jefferson N., Cherry Valley.
Cohen, Mendes, Baltimore, Md.
Colvin, Verplanck, Albany.
Colling, Thomas R., Oswego.
Conover, Geo. S. Geneva.
Conkling, Alfred R., New York.
Constable, Cassimer, Constableville.
Cook, Frederick, Rochester.
Cook, James H., Canajoharie.
Curtis, George W., Nora, Ill.
Cobb, Lyman Jr., Yonkers.
Collins, Daniel M., Jersey City, N. J.
Cooley, James E., Westport, Conn.
Courtenay, W. A., Charleston, S. C.
Chamberlin, H. B., Denver, Col.
Dana, James D., New Haven, Conn.
Danforth, Elliot, Albany.
Danforth, P. S., Middleburg.
Davis, Henry, McGregor, Iowa.
Davis, M. W., Iowa City, Iowa.
Davies, Wm. A., San Francisco, Cal.
Day, David F., Buffalo.
DeLancey, Edward F., New York.
DePeyster, J. W., Tivoli.
DeGraff, Alfred, Fonda.
Duren, E. T., Bangor, Maine.
Dygert, James M., Ilion.
Dwight, Theodore W., New York.
Dunlop, Thomas, Toledo, Ohio.
Earl, Robert, Herkimer, N. Y.
Eaton, John, Washington, D. C.
Eastman, Samuel C., Concord, N. H.
Edmonds, Walter D., New York.

English, Thomas Dunn, Fort Lee.
Ellis, George E., Boston, Mass.
Fitch, Chas. E., Rochester.
Fisk, Richmond, Watertown.
Fiske, John, New York.
Fox, Christopher G., Buffalo.
Fraser, McIntyre, Johnstown.
Frey, S. L., Palatine Bridge.
Frothingham, W. W., Tribe's Hill.
Flandrau, Charles E., St. Paul, Minn.
Furniss, F. H., Waterloo.
Flower, Roswell P., Albany.
Gatfield, George, London England.
Gold, Sir Henry V., London, Eng.
Gardner, James T., Albany.
Gardner, Theo. F., Paris, France.
Gebhard, John, Schoharie.
Graham, A. A., Columbus, Ohio.
Goldsmid, Edmund, Edinburgh, Scotland.
Griswold, Stephen R., Albany.
Hale, Horatio, Clinton, Ontario.
Hall, James, Albany.
Hanchett, Henry G., New York.
Hardin, Geo. A. Herkimer.
Hardin, William, Savannah, Ga.
Harris, George H., Rochester.
Haven, E. O., Syracuse.
Haven, S. D., Worcester, Mass.
Heath, S. P., Amsterdam.
Henderson, Wm. W., Jamestown.
Henion, Charles K., Waterloo.
Herkimer, Warren, Janesville, Wis.
Holden, A. W., Glens Falls.
Holt, Henry H., Muskegon, Mich.
Howard, Geo. E., Lincoln, Neb.
Howell, George R., Albany.
Howarth, Jonathan W., Glen Riddle, Pa.
Hubbard, Bela, Detroit, Mich.
Hubbard, Oliver P., New York.
Hubbard, A. S., San Francisco, Cal.
Irwin, Theodore, Oswego.
Johnson, W. C., Newburyport, Mass.
Jones, Edward F., Binghamton.
Jones, Wm. Carey, San Francisco, Cal.
Judson, R. W. Ogdensburg.
Kendrick, A. C., Rochester.
Knapp, Lyman E., Sitka, Alaska.
Knox, Charles E., New Jersey.
Lamb, Mrs. Martha J., New York.
Lacey, R. B. Bridgeport, Conn.
Ledyard, L. W., Cazenovia.
Letchworth, W. P. Buffalo.
Lintner, J. E., Albany.
Littlejohn, A. N., Brooklyn.
Long, Oscar F., Washington, D. C.
Mack, Rob't C., Londonderry, N.H.
Manchester, D. W., Cleveland, O.
Mann, Edward C., New York.
Marsh, Luther R., New York.
Mason, D., Syracuse.
Merriam, C. L., Locust Grove.
Messenger, I. N., Oneida.
Milligan, M. G., Little Falls.
Miller, Warner, Herkimer.
Morris, Edward D., Cincinnati, O.
Moses, Bernard, Berkley, Cal.
Moss, George, Rochester,
Munsell, Frank, Albany.
Nelson, Anson, Nashville, Tenn.
Newman, Louis F., Denver, Col.
North, S. N. D., Boston, Mass.
O'Callaghan, E. B., New York.
Parkhurst, Frank B., Frankfort.
Parker, Ely S., New York.
Pearson, Jonathan, Schenectady.
Poillon, William, New York.
Potter, Eliphalet N., Geneva.
Pratt, Daniel J., Albany.
Phillips, Henry, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Richmond, A. G., Canajoharie.
Ricard, F. W., Newark, N. J.
Rogers, Horatio, Providence, R. I.
Rowley, H. Curtis, Springfield, Mass.
Roof, Garrett L., Troy.
Roof, F. H., Rhinebeck.
Roosevelt, R. B., New York.
Roosevelt, Chas. H., New Rochelle.
Ropes, John C., Boston, Mass.
Sammons, Simeon, Johnstown.
Sanborn, J. W., Albion.
Seymour, Norman, Mount Morris.
Sheard, Titus, Little Falls.

Shreve, B. F. H., Mt. Holly, N. J.
Silsbee, William, Trenton.
Sims, William R., Lafayette, Miss.
Snow, B. B., Auburn.
Starin, J. H., Fultonville.
Stevens, John Austin, New York.
Stone, Wm. L., Jersey City, N. J.
Sparks, J. W., Murfreesboro, Tenn.
Spencer, Wm. A., St. Paul, Minn.
Taylor, James W., Winnipeg, Manitoba.
Terry, Benjamin S., Hamilton.
Throckmorton, B. W., New York.
Tilly, R. H., Newport, R. I.
Timmermann, W. S., St. Paul, Minn.
Trenchard, Edward, New York.
Trowbridge, Thomas R., Jr., New Haven, Conn.
Upson, Anson J., Glens Falls.
VanSchaick, Henry C., Manlius.
Van Siclen, George W., New York.
Vermilye, A. G., Englewood, N. J.
Vosseller, Elias, Flemington, N. J.
Vrooman, John W., New York.
Wagner, Peter J., Fort Plain.
Waite, Henry R., New York.
Walker, Charles H., Chittenango.
Walrath, D. D., Chittenango.
Ward, Edwd. A., Richfield Springs.
Waters, T. Frank, Ipswich, Mass.
Watson, S. M., Portland, Me.
Webster, Horace E., Schenectady.
Wells, S. R., Waterloo.
Wemple, Edward, Fultonville.
Wetmore, Edmund, New York.
Wilson, James G., New York.
White, Andrew D., Ithaca.
Wickes, Stephen, Orange, N. J.
Wilcox, E. W., West Winfield.
Willers, Deidrich, Albany.
Williams, W. W., Cleveland, O.
Woolen, W. W., Indianapolis, Ind.
Wright, W. W., Geneva.
Wurtele, F. C., Quebec, Can.

Treasurer's Annual Report.

JANUARY 12, 1892.

The Treasurer, Warren C. Rowley, submitted his annual report, a summary of which follows:

General fund—Receipts:

Cash balance at date of last report	$236 01
Cash members' dues for the year	340 00
Total	$576 01

Disbursements:

Total	$222 49
Balance cash on hand this date, on deposit in Oneida National Bank	$353 52
Special Funds—Oriskany Monument Fund	$ 37 70
Building Fund and Interest	118 04